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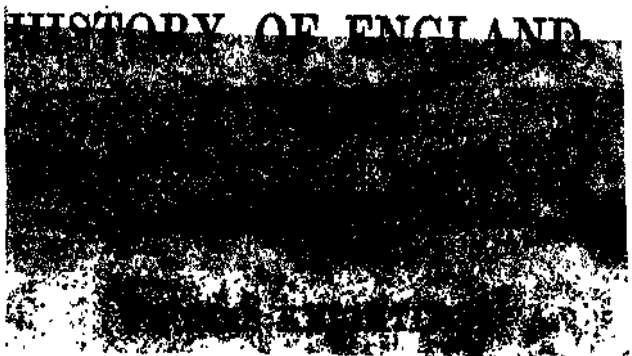

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORIES OF GREECE AND ROME, OUTLINES OF HISTORY, THE CRUSADERS, ETC. ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE History of England may be regarded as consisting of two distinct portions, the Tudor period being one of transition. The former is that of middle-age, papal and feudal England; the latter, that of the same country, modern, protestant and constitutional, employing this last term m a restricted sense. The present work follows this division; the first volume contains the former period, and that of the transition in politics and religion; the concluding one will bring the history down to the present times.

In my Histories of Greece and Rome I felt myself bound to stigmatise the tyrannic powers of oligarchy and democracy. In middle-age England a tyranny of a different species presents itself, the despotism which would enslave the mind and consequently degrade it. I need hardly say that it is to the church of Rome that I allude, which, under menaces of eternal torments, seeks to force on the world a system of doctrines, the belief in which (I speak not of mere profession) is always degrading to man's intellectual, frequently to his moral nature. This system I have conceived it my duty to expose, in order to remind us of what we are but too apt to forget, the great benefit which the Reformation has been to the world, and the gratitude which we owe to those undaunted spirits who achieved it. Religion.is of more importance to a state than self-styled philosophers represent it. It is in fact so essential to our nature, that society cannot long exist without it: where it is pure, civil liberty will generally be found in its train; where it has sunk to mere superstition, despotism is its usual ally. Hence I have little hope of ever seeing true liberty enthroned in Southern Europe, or extending her ennobling influence through the vast regions of South America.

I make these **observations that** the reader may not **be**

surprised at the polemic tone which he will occasionally meet with in the following pages. The History of England, it is well known, has been written by a clergyman of the church of Rome, a man "whose acuteness and industry," says Hallam, "would raise him to a respectable place among our historians, if he could have repressed tht inveterate prejudices of his profession." In fact, Dr. Lingard, the writer in question, is, where his church is at all concerned, an advocate, not a historian; he seeks victory, not truth; he labours to mislead, not to inform: his pages are pervaded by a cold ascetic spirit, which virtue and heroism fail to warm; for the philosophy of history we must not look, as this historian holds it in supreme contempt. His *treacherous* work, as it has justly been styled, is probably connected with the efforts which the church of Home is making to extend her dominion once more over this kingdom. Very few are sufficiently aware of the art and perseverance with which this scheme is carried on, and of the partial success it has had. It certainly speaks but little for the nineteenth century, to witness, as we may, persons of rank, wealth and education (we cannot add of sense), abjuring a religion whose boast is to be founded on Scripture alone, and becoming worshipers of their fellow mortals and of graven images. Let not Home, however, rejoice; she has long been verging to her fall: her present efforts are but the convulsive struggles of death, the flickering of the lamp about to expire. She may, and probably will, eventually lose Ireland : she never will regain England. The Virgin and the Saints have as little chance as Thor and Wodin of repossessing their altars in this country; for history shows that when a religious system falls,

> it falls, like Lucifer,
> Never to hope again.

The object of Dr. Lingard, as it appears to me, is to insinuate into the mind of the reader an impression of the purity and excellence of the religion of the middle-ages, when the popes, he would fain persuade us, acted as the true vicegerents of Christ on earth, zealously promoting

peace and good-will among men, and the prelates and clergy in general faithfully trod in their foot-prints. Hence he would have it inferred that the Reformation was in every sense a misfortune to the world, and he takes care that the reader shall view the principal agents in it as actuated by low and selfish motives. His mode of proceeding is very artful, but at the same time very simple. Such deeds of the clergy as will not bear the light are passed over in perfect silence, others are placed in the fairest point of view, while sneer and innuendo are employed to disparage the motives and actions of all the opponents of the church of Rome. It is needless to point out what the effects might be on the minds of readers in general should Lingard's be regarded as *the* History of England. An inevitable result would be lukewarmness toward Protestantism.

I have thus freely censured Dr. Lingard, because I am conscious of having pursued a more honest course than his, as my accounts of Becket and Fisher will show. At the same time 1 must not conceal his merits. His style is excellent, his industry, sagacity, and ingenuity are considerable, and where his religious prejudices do not interfere his is perhaps the best narrative. I therefore have not hesitated to make him my principal guide in about a third of the present volume; as in the history anterior to the House of Tudor I did not deem it always necessary to write immediately from the original authorities, though I have constantly consulted them. From the commencement of the period alluded to the inquirer after truth must draw from the original sources; for all the modern streams are turbid with religious and political prejudices.

It is almost superfluous to mention my obligations to the writings of Mr. Hallam; for it would be mere presumption to write a History of England without their aid. On various occasions 1 have introduced the profound and beautiful reflections of sir James Macintosh. They constitute the principal value of his work, his narrative being very indifferent, and frequently incorrect. To Mr. Turner and M. Von Raumer I have also to acknowledge my obligations.

In an Appendix are introduced various matters which could not properly form a part of the text. I have commenced it with a list of the principal authorities, as there was not space for references at the foot of the pages.

July 1, 1837-

This work has now reached its fourth edition, and having received all the improvements and corrections which could be made in it consistently with its size and form it has been stereotyped, so that no further changes may be expected. I trust it will long continue to furnish those for whose use it has been principally designed with just ideas respecting the former condition of their country.

It might have been supposed that its protestant, but strictly impartial, tone would have been its chief recommendation; on the contrary, that has been the greatest impediment to its success. The mediaeval mania which has prevailed, that absurd fondness for the architecture and arts in general, the dress, manners, and tone of the middle ages, has extended even to their religion; and men, wilfully closing their eyes against the light of truth, have sought to re-introduce long-forgotten usages and ceremonies, which, however suitable they may have been to the ages in which they flourished, are out of all harmony with the ideas of the present generation. Such foolish conduct has had its natural consequence. The Church of Home, blind as she always is to the real state of things, thought she had only to put forth her pretensions boldly and England was once more her own. Hence we have witnessed the Papal Aggression of 1850, an event that will be ever memorable in history. Bitter disappointment has of course been the result. Ireland, as I anticipated, is fast eluding her grasp, and advanced as I now am in years, it is not impossible that 1 may live to witness the downfall of the Papacy, and the triumph of truth and true liberty.

T. K.

September 26, 1851.

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

B.C. 55—A.D. 450.

IF in imagination we transport ourselves back in time for a space of about two thousand years, and view the isle of Britain, whose vales and plains arc now blooming with the riches of cultivation, whose numerous cities and towns are animated with the activity of commerce and manufacture, whose fleets ride triumphant on the most distant oceans, and whose political institutions claim the admiration of the entire world,—a widely different scene will appear before us. Wc shall behold a region covered with forests and spreading into marshes; its inhabitants a rude barbarous race, subsisting chiefly on the milk and flesh of their numerous herds of cattle, with little of agriculture, and few of the useful arts; their towns mere inelosures in the woods; their dwellings rude wicker cabins; their only vessel the *coracle,* or boat of framework covered with skins. Nearly as low in the scale of humanity, as her colonists in after times found the aborigines of the New World, were the original tribes of Britain when the legions of Rome first landed on her shores*.

* See Appendix, A.

The indigenous inhabitants of the British Isles were beyond doubt a portion of the Celtic race, whose seats on the main land extended eastwards to the Rhine, and southwards far into Spain. The manners, customs and institutions of the whole race were the same, only varying according to their geographical position; the rudeness and barbarism declining as they came near more civilized countries. Like all races in a low state of culture, the Celts were divided into numerous independent tribes, and warfare evermore prevailed among them. These tribes were composed of three classes or orders; the sacerdotal order, named Druids, the nobility, and the common people. All knowledge was in the hands of the Druids; they were the priests, the philosophers, and the judges of the people; those who refused to submit to their sentence were punished by excommunication, and as the Celtic race has been at all times prone to superstition, this weapon was as powerful in their hands as in those of the Romish clergy of after-ages. They were presided over by an arch-druid, who held his office for life; they formed not a *caste* but an *order*, into which any one who was duly qualified might be admitted. The Druids had a peculiar system of physics and astronomy; they taught in verses, which were never committed to writing; their chief doctrine was lihat of the Metompsychosis, or passage of the soul into various bodies; their religious system was dark and sanguinary. The; order enjoyed immunity from all taxes and imposts, and were not required to serve in war. The nobility exercised a despotic power over the inferior people, who were in a state of the most abject slavery; and the power of the prince, or chief of each tribe, was absolute.

We thus see that the institutions of the Celtic tribes offered a striking resemblance to those of the East; the same degrading thraldom of the inferior people, the same exaltation of the sacerdotal order as in Egypt and India; even the employment of chariots in war was common to both regions. Hence many have derived the Celtic religion and institutions immediately from Asia; but this is a theory of which there is no need, and for which no satisfactory evidence has been offered.

The Celts of Britain had dwelt for ages in the seclusion of their isle, without any direct intercourse with the civilized nations round the Mediterranean, when at length the arms of Rome reached the opposite coast of Gaul. We are certainly told much of the direct trade to Britain of the Tyrians

and their colonists of Carthage; but no proofs of this are to be found, and it is much more probable that the tin, iron, and other minerals of the island were conveyed overland to Spain or the South of Gaul, and there disposed of to the foreign traders. We are also of opinion that the mines of Britain were wrought by the Germans, who, under the name of Belgians, had colonized its southern coast,, and not by the natives; and that it was in their large vessels, and not in the British *coracles,* that the commerce was carried on with the continent.

Such then was the state of Britain when (B.C. *55)* Julius Caesar, being engaged in his project of subduing Gaul as a means to the enslaving of his own country, thought that the invasion of an island which was regarded as beyond the limits of the world might tell to his advantage at Home. He accordingly embarked with two legious, and having effected a landing near Deal on the coast of Kent, defeated the natives who came to oppose him; but as it was not convenient for him to make any stay in the country, he granted the Britons peace on their promise of sending him hostages, and returned to Gaul. The following spring he landed with a force of five legions and two thousand horse : the Britons, who, laying aside their jealousies, had given the supreme command to Cassivelaunus, prince of the Trinobantians*, opposed without effect his passage of the Stour; he afterwards forced the passage of the Thames above Kingston, took Cassivekuinus' chief town, received the submission and hostages of several states, and having imposed tributes (which were never paid) quitted Britain for ever.

The civil war occupied the remainder of Caesar's life; the policy of his successor, Augustus, was averse to extending the already enormous empire, yet an intercourse was kept up with the British chiefs, some of whom made offerings on the Capitol, and they allowed duties to be levied on the commerce between Britain and Gaul † . The policy of Tiberius was similar to that of his predecessor. The frantic savage, Caligula, to whom the empire next fell, led the army, at the head of which he was plundering Gaul, to the coast opposite Britain (A.D. 36) ; the warlike engines were set in order, and he issued his commands to the expecting troops to charge the ocean, and gather its shells as spoils due to the Capitol and Palatium.

* See Appendix, B. † Strabo, iv. 5.

Al length, while the imperial throne was occupied by the feeble Claudius (43), the plan of conquering Britain was seriously resumed. An exiled British prince having applied to the emperor, orders were issued to A. Plautius, who commanded in Gaul, to invade the island. The Roman soldiers at first hesitated to embark. When they landed they found no enemy to oppose them, for the Britons had fled to their forests and marshes, thinking the invaders would retire ; but Plautius hunted them out, and subdued the country south of the Thames. The emperor himself soon after appeared in Britain, crossed the Thames, and routed an army of the natives; and having been in the island but sixteen days in all, returned and triumphed at Rome. The war in Britain was continued by Plautius and his lieutenant Vespasian, the future emperor. The command was afterwards (51) given to P. Ostorius, who carried his arms to the Avon and the Severn; he easily routed the Icenians ; tbe resistance of the Silurians, under their gallant chief Caractacus (Caradoc), was more stubborn, but the legions were victorious in a great battle, in which the family of the chief became captives, and he himself seeking refuge with Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantians, was by her basely surrendered. They were led before the tribunal of Claudius, in the presence of assembled Rome. The British prince addressed the emperor in dignified and manly terms, and life and liberty were granted to him and his family.

The defeat and capture of Caractacus did not end the war; the Silurians still gave the Romans abundant employment, and Ostorius died worn out with care and anxiety. Ills successors Didius and Veranius carried on the conflict without much success. At length (62) the command in Britain was given to Suetonius Paulinus, an officer of great ability and courage. Regarding the isle of Mona (Anglesea), which was the chief seat of the Druids, as the centre of union and focus of resistance among the Britons, he resolved to reduce it. He led his army to the strait of the Menai; they beheld the opposite shore covered by armed Britons, among whom, with wild gestures, dishevelled locks, and brandishing flaming torches, ran women exciting them to courage, while the Druids stood apart, and with hands upraised to heaven devoted the invaders of their sacred isle, The Romans paused : at length, urged by the voice of their general, they advanced their standards ; the foe made but a brief resistance: the isle became

the dominion of the victors, who built there a fort, and **cut** down the groves which so often had witnessed the human sacrifices offered by the Druids.

While Suetonius was thus engaged, he was summoned to quell an insurrection in the part called the Province. The king of the Icenians, when dying, had followed the Roman practice of making Ccesar heir, along with his two only daughters, hoping thus to secure their succession; but the Roman officers entered on his kingdom as a conquered country; they violated the princesses, beat and scourged their mother Boadicea, and plundered and enslaved the nobles. Joined by the Trinobantians, the Icenians rlevv to arms; and as the veterans who had been placed as a colony at Camalodunum (Maldon) had behaved with the usual violence and insolence of the Roman military colonists, they were the first objects of attack. They were utterly destroyed ; the legate Cerealis, who was leading his troops to their aid, was defeated. Suetonius, on coming by forced marches to Londinium (London), found it necessary to leave that flourishing city and the municipal town of Verulamium (St. Albans) to their fate, and seventy thousand persons were slaughtered in them by the Britons. The Roman general having drawn together a force of about ten thousand men, took up a position flanked by eminences, his rear being secured by a wood. The plain in front was soon filled with the troops and squadrons of the advancing foes ; Boadicea, bearing her insulted daughters in her car, drove from nation to nation, exhorting them to avenge their injuries. The fight began; but victory soon took the side of skill and discipline ; eighty thousand Britons, it was said, lay slain. Boadicea terminated her life by poison. Fire, sword, and famine then wasted various parts of the island.

The successors of Suetonius were inactive ; Vespasian, when emperor, gave the command in Britain to Cerealis, who made war with success against the Brigantians, and then to Frontinus, who subdued the Silurians. Vespasian next committed Britain to Cn. Julius Agricola, a man who united in his person all the civil and military virtues. Soon after his arrival (80) he retook Mona, of which the Britons had repossessed themselves ; he then devoted himself to conciliating the minds of the natives by a proper regulation of the tributes, and by introducing justice into the administration of affairs. After some time (82) he led out his troops and conquered the country to the sestuary of the Taus (Tweed or Tees ?), and **the**

next year (83) he built a line of forts from the firth of Forth to that of Clyde. He had some thoughts of invading Ireland, one of whose princes being expelled had sought his aid, and he was of opinion that a single legion and a few auxiliaries would suffice for the conquest of that island, whose people were even more barbarous than the Britons. The tribes north of the firths, who were called Caledonians, meantime (85) prepared for war; they assailed the Roman forts; they also fell on the ninth legion in the night, and were near overcoming it. Agricola having resolved to invade, their country, advanced as far as the Grampians, which he found occupied by an army of thirty thousand warriors, which was receiving daily accessions of strength; each clan was led by its own chief, but the superior abilities of Galgacus were acknowledged by all, and the chief command was given to him. The infantry, armed with claymore and target, occupied the hills; the horse and war-cars moved about on the plain. But vain as ever were the arms and courage of the mountaineers against the discipline of the legions; the night beheld ten thousand Caledonian warriors lying dead on the plain. Agricola, having advanced somewhat further into the country, and forced some of the tribes to give him hostages, led his army back to winter-quarters. His fleet meantime sailed northwards, and having succeeded in circumnavigating the island, returned to its usual station at Sandwich.

The conquests of Agricola gave the Roman dominion in Britain its greatest extent. All the native tribes south of the firths lived henceforth in peaceful submission to the Empire; the Roman language and manners were gradually diffused among them; colonies and municipal towns were spread over the island; war was unknown, except on the northern frontier, where the untamed Caledonians gave the legions occasional employment. Against their incursions the emperor Hadrian, when in Britain, built a wall from the Tyne to the Solway firth, and in the reign of his successor Antoninus a similar wall was constructed on the line of the forts between the firths raised by Agricola. The distance of Britain from the seat of government, and the security of its insular position, often excited its prefects to assume the imperial purple, and it was hence named "an isle fertile of usurpers *(tyrannorum)*" The two most celebrated of these usurpers were Carausius at the end of the third and Maximus at the end of the fourth tentury.

During the period of Roman dominion the zeal of the early-Christians introduced the beneficent religion of the Gospel into Britain, as into all other parts of the empire, and it became the dominant faith throughout the Romanized part of the i; laud. The names of Pelagius, a Welshman, and of Celestius, a North Briton, are famous on account of their theory of original sin and free will, which caused them to be ranked among the heretics of those times.

When internal decay and the pressure of the barbarians from without, were menacing the existence of the empire, the troops were gradually withdrawn from the more remote provinces. The Picts, as the people north of the firths were now called, being strengthened by the Scots of Ireland who had settled on the west coast of their country, began to pour in their ferocious hordes on the Roman province ; they even reached and plundered London, and though defeated, renewed without ceasing their incursions. The Saxons from the opposite coast of Germany also made frequent plundering descents on the unwarlike province. The legions were at length totally withdrawn, and the Britons left to their own resources. Instead, however, of uniting against the common enemies, their princes and chiefs wasted their powers in contests for the supremacy of the island. At length (149) Gwerthern, or Vortigern, a British prince, being hard pressed by his rival for dominion Aurelius Ambrosius (who claimed descent from Maximus), and harassed by the incessant inroads of the Scots and Picts, resolved on the fatal expedient of taking a body of the Saxon freebooters into his service, and he formed a treaty with two of their chiefs, named Hengist and Ilorsa.

CHAPTER IL

THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.

A.D. 449-827.

T H E Germanic or Teutonic race, which occupied Europe east of the* Rhine, differed in language, religion, manners, and external appearance from their western neighbours the Cdtfi*

The love of liberty was a leading trait in their character; their ohedience to their chiefs was free and voluntary; their religion, though a part of their being, was no slavish superstition ; and the German quailed not, like the Celt, before a sacerdotal order. He held the female sex in honour, and nowhere was valour seen to pay homage to beauty as in the forests of Germany. The Germans further differed from the Celts in their passion for maritime enterprise; and while the latter had only their hide-covered coracles to creep along the shore*, the Germans ploughed the waves and faced the storm in strong well-rigged ships f. This led them, like the ancient Greeks, to combine piracy with trade; and we may suppose that after the Roman conquest of Gaul and Britain, and the consequent increase of luxury and wealth in these countries, the practice of piracy became more extensive among the maritime Germans.

These piratic tribes were the Jutes of the Cimbric peninsula, or Jutland; the Angles of Sleswick and Holstein, and the Saxons who dwelt thence to the Rhine. Hengist and Horsa, to whom Vortigcrn applied (14!)), were Ealdormen or chiefs of the Jutes, and the tradition is that they came to his aid with three *chiule* (keels, *i. e.* ships), carrying sixteen hundred men. In imitation of the Roman practice of granting lands lor military service, Vortigern bestowed on them the isle of Thanet, whither numbers of their countrymen repaired to them. Their arms were successful against the Scots and Picts, but when the Britons refused to comply with their further demands, they joined these northern tribes, and spread their ravages over the whole island. The Britons, led by Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, (which last they had deposed for his vices and incapacity,) now resisted with all their might, and in one battle (455), fought at Aylesford, Horsa was slain ; Hengist then associated with himself his son Eric, or Æsk, and a scries of victories gave them possession of the whole of Kent, which was the first of the kingdoms formed by the invaders.

* The Venetans of Gaul, who fought with Caesar on the sea (B. G. iii. 8—16.), might seem to form an exception; but Straho (iv. 4.) assures ns they were Belgians, and these were always regarded as of Germanic origin.

f Among other reasons for regarding the navigation of the Germans and their northern kindred as homesprung, may be mentioned, that the names of a ship and all its parts are original terms of their languages, and not adopted from the Latin, Greek, or Tunic.

The British writers relate the following anecdotes in connexion with these events, but which probably are mere fictions to cover the disgrace of defeat. Hengist, they say, had a beautiful daughter named Rowena, whom he resolved to employ as a means to extend his influence over the British king. At a banquet given by Hengist, the fair Rowena advanced, bearing a golden goblet filled with wine, and presented it to Yortigern*, who, having thus an opportunity of contemplating ber beauty, became enamoured. lie asked'and obtained her of her father, and, as was to be expected, she used an injurious influence over his mind. Again, it is said, that after the first war between the Britons and Saxons, a banquet, the scene of which was the celebrated Stonehenge, was held at the ratification of a peace ; but the treacherous Hengist had made his companions conceal their *seaxes,* or short swords, beneath their garments, and on his crying out, as had been concerted, " Lay hold on your seaxes," *(Nimetk eure seaxes,)* they fell on and slew three hundred of the British nobles, and made Vortigern a prisoner.

To return to the history. The Jutes were followed by the Saxons; a chief named Ella landed (477) with his three sons to the west of Kent, and defeated the Britons, and drove them into the wood of Andredes-leage f ; he again (490) routed them, and took and razed their town of Andredes-ceastre. He then formed the kingdom of the South-Saxons, which embraced the modern county of Sussex.

Another body of Saxons, led by Cerdic and his son Cymric, landed (194) to the west of the kingdom of the South-Saxons. They also were victorious against the Britons, and they gradually conquered the country from Sussex to the river Avon in Hampshire ; they also passed the Thames, and subdued the country as far as Bedford. These were called the West-Saxons, and the kingdom of Cerdic was named Wessex.

The Saxons at this time also established themselves on the east coast, where they formed the kingdom of the East-Saxons, or Essex, of which that of the Middle-Saxons, or Middlesex, was a part.

The Angles now followed the example of their kindred

* Her words on this occasion were *Wes heal, hlaford coming !* (" Health to thee, lord king!") from the first two of which was formed the old English *wassail.* The usual reply was *Urine heal.*

† The *Weald* (that is, *wood)* of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey is the remains of this forest.

tribes, and a large body of them occupied the country to the north of Essex, which was named from them East-Anglia. Here they were divided into two portions, named the North-folk (Norfolk), and the South-folk (Suffolk).

The country from the II umber to the firth of Forth was occupied by the British kingdoms of Deyfyr (Deira) and Bryneich (Bernicia), which were separated by the Tyne. The Jutes and Saxons are said to have invaded Bernicia in the time of Hengist, bnt without much success. At length (547) Ida, the Angle, landed with a large force at Flamborough Head, and he speedily made himself master of the country. It is not known how the conquest of De'ira was achieved, but in 560 we rind it under the dominion of the Angle Ella. Deira and Bernicia were afterwards, under the name of Northumbria, united under one monarch, and the kingdom thus formed was the most powerful in the island.

•The country south of Deira and west of Anglia was regarded as *march-* or border-land toward the Britons (whence its name of Mercia). It was chiefly settled by the Angles; a great part of the population continued British, and it was divided into a number of states. Mercia was at first, it would seem, under the supremacy of Northumbria, but a fierce chief named Benda cast off the subjection (626); conquests were made from the Britons and West- and East-Saxons, and gradually Mercia became extensive and powerful.

Thus was formed what is usually called the *Heptarchy,* or *seven* states, founded by the German conquerors of Britain. This term has been objected to as not strictly correct, for there were at first *eight* instead of *fterea* independent kingdoms; but De'ira and Bernicia were so early united under one sceptre, that it seems to us a needless effort after exactness, to change, as has been done, Heptarchy into Octarchy.

The Britons, or Welsh* as they were named by the conquerors, were thus driven back to the western side of the island. Their country, extending from Alcluyd or Dunbarton (i. e. Dun, or fort of the Britons) on the Clyde to the south of Lancashire, separated from Northumbria by a range of mountains, was named Strathclyde and Cumbria; they also

* The Anglo-Saxon word *Wealh* (i. *e. Gad),* and its kindred terms in the other Teutonic dialects, signify a *Gaul, stranger,* or *foreigner.* Thus the Germans at the present day call Italy *Walschland,* and the Italians *Walscher.* The Valais in Switzerland, the Walloons, &c., are all of the same origin.

held, and their descendants retain, the country named Wales; and, in the south, Damnonia (Devonshire) and Cernaw (Cornwall), under the name .of West-Wales, were long independent of the Saxons. Of the Britons of the conquered country part fell in defence of their liberty and property ; part sought refuge with their independent kindred ; the remainder submitted, and were incorporated among the conquerors in various relations of freedom or servitude. It is remarkable, that in these parts their language went entirely out of use* ; British terms form no portion of the modern English; few towns or lands retain Celtic names ; the chief vestiges of the Celtic having once prevailed over the whole island are the appellations of some mountains and streams.

We have thus succinctly related the conquest of Britain as it has been transmitted to us by the oldest authorities. We must not, however, conceal the fact, that but one, the British Gildas, can be regarded as a contemporary, and that from him we obtain hardly any details; while Venerable Bede, our principal authority, was not born till two centuries after the conquest; and as Christianity, and with it letters, was not introduced among the Saxons much more than half a century before his time, we are left to suppose that the genealogies of chiefs and the songs of bards were the materials for the history of the conquest and the succeeding century and half. How little real history these usually transmit is well known; in the present case, for instance, the numbers of the invaders are ludicrously small, and the names of the first leaders have such a mythic air, as to lead some inquirers even to doubt of their actual existencef. Nor are the tales of the British bards more credible than those of the Saxons, and the fame and the existence of their renowned Arthur are at least as problematic as those of Hengist and Horsa.

To proceed : all Britain was thus divided among the Anglo-

* See Appendix', C. In the ancient British, a*fon (abhan* Celt.) is a ' river' and *wysg (uisge* 'water' Celt.) is a 'stream.' There are three or more rivers in England named *Avon,* the same as the former word ; nnd t'.e EXP, Axe, Usk, Esk (to which we may, perhaps, add the Isi:?, Onse, and Wash,) are connected with the latter.

† Hengist and Horsa both signify *horse;* the white horse is the arvs of Kent and Hanover; the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, kept sacred white horses, from whose neighing they took omens. (See Palgrave, *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,* Part i. p. 395.) We do not, however, think that their names present any difficulty. Wolf (*Ulf)* and Bear *(Beorn)* were names of real persons: why then object to Horse ?

Saxons, as we call the conquerors; the Britons, or Welsh; and the Picts and Scots, north of the Roman wall. Ceaseless warfare, it will readily be supposed, prevailed among all these independent states; and the Anglo-Saxons, little heeding their community of origin, turned their arms as freely against each other as against the Welsh or the Picts. Milton has said that these conflicts are as undeserving of notice "as the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air," and this remark certainly holds good with respect to the general reader, though it may not apply with equal force to the philosopher or the antiquary. We will therefore content ourselves with selecting some of the most prominent events in each of the kingdoms during the space of about two centuries.

We shall begin with Kent, as it was in this kingdom that Christianity was first introduced among the heathen Saxons*. The following was the occasion. Gregory (who was afterwards Pope, and named the Great), happening, when a young man, to pass through the slave-market at Rome, his attention was caught by some boys, with fair long hair and blooming complexions, who were there exposed for sale. He asked the slave-dealer of what country they were; he was told that they were Angles. "With reason," said he, "are they so called, for they are fair as *angels*, and would that they might be cherubim, in heaven! But from what province of Britain are they?" "From Dci'ra." "Deira!" said he, "that is good; they must be delivered from the wrath *(de ira)* of God. But what is the name of their king?" "Ella." "Ella! Alleluljali then should be sung in his dominions." Gregory forthwith resolved to go on a mission to Britain; he obtained the pontiff's consent, but the people of Rome would not suffer him to expose his life to such peril. At length he ascended the papal throne himself, and he then resolved to make no delay in proposing the truths of the Gospel to the pagan Saxons. He selected a monk named Augustine, whom with forty companions he sent to Britain (596).

The conjuncture was favourable. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was married to a Christian princess, Berta, sister of Caribert, king of Paris: when, therefore, the missionaries landed in the isle of Thanet, and sent to solicit an interview with the king, it

* National hatred on one side, and contempt on the other, had probably prevented, or rendered unavailing, any attempts on the part of the British Christians to convert the Saxons.

was readily granted; hut Ethelbert, fearful of magic, would only receive them in the open air. They advanced, bearing aloft a silver cross, and a banner displaying the image of Christ, and chanting litanies ; then addressing the king, they explained to him the tenets of their faith. Ethelbert hesitated to embrace the new doctrine, but he gave them leave to preach it to his people, and assured them of his protection. Soon, however, the king and his court became converts, and his example so wrought on his subjects that not less than ten thousand of them were baptized on one Christmas. He gave up his own palace to the missionaries, and the church which they built adjoining it occupied the site of the present cathedral of Canterbury. Sebert, king of Essex, the nephew of Ethelbert, readily embraced the Christian religion (604), and on the site of an ancient temple of Apollo, in a wild desert island, as is said, formed by the brandies of a small river that fell into the Thames to the west of London, and which was named Thorney (Thorn-isle) from its appearance, he built a church dedicated to St. Peter,—the present Westminster Abbey. He also built in London, on the site of a temple of Diana, a cathedral dedicated to St. Paul.

On the death of Ethelbert, however (616), the new faith seemed likely to decline; his son and successor Eadhald, smitten with the charms of the widowed queen, made her his wife, and returned to the religion of his fathers. The sons of Sebert also renounced the new faith. Mellitus, bishop of London, and Justus, bishop of Rochester, returned to Gaul, and Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, was preparing to follow their example. Ere he departed he resolved to make one more effort to reclaim Eadhald. The night before he was to set out for the continent, he caused his bed to be made in the church. In the morning he came to take leave of the king, and stripping his back and shoulders, showed them bloody with the marks of recent stripes. Eadhald asked who had dared thus to treat a person in his station, He was told they were the chastisement inflicted on him, in the dead of the night, by the prince of the apostles, for his having thought of abandoning his flock. The king was territied; he put away liis queen, suppressed idolatry, and became a most zealous Christian*.

* As this is one of the first Romish miracles in English history, we must make a few remarks on this subject. Of the fact above related we see no reason to doubt, though most surely St. Peter was not the flagellator. From

Edwin, king of Nortlmmbria, was married to Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelhcrt, and at the request of her brother Eadbald he allowed (625) a missionary named Paulinus to preaeh in his dominions. Edwin's had been a life of vicissitude ; he was heir to the crown of Dei'ra, but Ethelfrith, king of Benicia, who had married his sister, expelled him when an infant from his inheritance. When Edwin grew up he sought refuge with Redwald, king of East-Anglia, where, from his manners and conduct, he gained universal favour. Ethelfrith sent repeatedly, offering large rewards to Redwald if he would kill him or give him up. The Anglian prince at first steadfastly refused ; at length he began to waver. Edwin was informed of his danger, but he refused to fly; the queen then strongly interested herself in his favour, and Redwald resolved to remain in the path of honour. Knowing that a war must ensue, he resolveu[1] to anticipate Ethelfrith, and he invaded his dominions. Ethelfrith fell in battle against him (616), and Edwin became king of Nortlmmbria, where he so distinguished himself by the strict administration of justice, that it was said that during his reign a woman or child might openly carry a purse of gold without danger. The king of Wessex, unable to face Edwin in the field, resolved to have him murdered. The assassin, named Eomer, came as an ambassador, and when the king stretched forth his hand to welcome him, lie suddenly drew his sword and attempted to stab him ; but Lilla, cue of the king's officers, seeing the act, threw himself before the sword, which passed through his body and wounded the king. The fright of the queen brought on [iremature labour ; the safety of herself and her babe was ascribed to the prayers of Paulinus, and with Edwin's permission the infant was baptized. A victory which he gained over the treacherous king of Wessex also contributed to dispose him to embrace the new faith, and after divers conferences with Paulinus, he called the great council of his realm to take the matter into consideration (626).

the earliest ages to the present day, that " the end sanctifies the means" has heen the maxim of the church of Rome. The fraud, as was apparently the case in the present instance, was often well intended, but still it was fraud, and therefore is to he condemned. The preceding narrative is given at full length by Venerable Bede. Dr. Lingard thus softens it: " On the morning of his intended departure he made **a** lust attempt on the mind of Eadbald: his *representations* were successful." Surely this is **not fair** dealing in **a** historian.

The first who spoke was Coifi, the chief priest. He declared himself satisfied of the nothingness of the gods whom he had hitherto served; "For if,'[1] said he, "they had power to bestow blessings, I, who have always served them, should have been most highly favoured, whereas the contrary is the case." One of the nobles then spoke, likening the soul to a sparrow, which in the mid-winter, when the king is enjoying himself with his lords by the fire, flies into the warm hall where they are sitting, and having flitted for some time around it, again goes out into the storm at another door. "Thus," added he, "we know nought of the origin or end of the soul, and if the new doctrine can give us any certainty, we should embrace it/' All assented; Coifi then proposed that the temple of Godmundingham, at which he officiated, should be destroyed, and offered to commence the profanation. It was the law among the Saxons that the priests should never carry arms, and should only ride on mares; but Coifi now, to prove his change of faith, mounted a war-steed, girt himself with a sword, and grasping a lance galloped on to the temple. The people thought him mad, and their amazement increased when they saw him hurl his lance against the fane; no opposition, however, was made to the demolition, and the number of the converts became so great, that for thirty-six days Paulinus was engaged from morning to night in baptizing them. The Christian faith was gradually adopted in the other states, and in zeal and piety the Anglo-Saxons might vie with any people of the time.

Of the political events of this period the following are the most deserving of note. In the year 626 Penda mounted the throne of Mercia, at the age of fifty, and he reigned for thirty years. He was a man of a violent, tyrannic character, ever at war with his neighbours. Edwin, king of Northunibria, and his successor Oswald fell in battle against him. Penda himself was slain at last in the battle of Winwid-feld, fought against Oswio of Northunibria *(655)* : his successor Peada was a Christian, and the Mercians embraced the faith of their king. The greatest of the Mercian monarchs was Offa, who warred with success against the British princes, and drove them out of the plain country; to secure his conquests he ran an entrenchment, still named OfiYs Dyke, from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Wye. Offa also conquered Kent and Essex; Wessex submitted to him, and by treachery and murder he gained East-Anglia. For Ethelbert,

king of that country, wishing to espouse one of his daughters, went in person to his court at Tamworth (792), in reliance on Offa's honour, though they had long been at enmity. **But** Offa, at the instigation of his queen, dishonourably caused him to be assassinated. The princess, however, had time to give the Anglian nobles warning, and they made their escape, hut Offa entered and conquered the kingdom of East-Anglia. **The** power and fame of this monarch were so great, that the emperor Charlemagne entered into friendship and alliance with him. Offa reigned forty years; after his death (794) Mercia rapidly declined.

The supreme power in Britain was reserved for the royal line of Wessex. It had already produced in Ina the ablest legislator who had as yet appeared among the Anglo-Saxons. At this time (781) Egbert, a youth of the race of Ccrdic, being deemed by the people to have a better right to the throne than Beortric who occupied it, was an object of suspicion to that monarch, and to save his life he took refuge with Offa, king of Mercia. Beortric sought and obtained the hand of Edburga, that monarch's daughter (787), but his request for the surrender of Egbert was refused. This young prince however, not deeming himself secure, retired to the court of Charlemagne. Edburga, who was a woman of the most vicious character, frequently made her husband put his nobles to death: at times she was herself the agent; and one day, when she had mixed a cup of poison for one of the nobles, the king by mistake partook of it and died*. The people rose, and drove Edburga from the country, and abolished the title of Queenf ; she went to France, thence to Italy, and king Offa's daughter finally died a common beggar at Pavia.

Egbert now returned from France (800), and occupied the vacant throne. lie concluded a peace with Mercia, and having devoted some years to the improvement of his paternal realms, at length (809) turned his arms against the Britons of Cornwall, whom in the space of fourteen years he reduced to submission. The power of Egbert now excited the jealousy of the Mercian king, and a war broke out; but the Mercians sustained a great defeat (823) at Ellanduen (Wilton), and Egbert then sending his son with an army into Kent, drove out of it the prince who governed it under the Mercians, and

* See the similar case of the eclehrated Bianca Capello at Florence in 1587 : Outlines of History, p. 358.

† Hence instead of *queen* we shall find the terra *lady* employed.

the people joyfully submitted to bis rule. The East-Anglians revolted, and put themselves under the protection of Egbert. The king of Mercia led an army against them, but be fell in battle; the same was the fate of his successor; and Egbert finally (827) invaded and conquered Mercia. lie then turned his arms against the Northumbrians, who submitted at his approach. The whole island south of the firths now acknowledged the authority of the king of Wessex.

We will terminate this portion of the early history by a few observations.

The resemblance is very striking between the heroic age of Greece and the early Anglo-Saxon period of Britain. In both the form of government is regal, and confined to particular families, who derived their lineage from the deities worshiped by the people ; for if the Grecian Basilens traced his pedigree up to Zeus, the Saxon King drew *his* down from Wodin (Odin), the monarch of the northern heaven. The same qualities of mind and body were required in the sovereigns of both people. The king was the source of law, and the administrator of justice, in Britain as in Greece; and if in one country he was aided by a Bide, or senate, composed of the nobles or chieftains of his realm, the same appearance is presented by the other in its "Witena-gemot *(Meeting of the IVltan,* i. e. Wisemen), or great council*.

The leaders of the Anglo-Saxons were at first allied Ealdormen *(Al dermen),* or elders †. When they took the title of King J, that of Ealdormen was retained for the inferior chieftains, or the governors of districts and towns. Some of the Anglo-Saxon kings assumed a still higher title, that of Bretwalda, or Rider of Britons, and these who held it are supposed to have enjoyed some kind of supremacy over the different states of the island §.

* See History of Greece, Part I. ch. ii.

† As the Grecian chiefs were called *yvpovres,* Horn. II. ii. 53.

‡ *King* is cognate to the Persian *Khan,* and perhaps to the Celtic *Cean* (head).

§ The Bretwaldas were Ella of Sussex, Ceawlin of Wessex, Ethelbcrt of Kent, Redwaldof East-Anglia, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswio of Northimibria, and Egbert of Wessex.

CHAPTER III.

KINGS OF WESSEX SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

EGBERT, 800-836.

AT the time when Egbert mounted the throne of Wessex the Anglo-Saxons had been for three eenturies and a half the occupants of Britain. Daring all this time they had been divided into separate independent states; and, as we have seen, warfare against each other or the original natives prevailed almost without intermission. A new and most formidable foe, of their own race and kindred, was now about to appear, and a closer union among their states was required. It would almost seem that Egbert had foreseen this necessity, for we are told that on his accession he gave the name of England (Angle-land) to his realm; and as only the West-Saxons were bis subjects, we may infer that he even then aspired to the monarchy of the whole island. It was probably at the court of Charlemagne, and in imitation of that great monarch, that he formed this plan of extensive dominion.

The foes with whom the English were now to contend were the Northmen (the people of Dei.mark and Norway), named by them the Danes. Like all nations in a low state of culture, the Danes had probably lived for eenturies with little knowledge of any country but their own; and though they may have possessed the art of ship-building from time immemorial, and had navigated their own stormy seas without fear, we have no accounts of their pillaging the coasts of the more southern countries till about the period at which we are now arrived. Some internal changes, of which we are uninformed, may have taken place at this time in Scandinavia; excess of population may have caused want; a spirit of adventure may Lave sprung up from some unknown cause; at all events we shall henceforth find the fleets of the Vikingar, or northern pirates, annually devastating the coasts of France and England. They were still heathens, and the martial character of their religion tended to augment their ferocity.

Their first appearance in the latter country is said to have been in *787,* in which year they landed from three ships on the coast of Dorset; and when the reeve of the next town attempted to make them prisoners, they slew him, and escaped

to their vessels. In 793 and 794 they made descents on Northumberland, and plundered the monasteries at Lindesfarne and Wearmouth. Prohahly from having hecome hetter acquainted with the political state of the island, they now directed their efforts against the south coast, and formed alliances with the Britons of Devon. In 833 they landed from thirty-five ships at Carrun (Charmouth) in Dorset, where king Egbert gave them battle. The slaughter was great on both sides, but the invaders kept the field. Two years after (835) a large body landed, and, being joined by the men of Devon, invaded Wessex ; but Egbert met and defeated them at Ilengistdune. The year after his victory king Egbert died, leaving two sons, Ethelwulf and Atlielstan, of whom the former succeeded to the crown of Wessex, the latter obtained Sussex, Essex, and Kent.

ETHELWULF, 836-858.

The landings of the Danes on the east and south coast were now periodical, but they were in general stoutly resisted Still the spoil they were enabled to carry off encouraged them, and every year their numbers increased. They twice took and pillaged London and Canterbury, and in 851, having defeated the king of Mercia, they advanced into Surrey ; but at Ac-lea (Ockley) they were encountered by king Ethelwulf and the West Saxons, and routed with prodigious slaughter. In 854 a large body of them came and passed the winter in Sheppey island in the Thames.

While his kingdom was thus endangered, king Ethelwulf, urged by superstition, undertook *(855)* a pilgrimage to Home, where he remained for twelve months On his way home he married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France. He had been previously married to Osberga, daughter of a nobleman named Oslac, who had borne him five sons, Atlielstan (now dead), Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethered, and Alfred. The. last was his favourite ; and the year before, though he was but five years of age, he had sent him to Rome, where Pope Leo IV. consecrated him as king, and made him his godson. During the absence of Ethelwulf his eldest son Ethelbald attempted to occupy the throne. On the return of the king a civil war was on the point of breaking out, but it was happily prevented by the moderation of the king, who, contenting himself with Kent, Sussex, aud Essex, gave up Wessex

to his son (856). Ethelwulf died soon after (858), and was succeeded by his second son, Ethelbert, in Sussex, Kent, and Essex.

ETHELBALD, 858-860.

Ethelbald gave great scandal to his people by marrying his step-mother Judith, but he divorced her on the remonstrances of Swithun*, bishop of Winchester. He died after a short reign, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT, 860-806.

The Danes now resumed their ravages. They stormed and burned Winchester (8(50) ; but as they were returning to their ships, laden with booty, they were fallen on and routed by the men of Berks and Hants. In 865 they settled themselves, as the Jutes had formerly done, in the isle of Thanet. Their neighbours of Kent gave them a large sum of money to purchase peace, but the faithless Danes took the money and then ravaged the country.

ETHERED, 866-871.

The reign of Ethelbert also was short. On his death (866) his next brother, Ethercd, mounted the throne, and in the very year of his accession, a large army of Danes, led by three brothers named Ilalfdan, Ilingvar, and Hubba, said to be the sons of the famous northern hero Ragnar Lodbrok, landed in East-Anglia, the people of which made peace with them and supplied them with horses. The pirates thus mounted crossed the Humber and poured into Northumbria, where the people were at discord among themselves, having deposed their rightful king Osbert, and given the throne to Ella, a man not of the royal line. The two rivals, however, joined their forces against the invaders and attacked them at York, which city they had taken; but the Northumbrians were defeated, and both their kings slain. The Danes then (868) entered Mercia, and took the town of Nottingham. At the request of the king of Mercia, Ethered led an army to oppose them, but they seem to have kept possession of the town. They next (870) spread into Lindcscy (Lincolnshire), where they were bravely resisted, but their numbers and their ferocity finally prevailed. They

* This is the saint whose day is supposed to have so much influence on the weather.

plundered and burned the monasteries of Medhamstede (Peterborough), Croyland, Ely, Thorney, and Ramsey, and then invaded East-Anglia. Edmund, the king of that country, a prince celebratetLfor his virtue and piety, offered them a gallant resistance, but he was defeated, and, being hotly pursued, was discovered, and dragged from his place of concealment. The Danes bound him to a tree, and, on his steadfast refusal to renounce his faith, they beat and abused him, shot their arrows at him, and at length, by the order of Hingvar, struck off his head*. The next year (871) the Danish host advanced to Reading in Wessex: the king and his brother Alfred led an army to oppose them, but were defeated. Four days after they engaged them again, with success, at Escisdune (Aston?), and in about a fortnight after the two armies again encountered at Basing, where victory was with the Danes, who were once more successful in a battle fought two months later at Morton in Berks. The king died the following Easter of a wound he had received, leaving his throne to this brother Alfred, a young man twenty-two years of age, who had greatly distinguished himself in the wars of this time.

ALFRED THE GREAT, 871-901.

Alfred first engaged the Danes at Wilton, and no less than nine battles, beside numerous skirmishes, took place in the course of this year. A treaty was at length concluded, and the heathens evacuated Reading and moved to London. Bullied, king of Mercia, to whom London belonged, then made a treaty with them, and they removed to Lindesey; but finding little to plunder in this wasted country, they poured, regardless of the treaty, into Mercia, and took a station at Repton (8/4), whence they spread their ravages over the country. King Burhed, despairing of being able to resist them, left his kingdom and retired to Rome, and the Danes made one of his thanes king, on condition of being their vassal, and resigning when required. The next year (8/;*)) they divided their forces; one division, under llalfdan, invaded and conquered Northumbria; the other fixed itself at Cambridge, whence it moved the following year (876) and came unexpectedly to Wareham in Dorset; but Alfred forced them to a treaty, and they swore in their most solemn mode (that is on their holy ring or bracelet) to depart, giving some of their

* The place of his interment was named Bury St. Edmund's, for he was canonised as a martvr.

chief nobles as hostages. Yet, heedless of all this, they made a rapid movement *(877)* and gained possession of Exeter ; but Alfred besieged them and forced them to a new treaty, which was better kept. They went hack to Mercia, where they divided a part of the land among themselves. In the midst of the following winter (8/8), however, they secretly collected their forces, entered Wessex, and seized the town of Chippenham, whence they ravaged the kingdom far ami wide ; some of the inhabitants fled over the sea, the rest submitted. The spirit of the king alone remained unbroken; bat he could not collect troops, and he was forced to lay aside all marks of royalty, and to conceal himself under mean disguises.

It is related that he took refuge for some time in the cottage of one of his cowherds, to whom his person was unknown. As he was one day sitting by the fire adjusting his bow, arrows, and other arms, the cowherd's wife set some cakes on the hearth to hake, naturally expecting that he would have an eye to them. She then went about her other household affairs, but happening to turn about she saw that the cakes were all burnt. She rated the king well, telling him lie was ready enough to cat them and go might have minded them. Alfred bore her reproaches with patience, and his quality remained undiscovered *.

Gradually Alfred was enabled to collect a small body of faithful followers, with whom he retired to a bog or morass formed by the waters of the Thone and Parret in Somerset †. Here, on about two acres of firm land, they raised a habitation, and led the life of outlaws, supporting themselves by plundering excursions against the enemy and those who had submitted to them, and also by hunting the deer of the forest and taking the fish of the streams. His abode here, however, was not long: the men of Devon had defeated and slain the Danish chief Hubba when he landed on their coast, and captured the Raven, the magic standard in which tbe heathens placed such confidence ‡. Alfred soon felt himself sufficiently

* As the Life of St. Neot is quoted as the authority for this anecdote in Asser's Life of Alfred, it is probably au interpolation. We see, however, no reason to doubt of its truth. The woman's exclamation is in Latin hexameters, the only ones that occur in the book. They are as follows :—

" Urere quos eerni-, panes gyrare moraris,
Cum nimium *(valde)* gaudes has manducure calenlcs."

† It was thence named yEthehnga-ige, or Isle of Nobles : now Athelney.

‡ It was woven, says Asser, in one afternoon, by the three daughters **of Ragnar** Lodbrok: if victory awaited the army, it would appear like **a live raven** flying; if defeat impended, it would hang down and droop.

strong to venture on engaging the Banish army, but he resolved previously to ascertain its condition and situation. For this purpose, it is said, he disguised himself as a gleeniau or minstrel, and entered their camp. The rude warriors received and entertained him joyfully for his music and songs ; he was brought to make melody before Guthrum their leader, and allowed to go where he pleased all through the camp. After a stay of some days he retired, having obtained the knowledge he wanted*. He then summoned the men of Somerset, Wilts, and Hants to meet him at Brixton, on the verge of the great forest of Selwood, and they came in great force, and mightily rejoiced to behold their king again in arms. He led them thence to Kthandune (Eddiston ?), and took a position in frotit of the enemy. A fierce and bloody engagement terminated in favour of the English : the Danes fled to their entrenched camp, where Alfred blockaded them for a space of fourteen days. A treaty was then agreed to ; the Danes gave hostages, and engaged to evacuate[4] "Wesscx ; and Guthrum pledged himself to receive baptism, which rite was performed about three weeks after, the king being his sponsor.

As was usually the case in these times, most of the Danes followed the example of their chief. It was further agreed that Guthrum should settle with his people, in East-Anglia, and a part of Mercia, acknowledging Alfred as his superior lord. Guthrum remained faithful to Alfred as long as he lived ; his subjects laid aside their predatory habits, and devoted themselves to agriculture. A Danish prince, named Guthred was, by means of the bishop of Lindesfarne, made king of Northumbria, and he also acknowledged the supremacy of Alfred. Ethelred, who was married to the king's daughter Etheltlcda, governed Mcrcia as alderman ; Wessex and its dependencies were under his own more immediate rule.

During some years the kingdom had tolerable repose, and. in these years Alfred employed himself in providing the means of defence. He rebuilt or fortified London, and other towns which had been ruined by the Danes ; he established a militia, assigning a rotation of military duty to all his subjects ; and greatly increased and improved his na\y, which he stationed in different divisions round the island.

* We question the truth of this .story. It is not told by Asser, who could hardly have omitted it (we first meet with it in Ingulf); it answered no purpose, as no attack was made on the camp; it seems merely a repetition of that of Anlaf, soon to be noticed.

The efforts of the Northmen were at this time chiefly directed against the Netherlands; but in the year 893 a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships entered the Rother in Kent, and going up it for four miles, landed, and formed a strong camp at Appledore, in which they remained for a twelvemonth. At the same time a famous pirate named Hastings, sailed up the Thames with eighty ships, and raised a fortress at Middeltun (Milton). The king came with his forces, and taking a station between the two armies harassed them greatly. The army at Appledore then set out secretly and plundered part of Wessex ; but Alfred came up with and defeated them at Farnham and took all their booty. They tied over the Thames, and entrenched themselves on the Colne, where they were besieged by the king. But meantime the Danes of Northumbria and East-Anglia, who had joined their countrymen, put to sea with one hundred and forty ships, and invaded the coast of Devon ; and when Alfred returned to its defence, the foreign Danes raised a fortress at Ben fleet on the other side of the Thames. The king's troops, however, stormed and took this camp ; among the captives were the wife and two sons of Hastings, to whom Alfred generously gave their liberty. The Danes then pushed boldly across the island, and came to the Severn, where they formed a strong camp. A large army of English and Welsh besieged it; the Danes had eaten all their horses, and many of them had died of hunger, when they burst out, and with great loss forced a passage and returned to Essex. Here, being reinforced, and having secured their wives, Ships, and property in East-Anglia, they set out again, and marched day and night till they came to Chester, which was lying deserted. The king's troops, which had been unable to overtake them, besieged them for a few days, and then retired. They stayed there for the winter, and then (895) set forth again, and came to the isle of Mersey, on the east coast of Essex, -whence they sailed (896), and going up the Thames towed their vessels twenty miles up the Lea, and formed a strong camp. The king, in the harvest, came and encamped near London, in order that the citizens might get in their corn in safety. One day as he was riding along the Lea, he observed a spot which might be secured, so that the Danes could not bring down their ships. He forthwith set about raising forts on each side at that place; but the Danes, aware of his object, broke up suddenly, and marching to the Severn, again raised a fortress there, in which they passed the

-winter; and the next summer (897) they went thence to Northumbria and East-Anglia, and having gotten ships sailed away to France. They still, however, harassed the south coast of England; and Alfred, who had built ships of war on an improved plan of his own, destroyed several of their vessels. As a piece of wholesome severity, he hanged the crews of two of them which had been driven ashore on the coast of Sussex.

As we are now approaching the close of this great monarch's reign, we will pause, and take a brief survey of his efforts to improve his people in the intervals of war.

It will not surprise any one who is acquainted with the general ignorance and barbarism of those times, to hear that Alfred, though the favourite son of a king, had attained the age of twelve years before he learned to read. When he was at that age, his mother one day showed him and his brothers a volume of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and said that the book should be his who first could read it. Alfred, who had always loved to listen to the lays of the minstrels, and whose curiosity was excited by the fine illuminated or coloured letter with which the book commenced, asked eagerly if she would really give it. She assured him that she would; he then took the book, sought out a teacher, and soon made good his claim to it*. The next book that he read was a collection of Psalms: this he always carried about with him, and it was his chief source of consolation in his retreat at Athelney. When his kingdom was settled he began to study Latin, and he translated from it the works of Orosius, Boethius, and Venerable Bede, and other pieces. His great object was to diffuse sound knowledge among his people; he therefore refused to promote the uneducated to office, and he invited eminent scholars from all parts, and gave them honours and dignities. His labours were not without fruit. "When I took the kingdom," says he, "very few on this side of the Ilumber, very few beyond, not one that I recollect south of the Thames, could under-

* As this is related by Asser, the friend and biographer of Alfred, its truth cannot well be questioned. Yet it is not without its difficulties, as will thus appear. In 855, when Alfred was but six years old, his father married the French princess Judith; we are therefore to suppose that the queen, Alfred's mother, was then dead. In 857 Ethelbald married his father's widow: he was succeeded in 860 by his brother Ethelbert, who must have been then grown up. In 861, therefore, when Alfred was twelve years old (and Asser says it was when he was twelve *or more),* there only remained Ethered and himself to contend for the book, **and** where was their mother **then** ?

stand their prayers in English, OR could translate a letter from latin into English;" vet he lived to thank God that those who sat in the chair of the instructor were then capable of teaching, By a regular distribution of his time into three equal parts, for repose, business, and study, this great prince, though labouring under a severe internal malady, was enabled to produce more literary works than any man of his time.

Alfred died in 901, in the fifty-third year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign. His character has, down to the present day, been the theme of universal applause, as the nearest approach to perfection in a man possessed of power that our nature has yet exhibited. His civil and military talents were alike great; his religion was simple, sincere, and unostentatious ; his love of truth and justice were remarkable; his passion for the acquisition and diffusion of useful and valuable knowledge was strong; he especially encouraged trade and mercantile adventure. The fame of his wisdom, justice, and love of his country, was so prevalent among the succeeding generations as to cause the most valuable institutions to be ascribed to him, though without reason or proof. But though we must thus derogate from his fame as a legislator, the character of Alfred as the good and great monarch remains one with which that of the emperor Marcus Aurelius can alone be placed in competition.

EDWARD I. (THE ELDER), 901-925.

Edward, named the Elder, to distinguish him from his successors of the same name, was chosen by the Witan to succeed his father Alfred; but Ethelwald, the son of the late king Ethelbald, resolved to assert his claim to the throne ; and assembling his partisans, he took possession of the town of Wimburn in Dorset. The king marched against him, and Ethelwald, though he vaunted that he would conquer there or die, stole away secretly, and escaped to Northumbria, where the Danes owned him as the king. He then went beyond sea to collect troops, and (904) he landed in East-Anglia, where the people at once submitted to him. In breach of peace they joined him (905) in an invasion of Mcrcia, and penetrated to Wiltshire. King Edward assembled an army and pursued them ; he ravaged all their country from one end to the other, and then retired, charging all his men to follow; but the Kentish men took no heed, and stayed till the Danes came

and surrounded them. The battle was fierce, and most of the leaders on both sides fell, among the rest the pretender Ethelwald; so that the disobedience and loss of the Kentish men was ultimately of advantage to king Edward, who in the following year concluded a peace with the Danes of Northumbria and East-Anglia. The turbulent Danes, however, could not remain at rest, and they began again (911) to ravage Mercia. The king assembled a large fleet to attack their coast ; the Danes, thinking all his troops were aboard of these ships, advanced boldly into Mercia, wasting and plundering ; but the royal troops came up with them as they were retiring, and routed them with great slaughter.

During the remainder of his reign king Edward gradually extended his power and supremacy over the whole island. The people of Northumbria and East-Anglia submitted to him ; the princes of Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, and Strath-clyde, and the king of the Scots, became his liegemen. In all his projects he was assisted by the Lady of Mercia, as his sister Ethelfleda was named, who governed Mercia after the death of her husband (912). This able princess headed her own troops, and gained victories over both Danes and Britons. She and the king turned their thoughts to the possession of strong fortified towns as the best means of securing the realm. The Lady fortified Bridgenorth, Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, etc. ; the king raised works round Hertford, Witham, Buckingham, Bedford, Maiden, Towcester, Colchester, Stamford, Manchester, Nottingham, and other towns. Oil the death of the Lady (920) Edward took the government of Mercia into his own hands. After a prosperous reign of twenty-four years, king Edward died iu peace (925).

CHAPTER IV.

ANGLO-SAXON MONARCHS OF ALL BRITAIN.

ATHELSTAN. 925-941.

BY the will of his father and the choice of the Witan, Athelstan, the late king's eldest son, mounted the throne. He was crowned at Kingston, but a part of the West-Saxons alleging that he was illegitimate refused to recognise him, and a eon-

spiracy to seize and blind him was formed by a nobleman named Alfred. The plot was discovered, but as Alfred denied his guilt, he was allowed, according to Anglo-Saxon usage, to clear himself by oath before a bishop. It was agreed that he should go to Home and swear in presence of the Pope; he accordingly repaired thither, and before the Holy Father swore that he was innocent. Instantly, it is said, he fell senseless to the ground, and he died within three days.

The first wars in which this able prince was engaged were against the Britons of Cambria and Damnonia, who strove to regain their independence (927). But their efforts were unavailing; the Cambrian princes had to come to Hereford and do homage, and agree to pay yearly twenty pounds weight of gold and two hundred of silver into the hoard or treasury of the [c] Icing of London'; they were to send him every year five thousand beeves, and,their best hawks and hounds, and the country between the Severn and the Wye was to become a part of Mercia. The Damnonians, who hitherto had dwelt to the Exe, were now driven beyond the Tamar, and completely reduced beneath the sceptre of Athelstan.

The king, in the hopes of maintaining peace, had given one of his sisters in marriage to Sihtrie, the ruler of the Danes beyond the Ilumbcr; but Sihtrie dying soon after, the northern chieftains urged his sons Guthfrith (Godfrey) and Anlaf (Olave) to cast off allegiance to Athelstan; "for in the old time," said they, "we were free, and served not the southern king." War was resolved on. Const an tine, king of the Scots, took share in it; but the power of the English king was not to be withstood, the Danish princes were forced to fly beyond sea, the Scottish king to do homage for his dominions, and give his son as a hostage (926') *.

Guthfrith and Anlaf embraced the life of pirates; the former died early; but the latter, more fortunate, made himself master of Dublin, in Ireland, and became the chief of a powerful piratic force. The king of the Scots, ill brooking subjection, made a treaty with Anlaf; the Britons of Strath-clyde, Cumbria, and Cambria readily joined in the confederacy, and when Anlaf entered the Humber (937) with a fleet of six hundred

* The king of Scots had, as we have seen, done homage to Edward in 921. There are, we apprehend, few points in history more certain than the vassalage of the Scottish crown from that date till the end of the fourteenth century. See Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Constitution, vol. i. ch. 20.

and twenty sail, the whole of the confederates took arms. King Athelstan assembled an army without delay, and the hostile forces met at a place named Brunnanburgh. It is said that Anlaf before the battle disguised himself as a minstrel, and entered the English camp. The soldiers quickly flocked about him ; the news of the arrival of a strange minstrel was brought to the king, at whose order Anlaf was led to the royal tent, where he played and sang as the king and his nobles sat at a banquet; he was then dismissed with a suitable reward. He retired, having noted everything in the camp ; but his pride would not let him retain the money which prudence had induced him to accept, and he buried it in the ground when he thought himself unobserved. A soldier, however, saw him, and on close inspection recognised him, and then went and informed the king. Athelstan demanded why he had not given information when he might be seized. The soldier made answer, that he had once served and sworn fealty to Anlaf, and if he had betrayed *him,* the king might justly suspect him of equal treachery to himself. Athelstan praised him, and then, suspecting Anlaf s design, removed his tent to another part of the camp, and the vacant ground was occupied by the bishop of Sherborn, who arrived that evening with his retainers. In the dead of the night Anlaf and his troops burst into the English camp, and making direct for the royal tent, as they thought, slaughtered the bishop and his companions. The tumult spread; at sunrise a regular battle commenced, and having lasted all through the day, terminated in the utter discomfiture of the invaders. Five Danish kings and seven earls *(Iarls)* were slain, the king of Scots lost his son, and warriors without number fell. " Never," says the poet who sung the battle, " since the Saxons and Angles, those artists of war, arrived, was such slaughter known in England."

After this great victory the realm of Athelstan was at ease and tranquil. The king of the English, or *of* all Britain as he styled himself, was highly respected by the princes of the continent ; the kings of Norway and Armorica sent their sons to be reared at his court; the son of the German emperor, Charles the Simple king of France, the Duke of Aquitaine, and Hugh the great count of Paris espoused his four sisters; and after the dethronement of Charles the Simple, his widow and her son Louis took refuge in England, whence the latter was named when restored D'outremer *(From beyond Sea).*

EDMUND (THE MAGNIFICENT), 941-947.

Athelstan was succeeded (941) by his brotlier Edmund, then only eighteen years of age. The Northumbrians immediately recalled Anlaf from Ireland to be their king; and Wulstan, archbishop of York, warmly espoused his cause. Mercia was forthwith invaded, and Tamworth taken and plundered; a battle was fought at Leicester, after which, by the mediation of the prelates of York and Canterbury, a peace was concluded, by wbieh Edmund was to rule south, Anlaf north of Watling Street*, and the survivor to possess the wliole. Anlaf, however, died the next year, and Edmund then (945) reduced all Northumbria. lie next turned his arms against the Britons of Cumbria; he defeated and expelled Donald, their prince, and blinded Lis sons, and then gave the country to Malcolm, king of Scots, in vassalage. Edmund the Magnificent, as Le is named, did not long enjoy his power. As the next year (946) he was sitting at a banquet with his nobles, on St. Augustine's festival, he saw at the table one Leof, who had been outlawed. Enraged at Lis audacity, the king sprang up, caught Lim by Lis long Lair, and dragged Lim to the ground; but in tLe struggle, Leof drew a dagger, and gave the monarch a mortal wound.

EDRED, 947-955.

As Edmund's children were young, he was succeeded by his brother Edred, a prince of delicate frame, but of vigorous mind. His dominion WAR acknowledged by nil the kingdoms of the island. Hardly had the Northumbrians taken the oaths, when they JO.- e in rebellion, and made a Norwegian pirate named Eric their king. Edred speedily invaded and laid waste their country; and ay he *n-mr.uwl* to return and do still worse, they deposed and murdered their new ruler, and submitted to the king. As Wulstan was the chief cause of disturbance, Edred, after confining him some time at Jedburgh, made him bishop of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, where he could do no mischief. Northumbria was now made an *earldom*, and not a *kingdom*, and the earl was appointed by the king.

* So the Roman military road from Dover to Chester (a part of which still remains) was named by the Saxons.

EDWY (THE FAIR), 955-959.

On the death of Edred *(955),* his nephew Edwy, the son of the late king Edmund, was chosen king, and Mercia became the appanage of Edwy's younger brother Edgar. The most remarkable man of these times was Dunstan, whom the church of Rome has canonised for his exertions in her cause. Dunstan was of noble birth, and even akin to the royal family, and his wealth was considerable ; he received his early education at the monastery of Glastonbury ; intense study brought on him while there a severe attack of fever, and there is some reason to suppose that it may have caused a partial derangement of intellect, for all through his life he was, according to his own account, (and we should not be too forward to accuse him of falsehood,) tormented by visions of evil spirits. His bodily frame was delicate, but his mind was most active ; he was master of all the learning and arts of the age ; he wrought the various metals with great skill; he excelled chiefly in music, and with the tones of his harp he sought to soothe his perturbed spirit, and banish the thoughts that agitated him. By his uncle Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, he was early introduced at the court of king Athelstan, where he won favour by his knowledge and accomplishments. But envy and jealousy soon showed themselves among the courtiers ; the proud jspint of Dunstan was roused, and he quitted the court: his enemies lay in ambush for him; they seized and bound him, trampled him under foot, and flung him into a marsh, where he lay till he was found and relieved by some passers-by.

lie soon after consulted his uncle on his future course of life ; the prelate urged him to become a monk ; but Dunstan loved a beautiful maiden, and he withstood all his arguments. Athelm then prayed that some evil might befall him to cause him to act right ; and Duncitim, viewing a lever, brought on probably by mental uneasiness, as a judgement sent from heaven, took the monastic vows at Glastonbury. Not content with the ordinary austerities of the convent, he built himself a cell too short to allow him to lie at his length, and here he wrought at his forge when not engaged in prayer ; his sleep was brief; his food barely sufficed to sustain nature. Here too the fiend assailed him; and it is said that late one evening he came in a human form, and thrusting his head in at the little window

of the cell, began to tempt the recluse with wanton language. Dunstan, who knew who he was, waited patiently till he had made his tongs red-hot, with which he then seized the tempter by the nose, and the yells of the tortured demon were heard over the surrounding country. The fame of the sanctity, the talents, and the wisdom of Dunstan spread over the whole realm ; king Edmund on his succession gave him the abbacy of Glastonbury, invited him to court and made him his chief minister, and his influence in this and the following reign was without limits.

The zeal of Dunstan was directed to two points; the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy, and the introduction of the monastic rule of St. Benedict into England. Hitherto the English clergy had followed the dictates of nature and the plain sense of Scripture, and entered, like other men, into the married state ; but the Oriental reverence of asceticism and celibacy had been gradually gaining ground in the Western church, and the Popes had possibly begun to discern the advantages they might derive from cutting the clergy off from all social ties, and heedless or ignorant of consequences, eagerly sought to enforce an institution which experience has shown to be the most detrimental to morality that has ever been devised. A Roman monk named Benedict had also drawn up a scries of rules for the regulation of the convent of Monte Cassino, over which he presided ; the superiority of these rules caused them to be adopted all over the continent, and the monks throughout Europe thus formed one corporation. The rule had been adopted at Glastonbury, but the English and British monasteries in general continued to govern themselves by their ancient institutes. Dunstan, a man of resolute character, and in whose heart all social feelings were now extinct, resolved to enforce the rule which he. approved, and the celibacy which he had learned to regard as sanctifying ; he had naturally to encounter much opposition, but like most reformers of his character, he was little scrupulous as to means, regarding them as justified by the cud, and he exerted all the influence and power he possessed to carry his favourite measures.

On the accession of Edwy the influence of Dunstan in the state began to wane; for the king, a youth of but seventeen years of age and addicted to pleasure, set himself against the new regulations in the church. Edwy had, in opposition to> his councillors and prelates, espoused a beautiful maiden of the royal blood, but related to him within the prohibited de»

grees*. On the day of his coronation, when his nobles were carousing after the Saxon fashion in the royal halls, the king secretly withdrew, and leaving them to their revels retired to enjoy the society of his wife and her mother. At the desire of the guests, Dunstan and one of the prelates went in search of him,.and entering the apartment, Dunstan abused Elgiva (so the queen was named) and her mother in the most opprobrious manner, even menacing the latter with the gallows. He seized the king, dragged him away to the hall where the nobles were revelling, and forced him to resume his seat.

Edwy had too much spirit not to resent this insult, and Elgiva naturally urged him to vengeance. Under the pretext of Dunstan's having made away with public money in the late reign, he banished him the kingdom. Dunstan retired to Ghent, but he had left a strong party behind him; at the instance of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, the people rose in rebellion in Mercia and the North, arid made prince Edgar their king; and in Wessex Odo forced the king to give up Elgiva, who by the prelate's orders was seized by a band of soldiers; her face was scarred with a red-hot iron, and she was banished to Ireland†". But when her wounds were healed she returned in search of her husband; she was, however, intercepted by a party of Odo's soldiers, by whom she was seized and ham-stringed, and she died in great torture at Gloucester. The unhappy Edwy did not long survive, and Edgar, now but thirteen years of age, became king of all England (950).

* We give this view of the case on the authority of the honest Saxon Chronicle. Its words are: "In this year (958) archbishop Odo divorced king Edwy and Elfgiva, because they were too sib" (*i. e.* near akin). There must, therefore, have been a marriage. The atrocious statements and imputations of Dunstan's biographers are, in our opinion, utterly unworthy of credit. He knows little of writers of this class who believes that they will stop at any falsehood in the cause of their hero.

† How gently Lingard tells all this! "Archbishop Odo undertook to remove the scandal by enforcing the punishment which the laws awarded against women living in a state of concubinage. Accompanied by his retainers, he rode to the place, arrested Ethelgiva, probably in the absence of her lover, conducted her to the sea-side, and put her on board a ship, in which she was conveyed to Ireland. At his return to court he waited on Edwy, and in respectful and affectionate language endeavoured to justify his own conduct and to soothe the exasperated mind of the young prince."

EDGAR (THE PEACEFUL), 959-975.

There is perhaps no just reason for supposing that Dunstan, or possibly even Odo, had given orders for the atrocities which their partisans had committed, but the abbot of Glastonbury certainly reaped the advantage of them. He returned- in triumph when Edgar was acknowledged in Mercia and Northumbria, and became his chief adviser; he was made bishop of London and Worcester, and Edgar forced the successor of Odo to resign, that Dunstan might have the primacy, with which he held the sees of London and Rochester. The married clergy were persecuted without mercy, and not less than forty-eight Benedictine monasteries were founded in England. The king joined heartily in this persecution, and the monkish writers have in return made him almost a saint. Their only charge against him is his fondness for introducing Flemings, Germans, and Danes into the kingdom, who corrupted, as they say, the simple virtuous habits of the people.

Yet Edgar's character was in some respects far from perfect. He broke into a convent and carried off a nun, at least a lady who had assumed the veil*, named Wulfreda, and made her his mistress ; for this Dunstan enjoined him by way of penance to fast twice a week, and to lay aside his crown for a term of seven years. But on another occasion, the monarch's guilt was morally, though not perhaps in Dunstan's eyes, of a deeper die. Having heard much of the beauty of Elfrida daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devon, he directed one of his favourites, named Athelwold, to visit the earl under some pretence, and see if fame spoke true of his daughter's charms. At the sight of Elfrida, Athelwold conceived the most violent affection, and he resolved to sacrifice his duty to his love. He returned to the king and told him that fame had exaggerated, as usual, and that Elfrida was but an ordinary maiden. Edgar then ceased to think of her; and some time after Athelwold said to him, that he had been thinking, that homely as Elfrida was, her birth and fortune would make her an eligible match for himself, and he craved permission to seek her hand. The king gave a ready assent, and even strongly recommended him to

* Malmesbury asserts that she was not professed *(sanctimonialis)*; Dunstan's biographers expressly say she was; yet Dr. Lingard undauntedly cites them as witnesses for his statement, that she " was a young lady educated in the convent, who to elude his pursuit had covered herself with the veil of one of the sisters."

her parents, and the fair Elfrida became the wife of Athelwold. But a courtier has many enemies, and the truth soon reached the ears of the king; he however dissembled his resentment, and only told Athelwold that he was resolved to pay him a visit, and be introduced to his new-married wife. Athelwold saw his danger, and having obtained permission to precede him by a few hours, hastened to Elfrida, and revealing to her the whole truth, implored her to use every artifice to conceal her beauty. Elfrida, an aspiring, ambitious woman, though secretly incensed, promised compliance, and Athelwold's fears were somewhat allayed; but what was his horror when he saw her come before the king in the full blaze of her charms, j\nd practise all her arts on the royal heart! Edgar still dissembled, but a few days after he slew Athelwold at a hunting party with his own hand, and then made Elfrida his queen *.

Edgar, named by his historians the Peaceful, was doubtless a prince of no mean capacity. His sway was supreme over the whole island; the sound of war was unheard during his reign, justice was duly administered, and the realm prospered; the kings of Scotland and Man, and all the princes of the Britons were his liegemen. In the sixteenth year of his reign (973), having celebrated his coronation at Bath †, he assembled a numerous fleet and proceeded to Chester, whither his vassal princes were summoned to meet him and perform homage. The morning following the day of that ceremony Edgar and his royal vassals entered a barge on the Dee ; each prince grasped an oar, the king himself took the helm, and they thus proceeded down the river to St. John's monastery, and having there heard mass, returned in the same manner to the royal abode.

The reign of this prince is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves in England. Driven from the plain country these animals harboured in the mountains of Wales, whence they descended to commit their ravages. Edgar changed the annual tribute imposed by Athelstan on the Welsh princes to that of three hundred wolves' heads, and so active a chase was kept up against the wolves that the race was soon extinct.

* It is but fair to add, that the authority on which Malmesbury relates this tale is apparently a Saxon ballad.

† This was probably the resumption of his crown on the expiration of his penance.

EDWARD II. (THE MARTYR), 975-978.

On the death of Edgar (975) there was a contest between two parties in the state, the one supporting the claim to the throne of Edward, son of the late king by his first wife, the other seeking to place the crown on the head of Ethelred, the son of Elfrida. Edward's cause, which was founded in justice and supported by Dunstan, succeeded, and he was crowned; but his reign was brief. As he was hunting one day in Dorsetshire (978), and came near Corfe Castle, where Elfrida and her son resided, he went unattended to pay them a visit. Elfrida received him with great apparent kindness, but while he was drinking a cup of mead on horseback, one of her servants, as he had been directed, stabbed him in the back: the king gave spurs to his horse, but he soon fell exhausted by loss of blood, and was dragged along by his horse till he expired. The appellation of Martyr was bestowed on this innocent and ill-fated prince, and miracles were believed to be wrought at his tomb.

It was during the reign of this prince that two events occurred which have led many modern writers to entertain serious and not ill-founded doubts of the sanctity of Dunstan's character.

At a synod held at Winchester (977), at which the young king and the prelates and nobles of the realm were present, the matters in dispute between the clergy and the monks were discussed. When the arguments had been gone through a profound silence reigned, all anxiously expecting the reply of Dunstan, who sat with his head hanging down as immersed in thought. Suddenly a voice was heard from a crucifix in the room, saying, "Let it not be! let it not be! Ye have judged well; to change were not well!" Even at the time some contrivance was suspected, and certainly the transaction strongly resembles a feat of ventriloquism, a power which there is some reason to believe the saint possessed.

Another synod was held the following year at Calne, at which the king was not present, on account, it was alleged, of his tender age. The two parties occupied different sides of the room. When his opponents had ended their arguments, Dunstan declared that he would commit the cause of the church to Christ. Instantly the floor gave way under the opposite party, and they were killed or maimed by the falling timbers; while the part where Dunstan and his friends were sitting

remained firm and unmoved*. This may doubtless have been accidental, but one may, without breach of charity, suspect, as Fuller says, " that Dunstan, who had so much of a smith, had here something of a carpenter in him, and some device used by him about pinning and propping up the room." Unfortunately the character neither of Dunstan nor of his church oiFers any security that such an atrocious measure would not be resorted to in support of the cause.

ETHELRED (THE UNREADY), 978-1016.

Ethelred mounted without opposition the throne which his mother's crime had procured him (978). Though *he* was innocent, Dunstan at his coronation pronounced, it is said, a malediction on his reign for the guilt of Elfrida and her accomplices ; and never was prophecy of ill more fully accomplished; though Dunstan lived but to see the beginning of the evil. The Danes, who had let the kingdom have rest since the days of Athelstan, now renewed their ravages. Sweyn, son of the king of Denmark, being banished by his father, assembled a pirate fleet, and appeared off the coast of England (982). Chester and London were taken and plundered, and the whole south coast ravaged. The Danes continuing their inroads, the Witan, by the advice of the archbishop Siric, agreed (991) to pay them ten thousand pounds of silver to purchase exemption from their ravages, for which purpose a tax under the name of Dane-geld *{Dane-money)* was imposed. But this cowardly expedient had the fate it merited. It served but to excite the cupidity of the Danes, and next year (992) they appeared in still greater force on the east coast. The English were now roused to energy; a large fleet was assembled at London, and it was intended to close the pirates in harbour and then assail them; but the treachery of one of the English leaders frustrated the plan. Alfric, earl of Mercia, having engaged in a conspiracy against Ethelred, had been banished the realm (985);

* So the matter is related by Dunstan's biographers. The Saxon Chronicle, Malmcslmry, Huntingdon, and others say that Dunstan alone escaped injury by catching hold of a beam. The account in the text seems to us the true one. Lingard, with his usual art, affects to regard this and the speaking crucifix as fictions undeserving of notice. The biographers are now, with him, silly credulous men, who compiled from materials of the worst description; but when the object is to charge the unhappy Edwy with the most incredible depravity, their evidence becomes unimpeachable.

yet such was his influence and power, that he was restored to his lands and office. As a means of securing himself he had entered into a secret league with the Danes; he now sent them intelligence of the plan for their destruction, and he stole away from the army the night before the engagement which took place. The king had the barbarity to put out the eyes of Elfgar, the traitor's son, to punish the misdeeds of the father. Yet ere long Alfric was again ruler of Mercia!

In 993 Sweyn, now king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway, entered the Humber with a large fleet, and laid all the adjacent country waste. The next year they came and laid siege to London, and failing to take it, spread their ravages Over the southern counties. The king and his council agreed to give them sixteen thousand pounds if they ceased, and to supply them with provisions. They therefore fixed themselves at Southampton, and food came to them from all parts of Wessex. Olave soon after visited the king at Andover, and was there baptized; he made a solemn promise, and kept it, never again to molest the realm of England; and on his return to Norway, he imposed his own faith on all his subjects.

Year after year the Northmen made descents on various parts of the coast, burned the towns and villages, and laid waste the country. The troops collected to oppose them always lost- courage and fled, their leaders not seldom setting them the example. In 1002 peace was purchased for a sum of twenty-four thousand pounds, and food as before. Meantime the king and his Witan resolved to have recourse to a most atrocious expedient for their future security. It had been the practice of the English kings from the time of Athelstan to have great numbers of Danes in their pay as guards or household troops *(Hus-carles)*, and these, it is said, they quartered on their subjects, one on each house. The Hus-carles, acting like soldiers in general, paid great attention to their dress and appearance, and thus became more acceptable to the females of the families than the Englishmen liked; they also, of course, behaved occasionally with great insolence: at the same time they acted very remissly against their foreign kinsmen, and were strongly suspected of having intelligence with them. It was therefore resolved to massacre the Hus-carles and their families throughout England. Secret orders to this effect were sent to all parts, and on St. Brice's day (Nov. 13th, 1002), the Danes were everywhere fallen on and slain. The ties of affinity (for many of them had married and settled in

the country) were disregarded; age, sex, or rank could claim no exemption; even Gunhilda, sister to Sweyn of Denmark, though a Christian, was, after beholding the death of her husband and son, beheaded by the command of the king's favourite, Edric Streone, the chief instigator, it is thought, of the massacre. With ber last breath she declared that her death would bring the greatest evils on England.

The words of Gunhilda proved prophetic. Sweyn, burning for revenge and glad of a pretext for war, soon made his appearance on the south coast, and during four years he spread devastation through all parts of Wessex, and round to East-Anglia. In 1006 the king and his "Witan agreed to give thirty thousand pounds and provisions as before for peace, and the realm thus had rest for two years. Tu this space of time measures were adopted for raising a large land- and sea-force; every owner of nine hides of land was obliged to furnish a man with helm and breastplate, and he who had three hundred and ten a ship*. The greatest fleet that had ever been seen in England was assembled (1009) at Sandwich, but it was as fruitless as the preceding armaments; and Brihtric, brother of Edric, having traduced Wulfnotb, the Child of Sussex, as be is called, to the king, the latter went off with his division of twenty ships, and ravaged all the south coast. Brihtric sailed with eighty ships in pursuit of him, hut his vessels were assailed by a storm and most of them driven ashore, where they were burnt by Wulfnotb. The king and all his nobles on bearing of this disaster quitted the fleet, which went back to London; and thus, after all the great expense of preparation, nothing was effected. Immediately after came a formidable Danish army, called from its leader Thurkill's Host, to Sandwich, and during this and the following year (1012) it spread its ravages almost unopposed through Kent, East-Anglia, Mcrcia, and Wessex. London repelled the invaders from its walls; but they took most of the other towns which they attacked, and Canterbury was given to them by the treachery of an abbot named Elfmar. They led the venerable archbishop Elfeab a captive to their fleet, in the hopes of obtaining a large ransom for him. But he stood firm against them ; he declared be bad no goods of his own, and be would not waste those of the church, which belonged to tbe poor and needy, nor "provide Christian flesh for Pagan teeth by robbing his countrymen for *them.*" They dragged him before a kind of

* This was the origin of ship-money, so fatal to the Stuarts

council of their chiefs, who were at a rude tumultuous banquet: their cry was "Gold, bishop, gold!" and when he still persisted in refusing, they pelted him with cow-horns and bones. At length one of them smote him with an axe on the head and killed him. Meantime Edric and the Witan, who were assembled at London, had agreed to purchase the departure of the Host for 48,000 pounds, and the king made Thurkill earl of East-Anglia, and took him and a great part of his men into his pay.

But all availed not to save England from the Danish yoke. Next year (1013) king Sweyn appeared with a large and splendidly equipped fleet at Sandwich; he sailed thence and entered the Humber. All Northumbria and Lindesey, and all the Danes north of Watling Street joyfully submitted to him, and gave hostages. Leaving his fleet and his hostages with his son Canute (Knut), and having made the country furnish horses for bis army, he advanced southwards, spreading devastation on his way. London, where the king abode at this time, having repelled his attacks, he went to Bath, where he received the submissions of the western thanes. Meantime Ethelred abandoned London, and took shelter in the Isle of Wight, where having bitterly complained of the treachery and disaffection of his nobles and generals, he sent the lady Emma, his wife, and his two sons, for safety to the court of her brother, the duke of Normandy, whither he was soon obliged to repair himself also. The royal exiles were most kindly received at the Norman court, and Sweyn became the unopposed ruler of all England.

The duke of Normandy, to wbom the king of England was allied by marriage, was the third in descent from Hrolf or Iloilo, one of the most formidable of tbe piratic Northmen in tbe days of Alfred. Harassed by the continual devastations committed on his dominions by these freebooters, the French king Charles the Simple agreed to surrender the province of Neustria to Iloilo on the same terms as Alfred had given up East-Anglia to Guthrum. Hollo thus became the most powerful vassal of the crown of France; he treated his new subjects with justice and kindness, embraced their religion, and sought to mitigate the ferocity of his freebooting comrades; by degrees the two parties firmly coalesced, the French language became that of both court and people, the manners and religion of the French prevailed; the province was named Normandy from the Northmen.

Sweyn did not long enjoy his new dominion; he died early in the following year (1014). The Danish host chose his son Canute king; but the English nobles and clergy met and resolved to recall king Ethelred, provided he would pledge himself to govern them better than he had done hitherto. The king sent over his son Edmund, named Ironside from his bodily vigour, and a solemn compact was entered into between king and people, he engaging " to be their faithful lord, to better each of the things that they disliked, and to forgive each of the things that had been done or said against him ; provided they all unanimously, without treachery, turned to him." A decree was then passed declaring every Danish king an outlaw in England. Ethelred returned and marched an army into Lindesey, where Canute was making preparations for war, and laid the country waste. Canute having retired to his ships sailed round to Sandwich, where he set the hostages given to his father on shore, after cutting off their hands, cars, and noses.

The next year (1015), a great council was held at Oxford. Among those who repaired to it were Sigferth and Morcar, the chief thanes of the Danish burghs * ; but the treacherous Edric having enticed them into his bower *(bure),* or private apartment, had them there slain, probably with the knowledge of the king, who immediately seized their possessions. The widow of Sigferth was confined at Malmesbury, whence Edmund the Athelingf carried her off by force and made her his wife, and in her right took possession by the strong hand of all the lands of Sigferth and Morcar. As Canute was now ravaging the coast of Wessex, an army under Edmund and Edric advanced to oppose him ; but no action took place, in consequence of an attempt of Edric to betray the prince. Foiled in his attempt, the traitor went off with a part of his forces, and openly joined the enemy. All Wessex now submitted to Canute, and he and Edric led their forces in the mid-winter into Mercia, burning and plundering as usual. Edmund vainly tried to collect a sufficient army to oppose them ; the king fearing treachery would not take the field, and Canute, having ravaged all the cast of Mercia, entered and subdued Northumberland, whose earl had joined the Athcling.

While such was the state of affairs, the troubled life and

* These were Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and Stamford.

† Atheling (from *ethel, noble)* is equivalent to crown-prince or heir-apparent.

reign of king Ethelred came to a close. He died on St. George's day (1016) at London.

EDMUND H. (IRONSIDE), 1016.

On the death of king Ethelred, all the Witan who were present joined with the citizens in electing Edmund the Atheling king; hut the Whan of Essex meantime met at Southampton and chose Canute king, and the sword was now to decide between the rival monarchs. Canute sailed up the Thames and laid siege to London, which was bravely defended by the citizens; and in the mean time Edmund armed the. men of Wessex. Having gained two victories, he came and raised the siege of London, and he again routed the Danes in Kent; but the traitor Edric, who had been hitherto on the side of the Danes, now sought a reconciliation with Edmund, who allowed him to join his troops with the royal army ; and at the battle which was fought soon after at Asingdon in Essex, while victory seemed about to declare for the valiant Edmund, Edric cried out, "Flee, English! flee, English! dead is Edmund!" and then set the example of flight. " Thus had Canute the victory," says the Chronicle, " though all England fought against him, and all the nobility of England was there undone. " Canute followed Edmund into Gloucestershire; where, that indefatigable prince had useembled another army. When the forced stood in *-Army* Edmund proposed to decide their claims hy single combat; but Canute saying that be, a man of small stature, would have little chance against the tall athletic Kdmuild, proposed, on the contrary, for them to divide the realm as their fathers had done. A meeting was held in the isle of Olney for the purpose, and Edric and" the Witan there arranged that Edmund should retain Wcsscx, Essex, l'kst-Anglia, and London, with a superiority over the rest of the kingdom which was assigned to the Dane. But before the end of the year Edmund was no more, and Edric is accused of having been the author of his death.

CHAPTER V.

DANISH KINGS, AND SAXON LINE RESTORED.

CANUTE, 1016-1035.

WHEN the death of Edmund wis known, the Witan assembled at London and decided that Canute should be king of all England, and they outlawed the family of Ethelred. Canute soon after put to death Edwy, the brother of Edmund; and he went that, monarch's two infant children to his brother, the king of Sweden, requesting him, it is said, to free him from uneasiness by their death. The Swede shrank from staining his hands with the blood of babes, and sent them to the king of Hungary, who brought them up carefully. One of them died; the other, named Edward, was married to his benefactor's sister-in-law, and had issue, of which we shall hear anon. Canute might thus have been so far secure ; hut the lady Emma had her two sons with her in Normandy, and duke Robert, their cousin, was inclined to assert their rights. To obviate this danger Canute sought and obtained the hand of Emma in marriage, engaging to leave the crown of England to her issue by him.

Canute divided his realm into four separate governments. Wessex be retained in his own hands ; Mercia wan ruled by Edrie,; Eust-Anglia by Tiilirkill the Dam:, and Northumberland hy the king's kin Km an Eric. But in the very first year of the new" monarch's reign Edrie. met the. reward of his treachery in the following manner. Mot content with Merecia, he sought more, alleging as his merits his treasons to Edmund. Canute replied, that he, who had been traitor to au old master would hardly be faithful to a new one. Eric then, probably in concert with the king, struck Edrie dead with a battle-axe ; his body was ilung into the Thames ; his head was stuck on the highest gate of London. Several of the English nobles were put to death, and their possessions given to the Panes; and these men, as was to be expected, treated the English with such insolence as drew on them their universal hatred.

Canute was the most powerful monarch of the age. lie was king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and superior lotd of Sweden and Scotland. England was his chief abode,

but he frequently visited his northern dominions, where the hostility of the Sclavonian Vends, who held the south coast of the Baltic, and the independent spirit of the Swedes, gave occasional employment to his arms. In one of these expeditions, the native English troops, commanded by Godwin, son of Wulfnoth, the Child of Sussex, being stationed near the enemy's camp, their leader seeing a favourable opportunity, fell on it in the night and completely routed the foes. Canute to reward Godwin gave him his daughter in marriage, and highly advanced him in wealth and honour. All through the reign of this king England was at peace; toward its close (1033), Malcolm king of Scots, and his son Duncan prince of Cumbria, refused homage, alleging that Canute, not being the rightful king, was not entitled to claim it; but the appearance of that monarch with a large army soon reduced them to obedience, and they acknowledged themselves his vassals.

Advancing age mitigated the original harshness of Canute's character; his rule became just and equitable, and he gradually gained the affections of his English subjects; religion also engaged much of his thoughts and time, and he showed his piety in the manner of that age by building churches and endowing monasteries. He even (1031) made a pilgrimage to Rome, and he engaged the princes through whose dominions he passed to cease from exacting tolls from the English pilgrims.

It is said that one day, while he was residing at Southampton, his courtiers were extolling his might and power. Canute ordered his chair to be set on the strand, where the tide was now advancing, and as lord of the ocean commanded it not to approach; but heedless of his mandate the waves pursued their destined course, and soon flowed around the royal seat. Then turning to his flatterers, the king bade them confess the weakness and impotence of all human power compared with that of Him who had said to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." After this he deposited the crown in the cathedral of Winchester, and never again resumed it. Canute died at Shaftesbury (1035) after a reign of eighteen years, regretted by his subjects, and confessedly inferior in fame and ability to no monarch of the time.

HAROLD I. (HAREFOOT), 1035-1040.

Canute left three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardacnute. To the last, who was the issue of the lady Emma, and was alone legitimate, England was due by the marriage contract; but Canute had by will appointed him ruler of Denmark (where he now was) and of the Danes in England, while to Sweyn he left Norway, and to Harold England. This last, who was on the spot and had secured the royal hoard or treasure, was supported by Leofric earl of Mercia, the thanes north of the Thames, and the citizens of London ; while Godwin, now earl of Wessex, and the English in general were in favour of Hardacnute. A Witena-gemot was held at Oxford, in which it was agreed that Hardacnute should be king of Wessex. As he still remained in Denmark, his mother Emma, aided by Godwin, governed it as regent. Her two sons by Ethelred, who were in Normandy, meantime fitted out a fleet and sailed over to England to maintain their right; but on coming to Southampton they found the people prepared to oppose them, and they retired. Soon after (1037) a letter was written in the name of their mother, inviting one or both of them to come over and assert their claim to the crown; and Alfred, the more spirited of the two, set sail from Flanders with about 600 followers. Godwin received him with much seeming kindness, and they set out for Winchester; but at Guildford they were all seized in the night by armed men, and next morning, being drawn up in a line with their hands bound behind them, one out of every ten was selected and set at liberty, a few were reserved for slaves, and the rest were inhumanly butchered. The unhappy prince was sent to Ely, where he was blinded, and he soon after died. Godwin was generally accused of this crime, Harold having, it is said, gained him by a promise to marry his daughter *. Emma not thinking herself any longer safe retired to Bruges in Flanders, where some time after she was joined by her son Hardacnute, and Harold dying (1040) after a reign of about four years, he was unanimously invited to occupy the throne.

HARDACNUTE, 1040-1042.

One of the first acts of the new monarch was to avenge on the senseless remains of Harold his own exclusion and the

* Dr. Lingard has, in our opinion, made a very good defence for Godwin.

murder of his brother Alfred; he therefore caused then to be dug up and flung into the Thames. The king imposed such heavy Dane-geld on the people, that commotions prevailed in various parts, particularly at Worcester, which town was stormed and plundered by his command. The reign of Hardacnute also was brief; at the wedding-banquet of his banner-bearer, a Dane named Towed the Proud, at Lambeth*, which he honoured with his presence, and where the drinking, as usual, was deep, he fell speechless to the ground, and expired a few days afterwards (1042).

EDWARD III. (THE CONFESSOR), 1042-1066.

Edward, the remaining son of Ethelred, was at this time m England, whither he had been invited by his brother the late king, and being of a timid character was preparing to fly to Normandy, when Godwin proposed to secure him the crown on condition of his espousing his daughter Editha the Fair. Edward assented; the influence of Godwin smoothed all difficulties in a great council held at London, and at Easter (1043) Edward was crowned at Winchester. To gain the affections o* his people he abolished the odious tax of Dane-geld; he at the same time resumed the lavish grants of his predecessors to their Danish favourites. His conduct to his mother was rather harsh; under the pretext of her having neglected himself and his brother after her second marriage, he stripped her of her property and confined her in the monastery of Wherwell near Winchester.

The power of Godwin was now at its height: he himself ruled Wessex and Kent, his son Sweyn was over a large portion of Mercia, and Harold a third son was earl of East-Anglia and Essex, so that his influence extended over the whole South of England. The remaining part of Mercia was governed by earl Leofric-†, Northumbria obeyed earl Siward; and England was thus in effect divided among three great families. Still Edward, though ruled by the Godwin family, never liked them; and in consequence of this dislike, or urged by that mean and mistaken piety which acquired him from the monkish writers the title of Confessor, ne never claimed his conjugal rights from Editha the Fair. Godwin gradually became

* The bride was the daughter of Osgood Clapa, from whom the adjacent Clapham, *i. e.* Clapa-ham, seems to have derived its name.

† This is the Earl, who with his wife Godiva is famous in the Coventry legend of Peeping Tom.

alienated from him, and the king's weakness soon furnished him with a popular subject of complaint. Edward, gentle and feeble in character and reared in Normandy, preferred the Normans, whose manners were more polished than those of the English. Numbers of them repaired to his court, where they were received with great favour, and the chief offices in church and court were committed to them. Their language, the Norman-French, also became that of the court. The popular jealousy was naturally excited, and Godwin secretly nourished it. At length an event occurred which brought matters to a crisis.

Eustace earl of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, having come over to England (1051) and stayed some time at court, proceeded to Dover on his return. He and his train entered the town in armour, and insisted on having free quarters. One of his men being refused admittance into a house, fell on and wounded its master; the Dover-man slew the intruder; the alarm spread; Eustace and his men got to horse, and came and killed him on his own hearth. They then went through the town slaying all they met, but most of themselves lost their lives in the fray. Eustace hastened to court to complain, and Edward without inquiry ordered Godwin to repair to Dover, as it was his earldom, and punish the town by military execution. Godwin refused, alleging that the people were not in fault. Matters speedily came to a rupture; Godwin and his sons Sweyn and Harold assembled an army, and demanded the surrender of the earl and his followers. The king called on Siward earl of Northumberland and Leofric earl of Mercia to come to his aid, and they assembled their troops, which were also joined by those of Ralph, a Norman, who had been made earl of Worcester. The two armies approached each other in Gloucestershire, but no engagement ensued, as the majority in both declared against shedding the best of English blood in civil contest: a truce was effected; hostages were given on both sides, and it was agreed to refer the whole matter to a witena-gemot to be holden at London. At the appointed time Godwin came with his troops to Southwark; but measures had been taken to reduce his strength, and finding he could not dictate, and that even his personal safety was not certain, he took to flight, and the gemot passed a sentence of outlawry on him and his sons. The king gratified his spleen against the family by stripping the innocent Editha of all that she possessed, and confining

her in the convent of Wherwell, of which his sister was abbess.

Godwin and his son Sweyn retired to Flanders, taking with them a ship laden with treasure; Harold sought refuge in Ireland. His earldom was given to Algar, the son of Leofric, and a nobleman named Odda obtained the west part of Wessex. When the king's power was thus re-established, his cousin William, the young duke of Normandy, came over with a numerous train to visit him, and having spent a short time at the English court, and witnessed the state of affairs, he returned home.

But though the Godwin family were outlawed they were not reduced. The old earl assembled a fleet (1052) in Flanders, Harold collected forces in Ireland, and having united their strength they appeared on the south coast. Sussex, Surrey, Kent and Essex declared for them; the peasantry joyfully supplied them with provisions; they sailed up to London, where the king was residing, and sent to demand the restitution of their honours. A denial being given, Godwin's troops became furious, but he retrained them, and having stationed them in the Strand (as the north bank of the Thames, west of the city-wall, was named) prepared for action. The king's troops were numerous, hut they were loath to fight against their countrymen, and he was obliged to yield to their desire of an accommodation. A witena-gemot was assembled, before which Godwin protested his own and his sons' innocence of all laid to their charge. His power was too great for his veracity to be questioned; all the forfeited honours and possessions were restored; the lady Editha also 'sat in her honour.' On the other hand, the foreigners with a few exceptions were outlawed, and the Norman bishops of Canterbury and Dorchester only saved their lives by a precipitate flight.

Godwin did not long enjoy his power: as he was sitting at the royal table the following Easter (1053), he fell down in a fit and died within a few days. The legend says, that the king had charged him with the murder of his brother Alfred, whereupon he cried, "May this morsel be my last if I did it!" and the piece of bread which he attempted to swallow choked him. His power and honours fell to his son Harold, who resigned East-Anglia to earl Algar, who had held it when he was himself an outlaw. On the death of his father Leofne {1057) Algar succeeded to Mercia, and he then resigned

East-Anglia, a part or the whole of which was given to Harold's brother Gurth. Algar was outlawed shortly after (1058) on a charge of treason; he retired to Griffith, prince of Wales, who had married his sister, and he so wasted and destroyed the adjoining country that Harold was glad to make peace with him and let him resume his honours.

Harold had also an opportunity of extending his influence in the north. Duncan king of Scots had been treacherously murdered (1039) by one of the subordinate chiefs named Macbeth, who then expelled Malcolm the heir, and seized the crown. Malcolm appealed to Edward as his superior lord, and by the king's directions earl Siward led an army into Scotland (1054), where he defeated and slew the usurper* and placed Malcolm on the throne. Siward* s eldest son had fallen in the battle; he died himself the following year*, and his remaining son Walthcof being too young to govern the earldom, Harold made the king confer it on his own brother Tosti. After a few years, however, the thanes, weary of the tyranny of their new earl, rose against him and drove him away (1065). They appointed Morcar son of Algar and brother of Edwin, who had now succeeded his father in Mercia, to be their earl, and Harold deemed it prudent to acquiesce in their choice, England was now in effect divided between him and the sons of Algar.

The king, who had mounted the throne at the age of forty, being advanced in years and childless, began to think of appointing a successor. He therefore had summoned from Hungary his nephew Edward, named the Outlaw, the son of Ironside, The prince came (1057) with his wife and threw children, Edgar, Christina and Margaret; but ere lie had seen the face of the king he fell sick and died, to the great grief of all the people. The king, it is said, then passing over the young Edgarf, made a will appointing the duke of Normandy nis successor. It is also said that Harold was the person who brought the duke the tidings of the bequest in his favour, but there is great contradiction in the various accounts of this

* "When Siward beard of the death of his son he asked how he had fallen, and being told that bis wounds were all in front, he said he was satisfied, and desired no better death for himself. When he felt his own death approaching, he declared he would die as a warrior, and arrayed in armour with bis spear in his band be breathed his last.

† If, as is asserted, Edgar was still living in the fifth year of Henry IL (1158) he could have been only an infant at this time.

matter. That Harold bound himself by oath to forward the views of "William is a matter of little doubt: how the oath was obtained is problematic. The common account is as follows : Godwin had been obliged to give one of his sons and a grandson to the king to be kept as hostages beyond sea; and they had been committed to the charge of the duke of Normandy. Harold having procured Edward's permission for their release, proceeded in person to Normandy to obtain them (1065). .Being driven by a tempest on the coast of Ponthieu, he was, in accordance with the barbarous usages of the age, made a prisoner by the count, Guy, who expected to obtain a large ransom from him. Harold sent to inform the duke of Normandy, the count's superior, of his being thus seized when on his way to the Norman court, and William forthwith ordered his vassal to transmit his captive to Rouen. Here Harold was treated with the utmost courtesy, and no objection was made to the release of his relations. William then took occasion to inform him of his pretensions to the crown, adding that the king intended to make a will in his favour: he desired the aid of Harold in furtherance of his claims, vowing the utmost gratitude, and offering him the hand of his daughter Adela. Harold was astounded, but knowing himself to be in the duke's power, he promised everything. William required his oath; Harold swore on the missal in the usual manner in presence of a large assembly; the missal was then removed, and there appeared beneath it a vessel filled with the bones of saints and other relics which William had caused to be placed there secretly, and on which Harold was now held to have sworn.

Another account says that the object of Harpld's voyage was to inform William of king Edward's intentions in his favour. A third and more probable account is, that Harold was merely sailing along the coast of Sussex on business or pleasure, when a storm drove him to Ponthieu.

The life of the feeble monarch was fast drawing to its close. Aware of the approach of death he hastened the consecration of the abbey of Westminster, which he had rebuilt. On Innocents' day (1065) the fane was dedicated in his name by queen Editha, and on the eve of the Epiphany (Jan. 5, 1066) he breathed his last, and was interred in the abbey the following day.

A prince more devoid of energy than Edward is not to be found in history. His very external appearance displayed his character; his hair and skin being remarkably white, and his

complexion rosy like that of a child. He was abjectly superstitious, for which he was canonised by the church, and miracles were invented for him. He was weakly indulgent and lavishly charitable. If he showed any symptoms of vigour it was in his love for the chase, between which and his prayers he divided his time. For the affectionate remembrance in which he was held by the English nation, he was more indebted to the Norman tyranny than to his own deserts ; his reign was looked back to as halcyon days between the rigours of the Danish and Norman rule; and the laws of the good king Edward (meaning thereby not his code, but the laws which prevailed in his time) were the constant demand of the people for near a century*.

It is perhaps not undeserving of notice that the Confessor was the first who touched for the king's evil.

HAROLD IL, 1066.

It was said, and perhaps with truth, that as the late king lay on his death-bed he yielded to the importunity of Harold, and named him to succeed. At all events, on the day of Edward's funeral Harold was crowned without opposition by Aldred archbishop of York. The southern counties, which he and his family had long governed, readily acknowledged his authority. To gain the good-will of the Northumbrians he made a progress to the north accompanied by Wulfstan the good bishop of Worcester. His efforts were successful, and to bind Edwin and Morcar to his interests he espoused their sister Editha.

The news of the death of Edward and the coronation of Harold reached the duke of Normandy as he was hunting in his park near Rouen. The bow, it is said, dropped from his hand; he stood a few moments wrapt in thought, then threw himself into a boat, and crossing the Seine entered his palace, and after an interval of moody silence, he called his barons to council. By their advice he sent to require Harold to perform his engagements and resign the crown. The reply was such as might be expected, a refusal veiled under specious pretexts, in effect a defiance of the Norman power. Forthwith William summoned a parliament of his barons at Lillebonne, and though the nature of their tenures did not oblige

* It is really amusing to see how Dr. Lingard strives to make something respectable out of the character of this royal saint.

them to cross the sea in the service of their liege-lord, they agreed at the impulsion of William Fitz-Osbern the Bold to aid in the conquest of England. Promises of rich rewards were made by the duke to stimulate them to exertion; similar promises were held forth in proclamations; and the flower of the chivalry of Britanny, Poitou, Anjou and other parts crowded to the standard of William the Bastard*.

The pope when applied to readily condemned the perjury of Harold, and he sent the duke a consecrated banner and a ring containing a hair of St. Peter, at the same time stipulating for a more punctual payment of the Peter-pence †.

Meantime William aided Harold's brother Tosti, who was in Flanders, and enabled him to collect a force of sixty vessels, with which he passed over to the Isle of Wight and began to ravage it and the adjacent coast. Being driven off by Harold's forces, he sailed away to Lindesey, but here finding Edwin and Morcar too strong for him, he went to Scotland, and at the end of the summer Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, to whom he had become a vassal, having entered the Tyne, he came and joined him. They thence sailed to the Humber, and went up the Ouse toward York. On the right bank of this river they were engaged (Sept. 20) by the earls Edwin and Morcar; out the English were defeated with great slaughter, and the two earls were besieged in York.

King Harold, who had assembled a numerous fleet, and taken a position with his land-forces between Hastings and Pevensey to await the arrival of the Normans, on hearing of the landing of the Norwegians, led his troops with all speed to the north. He reached the neighbourhood of York four days after the defeat of Edwin and Morcar, and came up with the Norwegian king and a part of his forces. Tosti advised his ally to fall back to his ships; but the proud spirit of Hardrada spurned at retreat. He sent three messages to his ships, to summon his remaining warriors to his side, and then retiring to Stamford-bridge, on the Derwcnt, drew up his men in array of battle; his array was a hollow circle, in whose centre waved the Landeyda *(Land-waster),* the royal banner of Norway; the outer rank fixed their spears obliquely in the ground, while the second rank protruded *theirs,* so that the

* He was the natural son of duke Robert by a maiden of humble birth named Herleva or Arlotta.

† This was an annual tax of a penny a house, granted to the Holy See by king Ethelwulf.

English, who were mostly cavalry, would impale their horses if they made a charge. As Hardrada was riding round the circle to inspect it, his horse stumbled and t&rew him. "Who is that warrior in the blue mantle with a glittering helmet that has fallen?" inquired Harold; he was told it was the king of Norway. "He is a large and stately person," replied he, "but his fall shows that his end is at hand!" Harold then sent to Tosti, offering him the earldom of Northumbria and other honours. "That offer should have been made last winter," said Tosti, "but if I accept it what will be given to the king of Norway?" "Seven feet of ground, or, as he is a very tall mall, perhaps a little more," replied the envoy. "Go back," cried he, "and tell king Harold to make him ready for the fight, for never shall it be told in Norway that earl Tosti left Harold son of Sigurd, and went over to his foes."

The fight began (Sept. 25): the English cavalry in their usual manner charged in masses, dispersed, re-assembled, and charged again. The ardour of their foes at length made them break their firm array to pursue them; the English rushed in at the opening; Hardrada fell pierced in the neck by an arrow. Tosti took the command; the troops from the fleet arrived: the battle continued till Tosti and every chief of name had fallen, and the evening closed on the complete victory of the English. Harold dismissed Olave the son of the fallen king in safety, and having taken possession of the fleet and booty, led his troops to York. Here, as he sat at his royal banquet, tidings came to him of the landing of the Normans in Sussex.

The preparations of the duke of Normandy being completed, a numerous fleet of vessels of all sizes assembled in the month of August at the mouth of the little river Dive, to convey his forces to England*. But the wind proved adverse for more than a month, and when at the time of the equinox it changed, and the armament put to sea, a storm came on, and though the greater part of the ships escaped to St. Valery, -near Dieppe, several were lost, and the shore was covered with wrecks and the bodies of the drowned. To appease the wrath of Heaven, William caused the body of St. Valery to be carried in solemn procession, and when the weather became serene the armament again put to sea, the duke's galley leading the way. This was the present to him of his wife Matilda; on its prow stood a golden boy, his right hand point-

* See Appendix, D.

ing to England, his left holding an ivory trumpet to his mouth. The vessels advanced so unequally, that when the duke reached the English coast many of them were still twenty leagues in the rear, and they would have been an easy prey to the English fleet if it had been at hand; but fortune favoured William in every way; the wind which he had deemed so adverse had only detained him till Hardrada had landed and drawn the disciplined forces of Harold to the north, and in that interval the English fleet had been obliged to disperse to get provisions, and the wind had not yet permitted it to re-assemble. He landed without opposition at Pevensey (Sept. 28), whence he advanced to .Hastings, and raised fortifications at both places to protect his ships, which were speedily blocked up by the English fleet*.

It is said that when William sprang to land from his galley he stumbled and fell. The superstition of the age might have converted this into an ill omen, but the soldier who raised him had the presence of mind to-avert it: seeing his hands full of mud, he cried, "Fortunate leader! you have already taken England! its earth is in your hands!"

Harold flew to London on hearing of the landing of the Norman; though he had lost some of his best troops in the late battle, and, it is said, had disgusted the rest by retaining the whole of the Norwegian spoil, he assembled within six days a force which he deemed sufficient to meet the invaders. He sent spies to ascertain their strength; William, it is said, caused these men to be led through his camp and then dismissed. As the Normans shaved the upper lip, contrary to the English custom, the spies told Harold that they looked like an army of priests; he laughed, and said, they would find these priests right valiant soldiers. Messages passed between the two rivals. William offered Harold the option of a legal trial of their claims, or a single combat. Harold replied that God should judge between them: his brother Gurth then urged, that as he had been so unfortunate as to be obliged to take an oath of fealty to William, it would be wiser for him not to enter the battle in person, but to let *him,* whose conscience was clear, lead the troops. Harold derided these apprehensions, and forthwith set out with his forces, in the hopes of surprising the Normans like the Norwegians; but William was too alert; his scouts brought him timely

* Hence the falsehood appears of the story of his burning his ships.

word, and Harold giving over his plan of a night-attack, the two armies took a position at a place anciently named Senlac, now called Battle, from the event, eight miles on the London side of Hastings.

It was the laudable custom of that age for the warriors to employ themselves in devotional exercises the night previous to a battle, and to hear mass and receive the sacrament in the morning. With this the Normans complied, while the English, we are told, passed the night in feasting and revelry. At dawn (Oct. 15) Harold drew up his troops on the declivity of a hill in one compact solid mass; their rear was protected by an extensive wood; each man was covered by his shield, and grasped a battle-axe, the ancient English weapon. The king and all his nobles, and other horsemen, dismounted and took their station with the rest; in the centre waved the royal banner containing the figure of a fighting warrior woven in gold, and adorned with precious stones; beneath it stood Harold and his brothers Gurth and Leofwin. On an opposite eminence the duke marshalled his troops in three lines, the first of archers, the second of heavy infantry, the third of his numerous cavalry in five squadrons; the papal banner was raised in their fisont by Toustaine the Fair; William bore suspended from his neck the relics on which Harold had sworn.

The Normans raised their war-cry of "God help us!" and advanced; the English responded by shouts of "Holy rood! God's rood!" A Norman knight, it is said, named Taillefer, preceded the army mounted on a stately horse, tossing his sword up in the air with one hand and catching it with the other, and singing aloud the deeds of the hero Roland; he slew two English warriors, but fell by the hand of a third. The Normans ascended the hill; their archers having discharged their arrows fell back on the infantry, but neither could make any impression on the English phalanx: the cavalry then charged; the battle-axe hewed them down; the Norman left wing, horse and foot, turned arid fled; the opposite English broke from the mass and pursued; a report was spread that the duke had fallen; William took off his helmet and rode along the line. A body of cavalry got into the rear of the English, who had pursued; the fugitives turned, and the English were all cut to pieces. Again the Normans assailed the English phalanx; firm and unmoved it withstood the shock. William then had re

of his horse feigned flight; the English again broke and pursued: a deep ditch, concealed by vegetation, lay in the way; pursuers and pursued fell into it pell-mell, but the English were destroyed as before. The same stratagem was tried with the same success in another part of the line. Still the main body of the English stood unbroken around their king; but William had directed his archers to shoot upwards, that their arrows might fall down on their enemies. By one of these Harold was wounded in the eye; his brothers were already fallen. Twenty Norman knights rushed to seize the royal banner; Harold was slain; the English broke and fled. It was now night, but the Normans pursued them by the light of the moon, and the fugitives turning on them in a place full of ditches, took a severe vengeance for their defeat. Thus was this memorable battle terminated; the victors lost in it a fourth of their number; the loss of the vanquished, like their number, is unknown.

William caused a spot near where Harold had fallen to be cleared, and pitched his tent there, in which he and his barons supped that night. He afterwards founded an abbey on that spot named Battle, in which prayers were to be continually offered up for the souls of those who had fallen. Though Harold's mother offered its weight in gold for his body he refused it. He caused it to be buried on the sea-shore, saying, "He guarded the coast when living, let him still guard it now that he is dead." He seems, however, to have afterwards relented, and the remains of Harold to have finally reposed at the abbey of Waltham, which he had founded*.

* We have endeavoured to reconcile the accounts of Pictavensis and Malmsbury. The former says that William buried Harold on the strand, the latter that he gave the body to his mother, by whom it was interred at Waltham.

According to the annals of Waltham, two of the brethren, Osgood and Ailric, followed Harold to Senlac. After the battle they craved permission of the victor to search for the body of their benefactor. Leave was granted, but they were unable to recognise it among the piles of the slain. They then went and fetched Harold's mistress Editha, called the Swan's Neck for her beauty; and her affectionate eye quickly discerned his mangled remains, which they forthwith conveyed to Waltham.

Knighton says that William gave Harold's body to his mother without any ransom, that he was not quite dead, and that he lived for nine months. Others said that Harold was conveyed alive to Dover, that he recovered of his wounds, visited several parts of the Continent and the Holy Land, and ended his days as an anchorite in a cell near the abbey of St. John at Chester. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Wallia;. Harleian MS. 3779. Turner, Anglo-Saxons, ii. 419. 6th edit.

Having now brought the history of the Anglo-Saxons to its close, we will pause and take a slight view of their political institutions.

The population of Anglo-Saxon England (exclusive of the kings of the blood of Wodin) was divided into three classes—the Earls, the Ceorls and the Theowes. Of these the Earls were the nobles, or landowners; the Ceorls *(Churls)* were their vassals, the class of ignoble cultivators and artisans, answering to the *demos* of Greece; the Theowes were slaves, whose wretched condition was the consequence of their crimes, or of their imprudence in contracting debts which they were unable to discharge.

The Earls and Ceorls were each again divided into two classes ; the former consisted of the Illafords *(Lords)* or great landed proprietors, and of the Sithcundmen, or those who by blood were Earls, but who had not property enough to make them Illafords. The Ceorls were divided into Heorth-fastmen or householders, and Eolghers *(followers)* or labourers and fanning servants. The Ceorl, also named Bonde* and Gebur *(Boor),* and in Latin Villanus (whence *villain),* seems to have been attached to the soil, in which however he had a property, and as long as he paid the customary rent and rendered the usual services he could not be removed. In all other respects the Ceorls were freemen and under the protection of the law. It is probable they were for the most part (like the continental *villani)* the descendants of the Britons who continued to hold their lands under the Saxon conquerors.

The Thane *(Then* or *Thegn)* or Knight *(Cniht),* i. c. Servant *(minister),* was originally one to whom, land was granted on condition of his fidelity to his lord. In course of time the word Thane became equivalent to Earl, and the Thanes were the gentry of the country, that is, all between the Alderman or Earlf and the Ceorl; and the king's thanes and lesser thanes answered to the two classes of the Earls.

The lands held by these classes were cither Foleland (answering to the Odal-land of Scandinavia, the *allodium* of the continent), that is, land held in absolute property, or Boc-land *(Book-land),* or Lcen-land *(Loan-land),* that granted by char-

* This word is still in use in the North of Europe. We find it still in *husband* (house-bonde), which answers to *the paterfamilias* rather than the *maritus* of the Latin, and in *husbandman.*

† After the settlement of the Danes in England, this terra, corresponding to the Scandinavian *Jarl,* was used as svnonvmous with Ealdorman.

ter and held on particular conditions, the *fief* or *feud* of the continent. The holders of all these lands were subject to what was called the *trinoda necessitas*, viz. the payment of taxes for the Bricgbote or repairs of roads and bridges, the Burhhote or repairs of fortresses, and the Fyrd or general array of military service for the defence of the country.

The first and lowest political division of the land seems to have been the Town *(Tun)*, answering in some sort to the Manor of the Normans*. It contained not only the land which the Illaford held in his own hands, but the land or feuds which he had granted by charter, and the folcland included within its limits, and some common pastures for the general use. A second and larger division was into -Hundreds †; and a still larger into Shires, above which there was nothing but the original Kingdoms ‡.

Each of these divisions,had its Mote or court for the administration of justice. That of the town was named the Hall-mote, as being usually held in the hall of the lord's residence. The lord had the right of executing summary justice on thieves caught with the goods on them; he could impose fines, etc. His officer was the Reeve *(Gerefa)* ‖, who represented him on most occasions, received all his tolls and dues at markets, etc., and superintended the Ceorls, by whom, however, he was elected to his office. In the Hall-mote we may discern the court-bavon with civil and the court-leet with criminal jurisdiction of the present day, while the Reeve reminds us of the modern steward of the manor.

The Hundred-mote or Folk-mote met once a month; it was presided over by the* alderman (whether of the shire or only of the hundred is uncertain), with whom the bishop of the diocese sat, and it was composed of the thanes or landlords whose demesnes lay within its jurisdiction. It was attended by the reeve and four good and lawful men from each town, and also, it would appear, by the priest. It took cognizance

* In Scotland and Ireland the word *town* is still used in this sense.

† Whether as containing 100 hides of land, 100 free families, or 100 tithings, is uncertain. North of the Trent the Hundred was called Wapentake, from the custom, it is said, of the suitors touching the *weapon, i. e.* spear of the ealdorman when he entered on his office.

‡ Some shires, such as Kent and Sussex, had been original kingdoms; others, such as Yorkshire, were divisions of kingdoms. The power of the Shiremote or county-court was greater in the former kind.

‖ *Gerefa* is the same as the German *Graf* a count or earl. From *Shirt-gerefa* we have made *Sheriff*.

of the crimes and misdemeanours committed within the hundred; it tried civil actions, and it was in this court that contracts were made for the sale of lands, and the money paid in the presence of the Hundredors, who could afterwards bear witness if required, and landbocs or charters were there read out and published.

The Shire-mote met twice a year under the presidency of the bishop of the diocese and the alderman and the gerefa of the shire. Every landlord in the shire was required to attend personally or by his reeve; the reeve and four good men from each town also appeared at it. The rights of the crown, of the church, and *of* private persons were here discussed and determined; grants and charters were read out as in the hundred-mote, with which it had much in common. In the shire-mote the laws which had been enacted by the king in council were received and published.

Far above all these courts was the great council of the nation, the Witena-gemot or Micel-getheaht (*Great-thought).* Originally each kingdom had its own witena-gemot, at which, beside the prelates and thanes, the reeves aud four men of the towns gave attendance; but when the regal authority was fully extended over the whole island, the witena-gemot became of greater dignity. It was held at the three great festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas. The king sat on his throne with the crown on his head and a sceptre in each hand, surrounded by his officers of state. The vassal Cymric and Celtic princes* were summoned to it, as also were the prelates and the earls and great thanes of the realm. Laws here were enacted, taxes imposed, grants made or confirmed, state criminals tried. The choice of a successor to the throne (but restricted to the royal line) was made by the "Witan on the death of the king.

Of the crimes tried in these various courts some were *botelos,* or inexpiable, and were punished with death: such were treason, murder, desertion in war, housebreaking and open robbery. Others were redeemable by a *were,* that is, a fine or damages: of these the most remarkable was manslaughter, as the *were?* of the different classes of society were exactly apportioned. Thus the *were* of a Ceorl or Twihaendman as he was named, was 200 shillings, while that of an Earl or Twelfhaeudmau was 1200; an intermediate class, the Sixhamdman, whose *were* was 600 shillings, are also named, and these are supposed with

* The Welsh are called Cyinry, the Scots and Manx were Celts.

probability to be the Sithcundmen. The *were* of the Earldorman was twice, that of the Atheling three times, that of the king six times as much as that of the Earl.

Compurgation was another feature of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. As circumstantial evidence was never admitted, every cause was decided on oath or by the ordeal. If a man was accused of a crime and there was not proof positive against him, he was allowed to clear himself by the ordeal of boiling water or red-hot iron, or he might swear to his innocence, and bring forward, as his compurgators, a certain number of his relatives and neighbours, who would swear to their belief of the truth of his assertion. The gradations of rank were of influence in this case also ; the oath of a king's'thane, for instance, was equivalent to those of six ccorls. The modern practice of calling witnesses to character we may observe, is compurgation under another form ; and in such cases the evidence of a nobleman or gentleman retains its natural and proportionate superiority of value.

The Anglo-Saxon system of police, named Freeborgh or Frankpledge, is also deserving of notice, but it is involved in much obscurity. It appears to have been of two kinds: the seignorial, by which the lord was bound to produce his vassal when any charge was made against him ; and the collective, by which the ccorls in their *takings* were *borghs* or security for each other. These tithings were of different extent in different places, the smallest number of persons in one of them being *ten,* whence they derived their name. The tithing was directed by its principal member, who was named the Borgesealder (corruptly *Borsholder).* The system of frankpledge was by no means universal throughout England. It became of more importance after the Conquest than in the Anglo-Saxon times, being found to be a good mode of securing the allegiance of the people.

Like so many of our other institutions, that of trial by jury had its germ in the Anglo-Saxon period of our history ; but in a very imperfect and elementary form. We have no authority whatever for asserting that there was anything resembling the modern practice of twelve sworn men being *judges* of the evidence given before them by witnesses. In like manner feudalism, as we shall presently describe it, was not to be found among the Anglo-Saxons, although there was a near approach to it in some points with them, as with the people of so many other countries. Thus with respect to the relation of lordship

and vassalage the terms Thane and Knight, and many places of the laws and chronicles give abundant evidence of its existence from the earliest times ; and even the peculiarity of a *relief* or fine paid on the death of the holder of a fief occurs under the name of *heriot*, it being a certain quantity of arms, money, horses, and in some cases hawks and hounds given to the king, in order to preserve the estate in the family.

Bishops were appointed by the king, subject to the confirmation of the pope; they were amenable to the witena-gemot, by which they could be deposed and otherwise punished if they committed offences. The inferior clergy if they committed secular offences were tried and punished by the secular tribunals. The lands of the church were in general subject to the *trinoda necessitas.* The clergy were, however, held in. high honour; the Mass-thane, as the priest was called, ranked in all respects with the World' s-thane or gentleman. In doctrine the Anglo-Saxon church agreed with that of Rome, and, as we have seen, it had its full share of errors, false miracles and pious frauds. We have, however, abundant evidence to show, that whatever might be the private opinions of some of the clergy, the doctrine of transubstantiation formed no part of its system of belief.

From this very slight sketch of their constitution, it will, we believe, appear that our Saxon forefathers were *a free* people. The rights of every one were secured by law and could be maintained in the various courts of justice ; the aristocracy was strong but not oppressive; the crown was hereditary and had its recognised rights; in a word, the framework of that wonderful political phenomenon, the actual British constitution, was there. We are of opinion, that political like natural constitutions are of gradual growth and development, and that as the oak is contained in the acorn, as in the child we may see the future man, so in the earliest simplest form of a state we may discern its mature condition. As far as experience has gone, it seems a nearly hopeless attempt for one people to try to imitate or adopt the institutions of another *.

* The reader desirous of fuller information on these subjects is referred to Palgrave's valuable work already quoted, Hallam's Middle Ages, Lingard's History of England, Allen's Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England, and Kemble's The Saxons in England.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM I. (THE CONQUEROR).

1066-108/.

AFTER his victory at Hastings, the duke of Normandy led his troops eastwards along the coast, spoiling and ravaging ou his way. As the people of Romney had attacked and defeated some Normans who had landed there, he hurued the town and massacred the inhabitants; he then advanced to Dover, which town was likewise partly hurned and the castle forced to surrender. After a delay of eight days on account of the dysentery which prevailed among his troops, he directed his march toward London ; on his way he was met hy a deputation of the Kentishnien, offering to submit on his engaging to respect their liberties and rights.

The Witan and the citizens of London had meantime placed the Atheling Edgar on the vacant throne, and ou account of his immaturity the direction of affairs was committed to Stigand the primate and the earls Edwin and Morcar; hut disunion prevailed in their councils, and many of the higher clergy it is said, swayed by the authority of the pope, or hoping advantage from it, were for submission to the Norman, who had now reached Southwark, which suburb he burned, after routing those who came out to oppose him ; he then turned, and having plundered Surrey, Sussex, Hants and Berks, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, whence he moved to Berkhamstead. Bucks and Herts were now laid waste ; the supplies **were cut off** from **London; Edwin and Morcar had** retired

home. Resistance seeming hopeless, Stigand and deputies on the part of the clergy and people entered the camp of the Norman and swore fealty to him. The following Christmas was appointed for his coronation; he meanwhile encamped a. few miles from the city till a fortress (the origin of the present Tower) should have been raised for his security. On the appointed day (December 25) he proceeded to Westminster Abbey, where the ceremony was to be performed by the archbishop of York (Stigand being under a sentence of suspension). A guard of Norman horse surrounded the abbey, in which the English were already assembled. William entered with his nobles; the ceremony began; the bishop of Constance asked the Normans in French if they would have their duke crowned king of England; a similar question was put to the English in Saxon by the prelate of York. Instantly a loud cry of assent arose from all parts of the edifice. The Normans outside fancying, or pretending to do so, that the English were assailing those within, set lire to the neighbouring houses; those who were in the church rushed out, the English to save their lives and property, the Normans to share in the plunder, and William was left alone with the archbishop and a few ecclesiastics of both nations. The trembling priests received from the monarch, whose terror nearly equalled their own, an oath to govern the English people as they had been governed by the best of their native kings.

William, who is henceforth named the Conqueror*, manifested a laudable anxiety to gain the affections of his new subjects ; he granted new privileges to the citizens of London ; he. put down the bands of robbers which now infested the country; he protected travellers and merchants ; he was accessible to all; he even made an attempt to learn the English language. At Barking, whither he retired after his coronation, he was waited on by Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, Coxo, and a crowd of other nobles and thanes, who did him homage and were confirmed in their estates and honours. He then made a progress through the neighbouring counties to gain the people by his affability and courtesy.

To reward his followers he confiscated the estates of those who had fought against him at Hastings, affecting to regard them as traitors. By these foreigners who thus settled in

* *Conqucestor.* It simply means *acquirer;* he claimed the crown by legal right.

England numerous castles were erected to secure their possessions, and in each town the king raised a fortress in which he placed a Norman garrison. These measures occupied his attention during the early part of the year (1067); in the month of March, in compliance with the desires of his Norman subjects, he prepared to revisit Normandy; and having committed the direction of affairs in England to Odo bishop of Bayeux, his uterine brother, and William Fitz-Osbern, he led such of his troops as were returning home to Pevensey, where having distributed rich presents among them he embarked, taking with him Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, Stigand and other English of note, under the pretext of doing them honour, but in reality that they might serve as hostages for the obedience of the people. He was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by his native subjects, who were amazed at the quantity of wealth he had acquired, and who gazed in surprise at the magnificence displayed by his English followers. To the monasteries which had put up prayers for his success he made costly offerings; to the pope he sent the banner of Harold and a large quantity of gold and silver.

While William was thus displaying his liberality in Normandy, those whom he had left behind in England were driving the people to desperation by their tyranny and oppression, and it was in vain that redress was sought from the regents, who gave no heed to their complaints. Resistance therefore began to be made in various parts; the people of Kent invited over Eustace count of Boulogne to their aid, offering to put him in possession of Dover. He landed and was joined by the neighbouring people, but failing to take the castle by assault, he lost courage and re-embarked his troops with some loss. In Hereford the English under the command of a chief named Edric the Wild and aided by the Welsh drove the Normans out of the country. A general confederacy against the strangers was organised; the nobles who had submitted were secretly invited to put themselves at the head of it, and Coxo was actually assassinated for persisting in his fidelity to the Conqueror.

When intelligence of what was going on came to the ears of William he returned to England without delay, although it was now mid-winter. He kept his Christmas at London, where he lavished his caresses on the English prelates and nobles who appeared at court, and issued a proclamation to the citizens, assuring them of his intention to govern them according to their

ancient laws and to secure them in their property. Having thus soothed the people of London he set out (1068) with his troops for Devon, where the people were in arms, and laid siege to Exeter. As he was approaching the town, a deputation met him offering to pay as tribute a sum equal to what they had paid their former kings, but declining to swear allegiance ; he refused to listen to these terms ; his troops advanced to the assault, the English being placed in front; ere the assault was made, the magistrates came forth, sued for peace and gave hostages; but on their return the citizens refused to ratify the peace, closed the gates and prepared for defence. William then put out the eyes of one of the hostages in their view and invested the town; the siege lasted eighteen days with great loss on the part of the besiegers ; at length the walls were undermined and the city was forced to surrender. The whole of Devonshire and the adjoining British Cornwall were speedily reduce*] ; about the name time Somerset and Gloucester were also subdued and the land seized and divided.

Those who were dispossessed of their lands, and the lovers of liberty in general, gradually retired to the north, whither the Normans had not *as* yet penetrated. Edwin, Morear and oilier chiefs secretly repaired thither; an alliance was formed with the Welsh and with Malcolm king of Scotland (at whose court Edgar had taken refuge, and who afterwards married his sister Margaret), and an extensive plan of resistance to the Normans was formed. It is said that in the conquered country a secret plan for assusinting the Normans (like the Danes in the time of Ethclred) ou a festival, when they would be without arms, was projected, but it was discovered, and those most deeply engaged in it had to seek safety in flight. William, resolving to strike the fhbt blow, led his troops northwards ; he took Oxford by assauh, massacred the inhabitants, and bullied a great part of the town. The name was the fate of "Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham and Derby; Lincoln was forced to capitulate, and William then crossed the Humber. The English and their confederates gave him battle; they were routed and fled to York ; that city also was taken by assault, and all in it massacred without distinction; a fortress was erected there and strongly garrisoned to keep the surrounding country in awe. It does not appear that the king marched much further north, for the Normans were grown weary of the service, and desirous of returning to their wives and families.

The next year (1069) Edmund and Godwin the sons of Harold came with some ships from Ireland, and made descents in Somerset and Devon, where the people rose against the Normans, but their efforts were crushed by the troops (chiefly English) sent against them, and the sons of Harold were forced to retire. The people of Cheshire and the adjoining country also rose, but the king marched in person against them, and one battle crushed their hopes. But though the English no longer made head in the field, their irregular bands did the Normans great mischief, and frequent ambuscades kept the enemy in terror. The governor of York wrote to the king to say, that unless reinforced he could not hold out; William hastened thither and found the Castle actually besieged; he speedily dispersed the assailants and then commenced the erection of a second castle; and being resolved to extend his dominion, he sent Robert de Comines or Cumin with twelve hundred horsemen and a large number of footmen to occupy the city of Durham. As Cumin approached that town the bishop came to meet him and warned him of his danger; but he treated the warning with contempt, and having put some of the inhabitants to death he took up his quarters in the bishop's house. In the night beacons flamed on all the adjacent heights, and at dawn the gates of the town were forced and the English poured in and slaughtered the Normans; the bishop's house was set on fire and Cumin and all in it perished. Troops were ordered from York and elsewhere to avenge this massacre, but the soldiers on reaching Northallerton refused to advance.

The people of the north and east of England ceased not to solicit their kinsmen of Denmark to come to their aid against the Normans; William, on his part, sent his most adroit bishops with rich presents to Sweyn king of Denmark to induce him to remain at peace. But the Danish monarch, urged by his subjects, sent this year a fleet of two hundred and forty ships under his brother and his two sons, which entered the Humber in the autumn; the people rose to join them; Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, and the other exiles hastened from Scotland, and their united forces advanced joyfully and confidently to the attack of York. The townspeople aided the invaders; the castles were carried by assault, the garrison slaughtered, the governors led prisoners to the Danish fleet, and the castles rased. The Danes then stationed their fleet for the winter in the Humber, Ouse, and Trent.

This invasion of the Danes, and the capture of York, caused William great concern. To secure the obedience of the English of the south he restrained the insolence of his soldiers, and made some slight concessions, but he best succeeded in weakening his enemies by prevailing on the uncle of the Danish princes, by the promise of a large sum of money, to induce them to depart at the end of winter. He then (1070) set out for York, at the head of his best troops, and carried the city by assault. Edgar and the other chiefs fled to Scotland; the Normans spread over Northumberland, burning towns and villages, and slaughtering men and cattle alike; and from the Humber to the Tyne there did not remain an inhabited town or a field in cultivation; all was one desert covered with ruins of towns, houses and convents; the lands of St. John of Beverley alone escaped the general calamity, owing, says the legend, to the visible interposition of the saint. On the banks of the Tees, Waltheof and other chiefs entered the camp of the conqueror and made their submissions anew, and Waltheof received the hand of his niece Judith, and the earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton. William then had the regalia brought to York, where he kept his Christmas in great pomp. But meantime famine preyed on the wretched country, and more than one hundred thousand persons perished north of the Humber.

All England was now subdued under the Normans. The inferior people, in general, submitted to the yoke they could not avoid; the higher classes had partly fallen in the field, or by the sentence of military tribunals; some had fled to Scotland, some to the north; a band of daring spirits, led by Siward earl of Gloucester, went by sea to Constantinople, where the emperors had long kept in pay a body-guard of Scandinavians, named Varangs *(Warriors)*, and entered into this service, and others soon followed their example. Others again took to the woods at home, whence they issued and attacked the Normans on the highways, and plundered those who had submitted to them. The chief seat of these outlaws, as they were named, were the isles of Ely and Thorney, in the fens of Cambridgeshire; their Camp of Refuge, as it was called, was secured by defences of earth and wood, and several nobles and spiritual dignitaries gradually repaired to it.

William now (1071) proceeded, in concert with the pope, who sent three legates for the purpose, to depose, under various pretexts, the principal Saxon prelates and abbots, and

give their places to strangers. Stigand was deprived of Canterbury, and that see given to Lanfranc, a Lombard by oirth, and Thomas, one of the king's chaplains, obtained that of York, the ancient claims of which to equality with Canterbury he was forced to resign, and Lanfranc was now styled the primate and father of all the churches in England. Many of these new dignitaries lived in a state of continued hostility with the clergy under them, whom they insulted, persecuted, robbed, and sometimes even murdered.

There was at this time living in Flanders an Englishman named Hereward. On hearing from the exiles that his father was dead, his heritage given to a Norman, and his mother in great distress, he set out for England, and assembling a troop of his relations, he attacked and expelled the intruder. Necessity obliging him *to* maintain by force what he had seized by force, he was engaged in ceaseless conflicts with the Normans ; and as he was mostly victorious, his fame spread far and wide, and his deeds were the theme of the popular ballads; his lands lying at Brunn (Bourne) near Croyland, his exploits were well known to those in the Camp of Refuge, and at their request he went thither and took the chief command.

The efforts of Ivo de Taille-bois, an Angevin, to whom William had given lands in that neighbourhood, and Turauld the Norman abbot of Peterborough, to reduce the outlaws, proving fruitless, the king took the field in person against them. To reach their retreat he found it necessary to construct a causeway three miles in length over the marshes. Hereward, by his sorties, so impeded the work, that the Normans fancied he was aided by the evil one, and to fight him at his own weapons Taille-bois brought a sorceress and placed her in a wooden tower, in advance of the works, to perform her incantations. But Hereward made a sudden sally, set fire to the reeds, and burnt the sorceress and most of the soldiers that were at work. At length treachery effected what force could not achieve ; the monks of a convent in the Isle of Ely, weary of privation, sent to say to the king, that if he pledged himself to leave them their property, they would enable his troops to enter the isle unperceived*. This offer was accepted; the camp was suddenly assailed; many were slain, the rest forced to surrender. Hereward and a few other brave men made their escape through the marshes, and he continued to be, as

Dr. Lingard, of course, takes no notice of this transaction.

before, the **terror of** the Normans. At length, if we may trust the very dubious authority of a metrical history, a Saxon lady named Alftrud, who had large possessions, charmed with his valour, gave him her hand, and at her desire he made his peace with the king. But the Normans, who dreaded him, gave him no rest; and one day, as he was sleeping in the open air after his dinner, he was fallen on by a troop of armed men. "With only a short lance and his sword, he killed, says the rhymer, sixteen of the assailants before he fell *, and it became a cpmmon saying, that if England had had three more like him, it had never been conquered. The treacherous monks of Ely suffered (and no one can pity tbem) for their treason to their country; a party of Norman soldiers was quartered on them ; they had to pay 1000 marks; their plate and ornaments were seized, and their lands divided into military fiefs for the Normans. Morcar was sent a prisoner to the continent, where he remained during the lifetime of William. When his brother Edwin heard of his captivity he attempted to raise a force in the North, but he was betrayed by three of his followers, and his flight being impeded by a stream which was swollen by the influx of the tide, he was slain after a gallant defence. The traitors brought his head to the Conqueror, but their reward was perpetual banishment. Lucy, the sister of Edwin and Morcar, was given in marriage, with all their possessions, to Taille-bois, who exercised over his English vassals the utmost tyranny and oppression.

After the reduction of the outlaws of Ely, William led his troops northwards. lie entered Scotland and marched unopposed to the banks of the Tay, and Malcolm was forced to do him homage for his kingdom. Soon after (1073) William with an army *of* English passed over to the continent to take advantage of a dispute between the count of Maine and his subjects. The mingled valour and ferocity of the English could not be withstood; and the whole province submitted to William, who led his troops laden with booty back to Normandy.

While William was absent (1075), a rebellion, headed by Norman nobles, broke out in England. Roger earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz-Osbcrn, had engaged his sister Emma to ltaulf de Guader, a Breton,-earl of Norfolk. The king,

* MS. poem of Gayomer quoted by Thierry. Ingulf simply says, that he made his peace with the king, ended his days in tranquillity, and was buried with his wife Thurfred at Croyland.

it is not known why, sent to forbid the match; hut heedless of the royal mandate, Roger conducted his sister to Norwich, and the wedding feast, to which Norman, Saxon, and Welsh nobles and prelates were invited, was held. When heated with wine the guests gave a loose to their tongues against the king, abusing his birth, and declaiming against his avarice and his ingratitude. The two earls then proposed to Waltheof, who was of the party, to join in the insurrection against William, who, they said, would never return, adding, that then one of them should be king, and the other two rule under him; Waltheof, though he did not assent, promised secresy ; bishops and barons, knights and warriors, swore to be faithful to the cause, and Roger went home without delay to make the needful preparations. The conspiracy, however, was easily crushed; earl Roger was defeated and taken before he could pass the Severn, and Guader and his troops were routed by bishop Odo and William de Warrenne. The victors cut off the right foot of all their prisoners. Guader fled to Brittany; but his bride defended the castle of Norwich till forced by famine to surrender. The estates of both the earls were confiscated, and Roger was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The fate of Waltheof was more severe. He had only been guilty of what is called misprision of treason ; but his wife Judith had fixed her affections on another, and Ivo de Taillebois and others coveted his lands. The royal council were divided in their sentiments, and the earl lay a prisoner at Winchester during an entire year. At length his enemies prevailed, sentence of death was passed, and early in the morning (1070) while the people of Winchester were in their beds (lest they might attempt a rescue), he was led to an eminence without the town, and there beheaded. By the English he was regarded as a martyr, and miracles, it was believed, were wrought at his tomb in the abbey of Croyland. His faithless wife did not go unpunished. The king ordered her to marry a knight named Simon of Scnlis ; and on her refusal, as Simon was lame and deformed, he gave Simon the eldest daughter and the estates of Waltheof, and Judith passed the remainder of her days in poverty and contempt.

The last English carl was now gone, and William next proceeded to depose the last English prelate. Wulfstan of Worcester was summoned before a council at Westminster, and ordered by the king and Lanfranc to resign his staff and ring, because, as he could not speak French, he could not, it

was alleged, discharge episcopal functions in England. Wulf-Stan, says the legend, stood up, walked to the tomb of king Edward, and said, "Edward, thou gavest me this pastoral staff; to thee then I commit it." Then turning round he cried, "A better than thou gave it to me; pluck it away if thou canst." He struck it into the solid tomb, whence no one could extract it till the sentence was revoked; it then yielded to the touch of the Saxon prelate*.

Family dissensions now came to disturb the peace of the king of England. He had three sons, Robert named Gamberon, or Curthose, from the shortness of his legs; William, called Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair; and Henry, for whom his love of letters gained the title of Beauclerc. Robert had the nominal government" of Normandy, under his mother Matilda, and the Norman barons had been allowed to do him homage. When he grew up. he claimed to be put in possession of the duchy, but met with a flat refusal. An accident occurred to augment his discontent. The king being at a place named L'Aigle (1078) with his three sons, William and Henry, who were opposed to Robert, came to where he lodged, and going into an upper room began to play at dice, making a great noise, and even poured water down on him as he was walking before the door. Robert in a rage drew his sword, and ran up stairs to slay them; the alarm was given; the king hastened to the spot, and with difficulty appeased the tumult. But that very night Robert set out with his partisans, and attempted to surprise the castle of Rouen. Some time after (10/9) he fixed himself at the castle of Gerberoy on the frontiers of Normandy. The king came in person and besieged the castle: and one day, in a sortie, Robert wounded and unhorsed a knight. At the voice of the fallen man he recognised his father, and he instantly alighted and helped him to his horse. The remonstrances of the prelates and barons, and the tears and entreaties of the queen, produced a new reconciliation, but soon after Robert went away again, and did not return during his father's lifetime. He spent his time in rambling through France and Germany, making his complaints to princes and nobles, and soliciting aid, but all the money he got he gave away to loose women and buffoons.

After the death of Waltheof the king had sold the govern-

* Lingard omits this also: he merely says that Wulfstan was not molested.

ment of the country between the Tweed and Tyne to Walcher bishop of Durham, a native of Lorraine, who exercised the most intolerable oppression over the people; his officers, among other violent acts (1080), put to death a Saxon, named Liulf, who had retired to Durham when deprived of his property, and who was dear to his countrymen. The spirit of the people was roused, a secret conspiracy was organised, and it was agreed that they should bring their arms concealed with them to the county court that was to be held at Goat's-head {Gateshead) on the banks of the Tyne. At the court they claimed reparation for the various acts of injustice that had been committed. The bishop demanded previously four hundred pounds of good money ; the spokesman retiring as if to confer with the rest, cried out to them in their own language, " Short rede, good rede, slea ye the bishoppe! " They drew their weapons, and the bishop and one hundred of his followers were slain. The insurrection extended, but the bishop of Bayeux marched with an army to the north, ravaged the country, pillaged the cathedral of Durham, and slaughtered and mutilated the people without any distinction.

This tyrannical prelate's fall was at hand. Inflated with his rank and wealth he aspired to the papacy; he sent large sums of money to Rome, where he had purchased a house, and was proceeding thither himself (1082) with a numerous train of barons and knights whom he had persuaded to accompany him, when the king, who had been informed of his plans, and who did not desire to see him on the papal throne, met him on the high sea, off the Isle of Wight, and brought him back to that island, where before an assembly of the nobles he accused him of various acts of oppression and treason. " Consider now," said he, " and say how I should act towards such a brother." All were silent. " Seize him, and confine him," then cried the king. None venturing to lay hands on the prelate, the king himself seized him. "I am a clerk and a minister of the Lord," cried Odo, " I condemn not a clerk or a priest, but my count whom I set over my kingdom," replied the monarch. Odo was then sent a prisoner to a castle in Normandy.

The Northmen, who had so often deceived the hopes of the English, at length (1085) prepared to attempt their liberation from the yoke of the Normans; Canute of Denmark, aided by Olave of Norway and Robert earl of Flanders, had collected a great fleet and army for the purpose. William as-

fcembled a large army to oppose them; he re-imposed the Dane-gelt; he obliged the English to assume the Norman habit, that they might not be distinguishable; he laid waste the whole of the north-east coast, and he hired such a number of mercenaries on the continent, "that," says the Saxon Chronicle, "men wondered how the land might feed them all." The expedition, however, never sailed; various causes, among which are enumerated the bribes of the king of England, detained it for more than a year, and at length a mutiny broke out in which Canute was slain by his own soldiers, and the hopes of the English expired with 1pm (1086).

The following year (1087) William quitted England laden with the curses of the people. He stayed at Rouen, whence he carried on negotiations with the king of France relative to the territory of Vexin, and by the advice of his physicians he took medicines and kept his bed, in order to reduce his excessive corpulence. One day the king of France said, joking, "By my faith, the king of England is a long time lying-in! There will be great doings at his churching." This being reported to William, he flew into a rage, and swearing his most solemn oaths by the splendour and by the birth of God, that when he got up from his lying-in he would light a thousand tapers* in France, he assembled his troops, entered the Vexin (Aug. 10), and destroyed the standing corn, the vines, and fruit-trees; he set the town of Mantes on fire, and as in his rage and impatience he galloped through the ruins, his horse, chancing to tread on some hot embers, threw him forward on the pummel of the saddle. A dangerous rupture having tnsued, he was conveyed to a monastery near Rouen, where he languished for six weeks. As he felt the approach of death his conscience smote him; he sent money to rebuild the churches at Mantes, and to the convents and the poor of England, and at the desire of his prelates and barons he ordered the state prisoners, both English and Norman, to be set at liberty. Aware of the turbulent character of his brother Odo, he long refused to include him ; but he yielded at length to the entreaties of his friends. He made his will, leaving Normandy to his son Robert, and England to William. "And, father," said Henry, "what will you give me?" "1 give you 5000/. out of my treasure." "But of what use is it if I have no place of abode?" "Trust in God, my son; let

* Women when being churched use'd to bear a lighted taper in their hand.

thy elders precede thee; thy time will come after theirs." Henry went off to receive the money which he had accurately weighed, and got a strong cheat to keep it in. William, by his father's directions, set out for England, and the king was left with only his servants.

At sunrise, on .the 10th of September, the king was awakened by the ringing of a bell. On inquiry he was told that it was for primes at the church of St. Mary. He raised his hands, saying, "I commend myself to my lady Mary the holy mother of God, that by her prayers she may reconcile me to her son, my lord Jesus Christ," and immediately expired. Instantly his physicians and other attendants mounted their horses, and went home in haste to protect their houses and property; the servants then pillaged the royal abode, carrying off arms, clothes, and everything of value, and the corpse lay for some hours nearly naked ou the floor, for the people of the town were nearly beside themselves with terror of what might happen now that the check of the royal authority was removed. At length some of the clergy having recovered their senses, came with tapers and censers, and prayed for the soul of the departed. The archbishop of Rouen directed that the corpse should be conveyed to Caen, to be interred in the church of St. Stephen, which the king had founded ; but none would take the charge, till a knight named Herluin, moved by compassion, brought it thither at his own expense. The monks of St. Stephen's and many of the clergy and laity came forth to receive it, but a fire just then breaking out in the town, they all ran to extinguish it, leaving the monks alone.

On the day of the burial, prince Henry, the Norman prelates and abbots, and a great multitude of people, were assembled in the church; the mass was said, and the corpse was about to be lowered into the grave before the altar, when a voice from the crowd cried out, "Clerks and bishops, this ground is mine ; it is the site of my father's house ; the man you are praying for took it from me to build his church; on the part of God I forbid the body of the despoiler to be covered with my mould." The speaker was Asselin Fitz-Arthur, to whom William had often denied justice ; the bishops, finding his demand just, paid him sixty shillings for the grave, and promised him the full value of the rest of the land. The ceremony then proceeded; but the grave proving too narrow, as they tried to force down the body, which was in the royal

robes, and without a coffin, the belly burst, and the smell was so offensive as to drive the assistants out of the church.

The Conqueror was doubtless a man of very great ability, superior to all the princes of his time. " He was," says the Saxon Chronicle, " a very wise man, and very rich, and more splendid and stronger than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men that loved God (the clergy), and beyond all measure severe to the men that gainsay ed his will. So stern was he and wrathful, that one durst not do any thing against his will. In his time had men much distress, and very many sorrows. Castles he let men build, and miserably swink the poor. The king was very stern, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, that he took with right and with great unright from his people for little need. He was fallen into covetousness, and greediness he loved withal. He made great deer-parks, and therewith made laws that whoso killed a hart or a hind that man should be blinded. He forbade (to touch) the harts, so also the boars; he loved the tall deer as if he were their father. He also set by the hares and they must go free. His rich men mourned and the poor men shuddered at it; but he was so stern that he recked not all their hatred, for they must follow all the king's will if they would live or have land or even his peace."

In this character, drawn by a contemporary, and one who lived at his court, we discern the imperious ruler, the man of mental energy sufficient to hold in check the haughty companions of his victories ; and to this energy he united that vulpine artifice for which the Normans were at that time noted all over Europe. In his person the Conqueror was of middle stature; his countenance was. stern; his strength prodigious. He was religious after the fashion of the time; he heard mass daily, he founded churches and monasteries, he treated the clergy with respect; but he steadily refused to do homage for his kingdom to pope Gregory VII., and he asserted his royal supremacy over the clergy of England. In domestic life he was an affectionate husband and a sufficiently indulgent father.

The passion of this monarch for the chase was, as the chronicler says, inordinate. Not content with the sixty-eight royal forests, beside chases and parks in various parts, he laid waste a track of thirty square leagues in Hampshire, (burning villages, cottages and churches, and expelling the inhabitants,) to form the New Forest as it still is called. To pre-

serve the game in these forests, a particular code of laws, most iniquitous and oppressive in their provisions, was framed, and courts were instituted for carrying them into effect. No part of the royal despotism was so galling to the subjects of both races as these forest-laws, and they were a continued subject of complaint. From them are descended the modern game-laws, and the violators of them, the deer-stealers, were the predecessors of the modern poachers.

The great survey of the kingdom, contained in what is called the Domesday * book, was made in the latter part of the reign of the Conqueror. From it we learn the relative state of the landed property in his time and in that of the Confessor, and thus see how total the transfer had been from the hands of the English to those of the Normans.

A law of police, which directed all fires to be put out at the tolling of a bell called the Curfew *(Couvre feu)* bell, is by later chroniclers ascribed to William, but without any countenance from the early writers.

The Norman conquest, as we have seen, caused great individual suffering in England; but as evil, no more than good, is never unmixed in this world, we naturally are led to inquire what were its advantages. These seem to have been, a more efficient police; in the days of the Conqueror, according to the chronicler, a girl laden with gold might have gone safely all over the kingdom; security against invasions from Denmark, which were never renewed after his reign; more extended intercourse with the continent, and thence a greater polish of manners, more magnificence in architecture, and greater learning in the clergy. We are, however, far from saying that all these combined, and some are only problematic benefits, at all compensated for the miseries inflicted by the conquest.

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS).

1087-1100.

WILLIAM'S first care on arriving in England was to secure the fortresses of Dover, Hastings and Pevensey, and to get

* Two derivations were given of this name; the one from *Dooms-day*, the last judgment, which it was said to resemble in its certainty and authority; the other from the *Damns Dei*, as the treasury in which it was kept at Winchester was named. This last seems to be the more probable origin.

possession of the royal treasure at Winchester. Lanfranc, who had educated and knighted him as was then the usage, was naturally disposed in his favour, and he crowned him at Westminster (Sept. 26) without hesitation. Robert, who was at Abbeville at the time of his father's death, took peaceable possession of his duchy, and the two brothers might have remained at unity, but for the restless bishop Odo and some of the leading Anglo-Norman nobles who possessed estates in both countries, and who felt it to be their interest that they should be under the one ruler. Deeming the easy indolent character of the duke more for their purpose, and perhaps regarding his right to all the dominions of his father to be clear, they declared in his favour, and retired to their castles until he should land with the army which at the instigation of Odo he was levying for the invasion of England.

William, thus deserted by the Normans, resolved to appeal to the English. He convened their leading men, and making them many fair promises, particularly of a relaxation of the forest-laws, engaged them to declare in his favour; and with an army of Englishmen he besieged and took the castles of Pevensey and Rochester, which were held by bishop Odo and his brother the earl of Mortaignc. He granted their lives to his uncles and let them depart, out he confiscated their estates. He then detached the potent earl of Shrewsbury from the confederacy; and as his fleet, manned by English, prevented the arrival of succours from Normandy, he speedily reduced the other barons, some of whom he pardoned, but most he attainted, dividing their lands among those Normans who had remained faithful to him. As for his promises to the English, he thought no longer on them, and the former oppression continued.

William at length (1091) felt himself strong enough to attempt the acquisition of Normandy, where the lax administration of Robert had caused much discontent. Having bribed the barons who held the fortresses of St. Valery and Albemarle to put them into his hands, he embarked with a large force and landed in Normandy. Robert on his part assembled troops, and matters were likely to come to extremities, when the principal men on each side interfered and made them consent to an accommodation. Robert agreed to give his brother possession of Eu and of the towns of Albemarle, Feschamp and some others, on condition of his aiding him in the reduction of Maine, and restoring his partisans to their estates

in England. It was further agreed, that on the death of either brother without issue, the survivor should succeed to all his dominions. According to the usage of the time, when the nobles were so powerful and independent, twelve of the greatest barons on each side swore to exert themselves to have this treaty carried into effect.

As prince Henry, to whom Robert had sold the territory of the Cotentin for 3000 marks, was an object of suspicion and disquiet to both brothers, they joined their forces and besieged him in the fort of Mount St. Michael. Want of water had nearly obliged him to surrender, when Robert hearing of his distress gave him permission to supply himself, and even sent him wine for his table. When reproached by William for this ill-timed generosity, the good-hearted duke replied, "What! should I let my own brother die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone? " The king himself, as he was riding one day alone to view the fortress, was fallen on by two of Henry's men, and unhorsed. One of them was preparing to slay him, when he cried out, " Hold, knave! I am the king of England." The soldier dropped his sword, and raised him with every mark of respect. The king gave him a reward, and took him into his service. Henry was soon forced to capitulate, and he continued for some years to wander about, oftentimes in great distress.

While the king was in Normandy, Malcolm of Scotland again made an incursion into England. William hastened home, led his troops against him, and made him renew his homage. Two years after (1093) Malcolm made another irruption into the north, but he was surprised and slain by a party of the troops of earl Mowbray, and confusion prevailed for some years in the royal house of Scotland. William meanwhile kept his eye on Normandy, where he instigated the refractory barons to rebellion. In 109-1 he went over to their aid, having ordered a force of twenty thousand men to be levied in England, and inarched to the coast as if to cmbark. But here the king's minister exacted ten shillings apiece from them, and dismissed them; and William employed the money so well that he was in a fair way to become master of the duchy, when he was recalled by an irruption of the Welsh, which was succeeded (1095) by a conspiracy of Robert de Mowbray, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacy, and f,everal other barons, to dethrone him and give the crown to his cousin Stephen count of Albemarle. But the king's

celerity disconcerted them. Mowbray was taken and cast inta prison, where he languished for thirty years, and the others were punished in various ways.

It was now the season when the eloquence of Peter the Hermit and of the supreme pontiff was rousing the warriors of Europe to march in arms to Asia and free the sepulchre of Christ from the thraldom of the rude fanatic Turks who held the Holy City, and insulted and abused the pious pilgrims *of* Christendom who resorted thither to perform their devotions. At the call of the Holy Father thousands and tens of thousands placed a cross on their right shoulder and pledged themselves to war against the enemies of Christ. Princes caught the infection equally with the inferior people; devotion inspired some, the love of adventure others; and there were those who pleased their imagination with the prospect of rich lordships and fair domains in the fertile regions of Asia*. Among the princes who assumed the cross, and than whom few were actuated by purer motives, was the gallant, generous, but imprudent duke of Normandy. Being as usual without money, in order to obtain the means of appearing suitable to his rank, he agreed to transfer the duchy during the term of five years to the king of England, for the sum of 10,000 marks. William raised the money by extortion on all his subjects, the very convents being obliged to melt down their plate to supply him. Ilobert then (1090) set forth in gallant array with the martial pilgrims, and his brother took possession of his duchy.

After tin: death of Lanfranc in the year 1089, the king, urged by his profligate and rapacious minister Ralph, nicknamed Flambard *(Firebrand)*, a Norman priest, held in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury and of such other sees as foil vacant, heedless of the remonstrances or complaints of the clergy ; hut a severe fit of illness (1093) having terrified him, he made many fair promised of amendment of life and rule, and consented to till up the vacant sees. The person selected for the primary was Anselm, a native of Piedmont, at that time abbot of Bee in Normandy, a man of great learning and piety. Anselm, it is said, fell on his knees, wept and implored the king not to require him to accept the dignity; and when this availed not, he clenched his right hand so fast that it was by main force that the pastoral staff was placed in it*

* The details of these romantic expeditions will be found in a work by the present author, named The Crusaders.

But if Anselm was firm in refusing his high office, he was equally firm in maintaining its rights against the crown. William on his recovery forgot all his good resolutions, and went on in his old course of tyranny and oppression: he sold spiritual dignities as before, and still held the revenues of the church, and among them a great part of those of Canterbury. This caused disputes between him and the primate; another cause of disunion was the schism in the papacy, there being now two rival popes, Urban and Clement; and Anselm, who had already acknowledged the former, resolved to cause his authority to be recognised in England, while William, like his father, would have no pope acknowledged there whom he had not himself received. Both king and primate were resolute: the former at length summoned a synod to Rockingham in order to have Anselm deposed, but the bishops declaring themselves incompetent he gave up the attempt, and other motives afterwards having induced him to acknowledge Urban, the contest thus ended. But when (1097) the king was about to make an inroad into Wales, and he called on the primate to furnish his proportion of troops as he was bound, Anselm sent them in such bad condition as to be quite useless ; the king threatened to prosecute him ; the primate pleaded poverty, and demanded the restoration of his revenues. At length, not thinking himself safe in England, lie asked and obtained permission to return to the continent; he then repaired to Home, where he was received with great respect by Urban as a sufferer in the cause of the church; the king meantime seized on all the revenues of his see.

Alter enduring great hardships and suffering a fearful diminution of their numbers by famine, disease and the sword, the Crusaders at length (1009) saw themselves in possession of the tomb of their Lord. The news of their success stimulated those who had remained behind, and William duke of Cuiciine and carl of Poitou assembled a large body of pilgrims to lead to the Holy Land. It. would appear that he had proposed to mortgage, like the duke of Normandy, his dominions to the king of England, now the wealthiest monarch in Europe, for William spoke of spending his Christmas (1100) in Poitiers; but his end was now at hand. As he wa3 at Winchester (Aug. 2), having had unpleasant dreams the night before, and being told of the visions of a certain monk, which, though he affected to despise them, made an impression on his mind, he gave up the thoughts he had had of hunting that day. But

having eaten and drunk heartily at dinner his spirits revived* and he rode out into the New Forest; his attendants dispersed in quest of the game; in the evening some colliers passing through the forest found the king lying dead with an arrow stuck in his breast, and bleeding copiously; they laid the body on their cart and conveyed it to Winchester*.

It is doubtful how the king was slain; the common report was, that a French knight, Walter Tyrrell, having shot at a stag, his arrow glanced from a tree and hit the king. Walter seeing the unintentional crime he had committed gave spurs to his horse, went to the coast, passed over to France, and joined a body of pilgrims for the Holy Land. But the abbot Suger assures ms that Tyrrell had often after, when he had nothing to hope or fear from it, asserted on oath that he had not even seen the king that day in the forest. The fact of the king's death therefore alone is certain; the agent and the motive are alike unknown.

Such, then, was the end of the Red King in the twelfth year of his reign. As he had the misfortune to be on ill terms with the clergy, the dispensers of fame in those times, his character has been transmitted to us under the darkest colours. Making, however, all due allowances, we must still regard him as an odious rapacious tyrant, yet as a man very richly endowed by nature and capable of better things, had he been placed in circumstances more favourable to virtue.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC).

1100-1135.

PRINCE HENRY was also hunting in the New Forest when the death of his brother occurred. On learning that event he hastened to Winchester to secure the royal treasure. William de Breteuil who had charge of it also hastened thither and opposed him, alleging the right of his elder brother to the crown and treasure; but Henry drew his sword and threatened to slay him, and so many took the prince's part

* The New Forest was fatal to the family of the Conqueror; it had already witnessed the death of his son Richard and his nephew William.

that De Breteuil was forced to give way. Henry then proceeded without delay to London, and caused himself to be crowned, by the bishop of that see, on the third day after his brother's death (Aug. 5).

Aware that on the return of his elder brother he should have a struggle for his usurped crown, Henry resolved to secure if possible the affections of all classes of his subjects. He promised the clergy that he would not hold the temporalities of any vacant see ; he engaged to his barons to mitigate all the feudal burdens, and he concluded his charter in these words, which applied to his English subjects particularly: "I restore to you the laws of king Edward with my father's amendments." He invited Anselm, who was now at Lyons, to return and resume his dignities, and on that prelate's arrival he engaged him to act in a matter of some delicacy. Henry, as a means of securing the affections of his English subjects, wished to espouse Matilda daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and of Margaret " the good queen, king Edward's kinswoman, atid of the right royal kin of England." But this lady, who was residing in the abbey of Rumsey, over which her aunt presided, had taken the veil though not the vows. A council of prelates and nobles was held at Lambeth, before which Matilda was examined by Anselm, and she declared that her only motive for assuming the veil had been to secure her honour from the brutal violence of the Norman nobles, against which the religious habit alone was a protection*. The council, aware that such had been a common practice with the English ladies since the conquest, pronounced her free to marry, and Anselm joined her forthwith in matrimony with the king, and anointed and crowned her queen, to the great joy of the English nation, who looked on this as a return to their ancient line of princes.

Henry, as he expected, had soon to contend for his crown. Robert, who had acquired great fame in the East, had left the Holy Land soon after the conquest of Jerusalem. On his way home through Apulia, he became enamoured of Sibylla, the lovely, virtuous and prudent daughter of one of the Nor-

* " I do not deny," said she, " that I have worn the veil; for when I was a child my aunt Christina put a black cloth on my head to preserve me from outrage; and when I used to throw it off, she would torment me both with harsh blows and indecent reproaches. Sighing and trembling, I have worn it in her presence, but as soon as I could get out of sight *i* always threw it on the ground and trampled it under my feet." Eadmer, p. 57.

man barons of that country. He sought and obtained **her** hand, and detained by her charms and those of the climate, he lingered so long in Italy that he did not reach Normandy till his brother had been a month dead. He took possession of his duchy without opposition, and then made preparations for asserting his right to the English crown. Many of the principal Norman nobles, such as Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury, William de Warrenne earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Robert de Pontefract, Ivo de Grentmesnil and others, sent inviting him to come over, promising to join him with all their powers; for the same motives operated now as in the time of his contest with the late king, and moreover justice was clearly on his side ; so much so, that the very seamen of the fleet which was assembled to oppose his landing, carried a large part of it over to him. Robert embarked his troops and landed at Portsmouth, and his partisans repaired to his standard. Henry, who was supported by the primate, to whom he paid the greatest court, and by several puissant barons, also assembled a large force and advanced to oppose the invader. The two armies lay opposite each other for some days, their leaders fearing the result of a conflict. Anselm and the leading men then mediated a peace, Robert resigning his claim on England for an annual pension of 3000 marks; each prince engaging to restore and pardon the adherents of the other ; and each being to succeed to the dominions of the other in case of his dying without issue. Robert then departed, and Henry soon took occasion to prosecute the earl of Shrewsbury and his other supporters under various pretences, and when (1103) Robert ventured over to England to remonstrate against this breach of treaty he ran some hazard of losing his own liberty; he found it necessary to resign his pension, of which, to save appearances, he made a present to the queen, who was his god-daughter.

But nothing less than the possession of Normandy would content the ambition of Henry. Affecting to view in the conduct of Robert who had taken the outlaw Belesme into his service, a breach of treaty, he landed with an army in Normandy (1105). Several of the prelates and barons (probably secretly gained by him) besought him to take the government on him. " Your brother," said they, " is not our governor; his people have no protection from his power. He dissipates all his wealth in follies, and often fasts till noon for want of bread; often he cannot leave his bed for want of

clothes; when he is intoxicated strumpets and buffoons strip him of his garments and boast of their robbery.[5'] This may all have been true, and Robert may also by his remissness have, as was added, suffered his barons to make war on each other and inflict great misery on the country; yet it is difficult to believe that pity for the afflicted people was the motive which actuated the king of England, who, when Robert declined his modest proposal of resigning the government to him, commenced military operations. The first campaign produced no event of importance ; but in the second (1106) in an engagement before the castle of Tenchebrai (Sept. 28), Robert was utterly defeated, and himself and some of his barons, 400 knights and 10,000 men, were made captives after an immense slaughter of his troops. All Normandy then submitted to Henry.

The fate of Robert, the only Norman prince who has a claim on our sympathy, was a hard one. His captivity at first was light, but having attempted to make his escape, his eyes, it is said*, were put out by command of his unnatural brother, according to the barbarous practice of the age, and during a term of thirty years he was transferred from castle to castle, and he breathed his last in that of Cardiff in the eightieth year of his age. His lovely wife, whose prudence might have averted his misfortunes, had died some years before the battle of Tenchebrai; his only son William, a boy of five years of age, was taken at Falaise. When led before his uncle he sobbed and cried for mercy. Henry made a sudden effort as if to rid himself of evil thoughts, and directed him to be removed. He was committed to the care of a baron named Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, by whom he was carefully nurtured.

Among the captives at Tenchebrai was Edgar Atheling, whom some slight similarity of character had attached to Robert's fortune. He was personally brave, but so mean were his talents, that Henry, like his father, could venture to assume the appearance of magnanimity toward him. He gave him his liberty and a small pension ; and the last male of the line of Cerdic thus vanishes from history.

* Westminster, Paris, Wikes. Malmesbury, however, who was a contemporary, says, " to the day of his death he was held in free custody by the laudable affection of his brother, suffering no evil but solitude, if that can be called solitude where there was great attention on the part of his keepers and no want of amusements or of dainties."

Henry soon began to repent of his liberality towards his nephew, and he sent (1108) a trusty messenger to the castle of Helie de St. Saen to get possession of him. Hclie was absent at the time, but his servants conveyed away the sleeping child **and** placed him in safety, and Helie on his return abandoned his property and went with his helpless charge from court to court. When William grew up and displayed talents and virtues worthy of his race, he interested various princes in his favour. Louis le Gros king of France, the feudal superior of Normandy, a brave and generous prince, aware of the danger of letting the king of England become too powerful, joined with the counts of Anjou and Flanders in supporting the cause of William, and a petty, indecisive war was kept up for some years. Henry detached the count of Anjou from the confederacy by contracting his eldest son to the count's daughter, and the death of the count of Flanders, who was slain in a skirmish near Eu, further weakened the cause of young William. King Louis tried to engage the church in his favour by taking him to a council at Rheims (1119), over which pope Calixtus I I. personally presided; but the arts and the gifts of Henry easily overcame the just claims of his nephew, and shortly after a peace was concluded between him and the king of France.

But fortune soon offered another chance to young William. King Henry, when his eldest son, also named William, had attained his eighteenth year, took him over to Normandy (1120) to have him recognised as his successor. On their return from the port of Barfleur the king's ship having a fair wind was soon out of sight, but that of the prince having been detained by an accident, the sailors and their captain Thomas Fitz-Stephen got drunk, and when they set sail they ran the ship on a rock, where she foundered. The prince had gotten into the boat and was now clear of the vessel and out of danger, when he heard the cries of the countess of Perche his natural sister. He made the seamen put back to save her, but when the boat approached the ship such numbers crowded into it that it went down and all perished. About a hundred and forty young noblemen were lost on this occasion; the only person who escaped was a butcher of Rouen, who clung to the mast. Fitz-Stephen also grasped it, but on being informed that the prince was lost he said he would not survive, and let go his hold. The king when assured of the calamity fainted away and never regained his cheerfulness.

The death of this prince was a misfortune to England, inasmuch as it gave occasion to the civil wars which ensued; but had he survived he would probably have been as great a tyrant as any of his race, for he often declared that if ever he came to govern England he would yoke the Saxons to the plough Uke oxen. Queen Matilda had died two years before her son.

As the prince had left no issue, the king, who had no legitimate son remaining, resolved to marry again. His choice fell on Adelais or Alice, daughter of the duke of Lou vain and niece of pope Calixtus (1120). But Adelais brought him no children, and young William his nephew having again gained the count of Anjou to his side was able to keep Normandy in a state of disturbance for some years. Henry, however, again (1127) detached the earl of Anjou by a marriage. His only remaining legitimate child, a daughter named Matilda or Maud, had been married to the emperor Henry V. She was now a widow, and he offered her hand to Geoffroy the count's eldest son. The marriage took place though contrary to the inclination of the empress, who regarded it as a degradation, and opposed by several of the barons of England and Normandy, and Matilda was recognised as heiress of all her father's dominions. The king of France still continued his support of William Fitz-Robert; and when Henry, by his influence with the church, had succeeded in having that prince divorced from the daughter of the count of Anjou on the plea of consanguinity, Louis gave him (1124) in marriage his queen's sister, and on the death of the earl of Flanders, who was assassinated (1127) when at church, he invested him with that county. But William, doomed to be the sport of fortune, did not long enjoy his dignity. In consequence of his having taken severe vengeance on the murderers of his predecessor, a plot was laid by their friends and relatives to assassinate him when retiring from the apartment of his mistress late in the night. This lady, who was privy to the design, could not refrain from letting tears drop on his head while bathing it according to the fashion of those times. William's suspicions were awakened; he pressed her, and she told him the whole truth. He thus escaped this danger, but he shortly afterwards (1128) died of a wound received in battle at Alost against the count of Alsatia.

Henry was now free from uneasiness; his daughter the empress was delivered of a son and heir (1132), and two

more sons born to her seemed to render the succession secure. He made the nobility renew their oath of fealty to her and her eldest son in a council held at Oxford. He spent the latter years of his reign chiefly in Normandy to be near the empress, for whom he had a strong affection. An incursion of the Welsh having taken place (1135) he was preparing to return to England, when having eaten too heartily of lampreys, a food he was often cautioned against, he got a surfeit, and died (Dec. 1) in the sixty-seventh year of his age : his body was brought over to England, and interred at Reading.

Henry I. was a monarch of superior ability ; the Conqueror alone of his family equalled him in talent. He showed great spirit in his dealings with the church ; he caused justice to be rigidly executed. "A good man was he, and mickle dread was there of him," says the Saxon Chronicle. " Peace made he for man and beast: whoso bare his burden of gold and silver no man durst say to him aught but good." But he set at nought his charters and his promises, and he taxed his people without mercy ; he increased the rigour of the forest laws, and enlarged the forests; he punished him who killed a stag as him who murdered a man: he made all the dogs near the forests be mutilated, men were even in some cases prohibited from hunting on their own lands, a great grievance in those days. Henry was more addicted to literature than was usual among princes and nobles at that time, whence he obtained the appellation of Beauclerc, or Fine-scholar. His treatment of his brother and nephew violated all the principles of nature and justice ; but when there is uncontrolled power and a kingdom is the prize, these principles have been set at nought in all ages of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

STEPHEN.

1135-1154.

IN a regularly ordered state the succession of Matilda would have followed as a matter of course, as no one else had even the shadow of a claim to the crown ; but Henry himself had by his usurpation shown how a crown might be acquired

without right, and there was one, whom perhaps he little suspected, ready to tread in his footsteps.

Adela' daughter of the Conqueror had been married to the count of Blois, to whom she bare a numerous offspring; two of her sons had been invited over to England by king Henry,, and he made one of them, Henry, who was in holy orders, abbot of Glastonbury, and afterwards bishop of Winchester; for Stephen, the other, he obtained in marriage the daughter and heiress of the count of Boulogne, who had also large estates in England; he moreover conferred on him extensive domains in both England and Normandy. Stephen always affected great gratitude toward his uncle, and he had been forward in taking the oath of fealty to the empress in 1131 *. By his valour, liberality, and affable manners he had gained great favour with both barons and people in England, and the citizens of London were especially devoted to him.

On the death of his uncle, Stephen being resolved to make a bold effort for the crown, passed over to England, and hastened to London, where he was received with acclamations by the populace. His brother and the bishop of Salisbury endeavoured to prevail on the primate to crown him; and to overcome that prelate's scruples, they produced Hugh Bigod, a servant of the late king, who made oath that when on his death-bed he had declared his iutention of making the count of Boulogne his heir. The primate was, or affected to be, convinced, and he performed the ceremony of the coronation at Westminster (Dec. 22).

Stephen, imitating his predecessor, issued a charter exactly similar to his, with probably as little intention of observing it; he had further, still following his uncle's example, lost no time in getting possession of the royal treasure of 100,000/. which lay at Winchester, and with this money he took into his pay a large body of mercenary soldiers from the continent, and procured a recognition of his title at Rome.

The Norman barons, moved by hereditary animosity to the Angevins, and also by the motives which had always made them desire the union of their duchy with England, readily submitted to Stephen; and the king of France, Louis the

* On that occasion the king of Scots first took the oath of fealty in virtue of his rank; Stephen and Robert of Gloucester, the king's natural son, contended for the second place. It may be, as Dr. Lingard says, that they had both designs on the throne, but the subsequent conduct of Robert contradicts this supposition.

Young, received the homage of his son Eustace for that province, and gave him Ins own sister in marriage. Geoffrey of Anjou was obliged to make a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of being paid 5000 marks a year during that period. Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural brother of the empress, to whom he was much attached, was the person whom Stephen had most to dread. This nobleman would do him homage only on conditions which would give him a pretext for revolt whenever he pleased, and the king was obliged to consent. The clergy made similar reservations in their oaths; the barons extorted the right of fortifying their castles, and soon fortresses rose on all sides, fdled with a brutal and ferocious soldiery. A contest for the crown commenced ere long between Stephen and Matilda, and the miseries which ensued are thus vividly described by one who witnessed them.

"In this king's time," says the contemporary Saxon Chronicle, "was all dissension and evil and rapine; for against him soon arose the rich (i. e. great) men that were traitors; when they found that he was a mild man, and soft and good, and did no justice [execution], then did they do all wonders. They had done him homage and sworn oaths, but they held no truth; they were all forsworn and heeded not their troth; for every rich man built his castles, and they held them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They sorely oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works, and when the castles were made they filled them with devils and evil men; then took they the men that they weened had any goods, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with tortures not to be told, for never were any martyrs so tortured as they were; some they hung up by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke; some they hung by the thumbs or by the head, and hung coats of mail at their *feet*; to some they put knotted strings round their head and twisted them till it went to the brains; they put them into dungeons where there were adders, and snakes, and toads, and killed them so; some they put in the crucet-house, that is in a chest that was short and narrow and not deep, and put sharp stones in it, and forced the man in, and so broke all his limbs. In many of the castles were things loathly and grim that were called Sachenteges *(culprits'halters)* of which two or three men had enough to do to carry one that

was so made, that is fastened to a beam, and they put a sharp iron about the man's throat and neck that he might on no side sit or lie, or sleep, but bear all that iron. Many thousands did they kill with hunger. I cannot and may not tell all the wounds and all the pains that they gave to wretched men in this land, and that lasted for the nineteen winters that Stephen was king, and still it was worse and worse. They laid guilds [taxes] evermore on the towns, and called it *tensezie*; when the wretched men had no more to give they robbed and burned all the towns, that well thou mightest go a whole day's journey and sliouklest never find a man sitting [dwelling] in a town or land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger; some took to alms who were one time rich men; some fled out of the land; never yet was more wretchedness in the land, and never did heathen men worse than they did; for after a time they spared neither church nor church-yard, but took all the goods that were therein, and then burned church and all together; neither did they spare bishop's land nor abbot's, nor priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man who was able another; if two or three men came riding to a town all the township fled before them, weening that they were robbers. The bishops and learned men cursed them evermore, but nought thereof came on them, for they were all accursed and forsworn and abandoned. It was the sea men tilled; the earth bare no corn, for the land was all destroyed with such deeds, and they said openly that Christ slept and his saints. Such and more than we can say we tholed nineteen winters for our sins."

After this faithful picture, drawn by the hand of one who described what he beheld, of the horrors of feudalism and the misery caused by the usurpation of Stephen, it seems hardly necessary to go into details; we will, however, narrate succinctly the principal events of the contest for the crown.

In the first year of Stephen's reign (1136) the earl of Exeter took arms against him, and David king of Scotland invaded England in the cause of his niece the empress; but the earl was forced to submit, and the Scottish king agreed to an accommodation. In 1138 David again invaded England; the ravages committed by his wild ferocious followers are described as exceeding the usual limits of atrocity, and the earl of Albemarle and the other barons of these parts, animated by the venerable prelate of York, lost no time in collecting their

troops to oppose them. The armies encountered at Northallerton (Aug. 22), and in the battle called that of the Standard, from a large crucifix on a wain used by the English as a standard, the Scots were totally defeated.

Earl Robert having matured his plans in favour of his sister, pretended that Stephen had violated the conditions made with him, renounced his allegiance and withdrew to the continent (1139). As Stephen had now embroiled himself also with the church, by forcing the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to deliver up the castles they had erected, Robert advised the empress to appear in England to head her party. She landed (Sept. 30) with him and one hundred and forty knights in Sussex, where she was received by the queen-dowager Adelai's in her castle of Arundel, and thence proceeded to her brother's castle of Bristol. Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, and several other barons declared for her, and her cause gradually gained ground; battles and skirmishes occurred in various parts all through the following year; at length (Feb. 2, 1141) Stephen and earl Robert came to an engagement near Lincoln, and the king was defeated and led a captive to Gloucester, where he was treated with great rigour. The barons of Stephen's party all submitted; the bishop of Winchester, who was invested with legatine authority, and had been on ill terms with his brother on account of the affair of the two bishops, was now induced to come to an agreement with Matilda; to gain the clergy more effectually she consented to receive the crown from their hands, and in a synod summoned by the legate, at the discussions of which the Londoners were the only laymen present, she was proclaimed queen of England. Her authority was generally acknowledged, but tranquillity did not long remain; beside the disadvantage of her sex, she was of a haughty imperious temper: she rejected in the most ungracious manner the petition of Stephen's queen and several of the nobility for his release, though they engaged that he should renounce the crown; that of the legate, that his nephew Eustace might be allowed to retain his patrimonial estates; and that of the Londoners, for the laws of king Edward.

The Londoners were grievously offended, and the legate, who had probably never been sincere in the cause of Matilda, fanning their wrath, they conspired to seize her; she fled to Oxford, and thence hastened to Winchester, where she was besieged by the Londoners, Stephen's mercenaries, and the

legate's vassals : being hard pressed she was obliged to attempt an escape, which she effected with difficulty, but her brother Robert was taken prisoner, and he was of so much importance to the cause that her party were glad to give Stephen in exchange for him. The war was now renewed, and was carried on for some years with various success; at length in the severe winter of 1142 the empress was closely besieged by Stephen in the castle of Oxford. When her stock of provisions was exhausted she dressed herself and three knights in white, as the ground was covered with snow; a sentinel who had been bribed conducted them through the enemy's posts; they crossed the Thames on the ice, proceeded to Abingdon on foot, and thence having procured horses rode to Wallingford. This escape was a matter of astonishment to her enemies, while her friends viewed it as little less than miraculous.

At length (1146) the death of her brother Robert and of some of her other friends convinced the empress of the uncertainty of the event, and she withdrew to Normandy (1147) to watch the progress of affairs ; her departure, however, brought little tranquillity to Stephen, for he soon alienated many of his partisans by requiring the surrender of their castles ; the legatine power also had been transferred by the new pope Eugenius to the primate Theobald, the enemy of the late legate; and moreover the pope, as Stephen resisted one of his encroachments, had laid his party under an interdict.

There was, however, a cessation of hostilities for two years after the departure of the empress. In 1150 her son Henry, who had now reached his sixteenth year, being desirous of receiving knighthood from the king of Scotland, passed through England with a large retinue, and raised the hopes of his partisans. On his return (1151) after having spent some time in the Scottish court his mother resigned Normandy to him, and on the death of his father he inherited Anjou. The following year (1152) he greatly increased his power by a marriage with Eleanor of Guienne and Poitou. This princess had been married to the French king Louis the Young; she was the companion of his crusade to the Holy Land (1148), and her conduct in the East had been so reprehensible, that Louis on his return, yielding to the suggestions of delicacy rather than of prudence, had divorced her. The young count of Anjou less fastidious immediately paid his addresses to her, and espoused her within six weeks after the divorce; and his dominions now extended from the confines of Flanders

to the Pyrenees, while his superior lord Louis did not rule over more than a tenth of France. Louis, incensed at this conduct of the count of Anjou, aided Stephen's son Eustace to overrun Normandy; but Henry speedily drove them out of it, and then (1153), as Stephen was now besieging Wallingford, which was held by his partisans, he passed over to their aid. To draw Stephen away he laid siege to Malmesbury, and having taken that town marched to the relief of Wallingford. The two armies lay in sight of each other, divided by the river Thames. Meantime the prelates and nobles on each side, weary of civil discord, proposed an accommodation, the earl of Arundel boldly saying "that it was not reasonable to prolong the calamities of a whole kingdom on account of the ambition of two princes;" and Henry and Stephen having conversed across a narrow part of the river agreed to a truce for that purpose. Stephen's son Eustace, a turbulent youth, abused his father openly for concluding this truce, and with* drawing from the camp with his followers, began to ravage Cambridgeshire: he fixed his abode at the stately abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, but he took a fever, as he sat at a banquet there, and died. This obstacle being removed, a council was held in the following November at Winchester, in which it was agreed that Stephen should retain the crown of England for his life, on condition of his adopting Henry, who was to be his successor; that Stephen's son William should inherit all his father had possessed before he usurped the crown; that the adherents on both sides should sustain no injury; that all grants of the crown lands made by Stephen should be revoked, and all castles built by his permission be demolished.

These terms being sworn to, Henry returned to Normandy. Stephen did not long retain his dignity; he died the following year (Oct. 25, 1154) after a boisterous and unquiet reign of nineteen years. He was a prince possessed of many noble and estimable qualities, and would have probably made an excellent king if he had acquired his crown in a legal manner.

The Anglo-Norman period of our history having now readied its close, we will here pause and make a few remarks on the condition of the nation at this time.

An erroneous opinion has long prevailed, that the Norman conquest swept, like a moral deluge, over the country, carrying away its ancient and venerable institutions, and leaving in their place such as had been hitherto unknown in England.

We **are told** that the Conqueror had even formed a plan **for** fixing on the English nation the ultimate badge of conquest by abolishing their native dialect, and forcing them to assume that of their masters, for which purpose he ordered that the French language should be taught in all the schools, be employed in pleadings in the high court of justice *(Curia Regis),* and be used in laws and charters. The whole of this theory, however, rests only on authority of the most dubious character* ; the Conqueror and his son Henry I. re-enacted, as we have seen, the laws of the Confessor; the English language (never the French) was employed by them in their charters, and though the latter was probably much used in the Curia Regis, the members of which were mostly Normans, it was a matter of convenience rather than obligation. Finally, the county and other courts continued in use little altered.

The great changes introduced by the Norman conquest were the almost total transfer of landed property ; the change of the hierarchy in the church ; the development of the feudal system; the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction. Of these the first two have been already sufficiently noticed, we will therefore proceed to explain the two last.

The more inquiry into the Middle Ages advances, the more we recognise the influence of Rome and the imitative habits of the tribes which overturned her empire. It was long the fashion to regard the feudal system as an original regular plan formed by the Barbarians for the preservation of the conquests they had made; more accurate inquiries make it probable that the system in its main points lay ready to their hands.

The colonists of ancient Rome were bound to military service when called on by the state, and in the latter days of the Republic they were soldiers alone wl\o thus were rewarded by their victorious general. The emperor Alexander Severus extended this system as the means of defending the frontiers of the empire. Lands were given to those who were named the Limitanean and Ripuarian soldiery,—from their location on the marches *(limites),* and on the banks *(ripas)* of the great frontier-rivers,—and their heirs, without a power of alienation, on the express condition of military service. At a subsequent period, lands denominated Lseticf were given in **the interior of** the provinces to large bodies of the Barbarians on

* Namely, that of Ingulf. See Palgrave.
† From the Germanic *Leod, leute,* people.

similar conditions. We thus find the system of the tenure of land by military service completely formed; and the other great characteristic of the feudal system, the personal relation of Lord and Vassal, may, perhaps, be as safely deduced from that of Patron and Client at Rome (its similarity to which has often been observed) as from the antecedent usages of the Celtic or German tribes.

All the elements of feudalism prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons, but the peculiar circumstances in which the Normans were placed caused it to attain a more perfect form, and the ingenuity of Norman lawyers drew such consequences from it as made it a system of absolute slavery.

In the feudal system of England the king was regarded as the original proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom; those who held them were his vassals, and were obliged to swear *fealty,* that is fidelity, to him, and do him *homage,* or become his *men.* The vassal who thus held by military service was bound to serve his lord in war, and to attend or do suit to his court in peace, in order to answer for any offences he might have himself committed, and to assist in the trial of others. In war the vassal was required to attend his lord in arms for a space of forty days at his own expense.

The lands of England were divided by the Conqueror into about 60,000 feuds, fiefs, or knights' fees: he who held an entire fee was bound to serve for forty days; he who had half a one for twenty, and so on'; the lord who held several fees furnished men in proportion. A vassal of the crown, or tenant *in capite,* or *in chief,* as he was called, might sub-enfeudate his lands, and have vassals bound to himself as he was to his superior lord; but these were also regarded as vassals of the crown, and bound by allegiance.

The incidents of the Anglo-Norman feudalism were as follows:

Aids.—These were sums of money paid to ransom the lord, if made a prisoner; to supply the means of making his eldest son a knight, a ceremony attended with no little expense; to portion his eldest daughter.

Reliefs.—The relief was a composition paid by the heir for permission to enter on the fief which had lapsed to the superior lord by the death of the last possessor.

Primer Seisin.—This was an increased relief paid to the king by the heir of a tenant in chief if of full age; it usually consisted of a year's profit of the lands.

Wardship.—If at the death of a tenant his heir was under the age of twenty-one, or his heiress under that of fourteen, the lord became guardian in chivalry, and he had the custody of the person and lands (without being accountable for the profits) till the former attained the age of twenty-one, the latter of fourteen years. The heir *in capite*, on coming of age, was bound to take knighthood or pay a fine to the king.

Marriage.—During the minority the lord had the power of disposing of his ward in matrimony, provided the match was not one of disparagement, and if he or she refused it, they forfeited the value of the marriage, that is, the sum that any one would have given for it to the guardian* If the male ward married without the consent of his guardian, he forfeited double the value of the marriage.

If a tenant in chief transferred his land, a fine for alienation was due to the king. If he died without heirs of his blood, or was attainted for treason or felony, the land reverted to the lord.

Such were the main features of feudalism in England, and when we consider the wardships and marriages (both peculiar to English feudalism), and the arbitrary nature of reliefs and aids, we may fairly look upon it as a system of slavery and oppression.

We are now to consider the condition of the church at this time, for which purpose we must sketch the vast project of sacerdotal dominion formed by the aspiring mind of pope Gregory VII.

In consequence chiefly of the imbecile superstition of the kings of France, the episcopal order had made great advances toward the acquisition of a power similar to that of the ancient Druids. From the earliest times, in consequence of the rank of the city over which he presided, a kind of supremacy had been generally conceded to the bishop of Home, and this notion of his superiority gradually extended through the discontent of prelates, who appealed to him against their metropolitans, and he thus was imperceptibly drawing to himself the power acquired by the episcopal order. In the latter part of the eighth century, a work, purporting to be a collection of decrees of former pontiffs, appeared under the name of one Isidore. This forgery (as it has been long known to be) was calculated to extend the papal authority and diminish that of the metropolitans, by enjoining appeals to Rome and forbid-

ding to hold national councils without the permission of the pontiff. The bishops gladly acquiesced in them, and the papal power rapidly advanced ; its strength was also increased by the more rigorous imposition of celibacy on the clergy, and by the spreading of the rule of St. Benedict, points on which we have already touched.

Such was the state of the papacy when the celebrated Hildebrand became its animating spirit. His daring mind conceived the project not merely of freeing the church from all subordination to the temporal power, but of making it supreme over it. The subject of investitures, or the conferring of spiritual dignities by lay princes, was that with which he opened the contest when, under the name of Gregory VII., he ascended the papal throne. From the earliest times bishops had been elected by the clergy and people; the form still continued, but princes easily managed to have the real appointment ; and in England we have seen the direct nomination by the crown. Gross simony of course prevailed, for what was* valuable would be naturally the subject of bargain and sale, and the temporalities attached to the spiritual dignities were in most places considerable. These temporalities, mostly the grants of former kings, were regarded in the light of fiefs. The new bishop, therefore, was required to swear fealty, and to do homage to the lord who invested him by the delivery of a ring and pastoral staff. Gregory issued a decree against this practice; and thus commenced a contest with the emperor Henry TV., which lasted throughout their lives, and was kept up by their successors for nearly half a century. It was terminated by a compromise with the emperor Henry V., the monarch recognising the freedom of elections, and resigning the right of conferring the spiritual dignity (by the ring and staff), but retaining that of delivering the temporalities by the sceptre. A similar arrangement was made with Henry I. of England, who had vigorously contested this point with the papacy and its uncompromising advocate archbishop Anselm. Each party thus gave up something; the real gain seems to have been on the side of the crown*.

In the disputes on this subject we discern the influence of

* This contest affords a proof that the popes and clergy were often actuated by a sense of justice and duty in the apparently most dubious cases: Paschal II. actually signed an agreement with Henry V., by which the prelates were to resign all the lands, &c. they held in fief of the emperor, provided he gave up the right of investiture.

the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, ignorant and superstitious as the preceding ages had been, was not yet established by the pontifical authority. At the council of Bari (1096) it was declared to be abominable that pure hands which could create God, and offer him up in sacrifice for the sins of the world, should (in the act of homage) be placed between hands polluted with rapine and bloodshed, and defiled by contact with the other sex. The abomination, however, was suffered to remain.

To extend the papal power over the prelacy, it was decreed that no bishop should exercise bis function till he had been confirmed by the Holy See. Bishops were cited to Rome on the most frivolous pretexts; archbishops were obliged by Gregory to go thither in person to receive their consecrated *'pallium,* A further hardship was the constant sending of special ministers, legates *a latere.* Hitherto a metropolitan of the country (in England the archbishop of Canterbury) had held a perpetual legatine authority as the pope's lieutenant or representative, but now special legates were continually coming, who assumed high authority, held councils, deposed bishops, framed canons, and at the same time lived in great splendour at the expense of the prelates, whose pride waa galled by the circumstance of the legate often being but a simple deacon.

To maintain their power the popes hud two most cllicacious weapons, excommunication and interdict. The first had hem originally nothing more than the power which every society has of expelling its own unruly members ; but the church had gradually managed to invest it with terrors, and use it as a weapon of offence and vengeance. The excommunicated were cursed with a fiendish minuteness of detail in soul and body, limbs and joints, in their goings-out and comings-in, in all times and all places* ; they were cut off from society like the leprous; any communication with them became morally infectious : when they died the rites of sepulture were denied them. This sentence, however, only affected those who brought it on themselves by opposition to the church: interdict fell often on the innocent. When a prince or noble had offended the church, and a milder sentence did not prove efficacious, his dominions were laid under an interdict, that is, religious offices were *interdicted* in them. No service was performed

* See Southey, Book of the Church, i. 190,191. The entire form may be seen in Sterne's Tristram Shandy.

in the churches ; no bells were tolled ; no sacraments administered, save the first and the last, baptism and extreme unction ; the dead lay unburied; a moral gloom overspread the land. It was Gregory that first employed these spiritual weapons with advantage. In the plenitude of his power he dared to excommunicate the emperor Henry, and even to issue against him a sentence of deposition from the throne, releasing thereby his subjects from their allegiance.

In England the usurpations of the church were greatly forwarded by the separation, in the time of the Conqueror, of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction. The clergy claimed now a total exemption from trial before lay-tribunals, however great their crimes might be; and as the church inflicted no higher penalty than stripes, sacerdotal murderers and robbers (of whom the number was not trifling) thus escaped the punishment justly due to their crimes. The struggle between the crown and church on this head is soon to occupy our attention.

As we have observed, the local courts continued in the Anglo-Norman period ; but paramount to them was the King's Court *(Curia Regis),* which was held wherever the king was residing. It was composed of the justiciary*[1], chancellor, treasurer, and the other great officers, with any others whom the king might appoint; it served to collect and manage the revenue, to despatch public business, and to decide private suits. No suit could be brought before it without paying a fine to the king, and unfortunately the justice of the Anglo-Norman monarchs was scandalously venal.

The revenues of the crown in this period were chiefly derived from the immense royal demesnes which were let out to farm, and from the feudal aids, reliefs, etc. To these are to be added the customs on the import and export of merchandise, and the tallages *(cuttings),* that is, taxes arbitrarily imposed on the royal towns and demesnes: the inferior lords had also the right of imposing tallages on their own towns and demesnes. Escuage or scutagc, that is, commutation for personal service in war by paying a certain sum on each knight's fee, commenced in the reign of Henry I . , but it was not often resorted to in this period.

* This was the highest office in the kingdom. The justiciary presided in the king's court, and he was by his office regent in the absence of the king.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY IL (PLANTAGENET).

1154-1189.

ON the death of Stephen (11/54), the English nation, weary of civil contention, cheerfully acquiesced in the accession of Henry Plantagenet*. The new monarch, now only in his twenty-first year, exceeded all the princes of his time in extent of dominion. In right of his mother he ruled England, Normandy, and Maine; from his father he inherited Anjou and Tonraine, while his union with Eleanor gave him the provinces thence to the Pyrenees, with lYrigorel, the Limousin, and Auvergne. He thus possessed a third of France; a vassal far more powerful than the monarch to whom he owed his homage.

After a delay of six weeks, chiefly caused hy inclement weather, Henry landed in England (Dec. 3), and shortly after (19th) he and his queen were crowned at Winchester with unwonted magnificence. His first care after the festivities were over was to reform the abuses which had arisen during the civil contests of the late reign. He obliged all Stephen's mercenaries to quit the kingdom, and with them their leader William of Ypres, whom that king had made earl of Kent; he revoked all the grants made on either side during the late reign; he reformed the coin, which had been adulterated; he forced all those who had obtained possession of the royal castles to resign them, and he insisted on the demolition of those which had been erected by individual nobles.

Having settled the affairs of England, Henry returned to

* From the *Plante de genet* (broom), the device of the earls of Anjou.

France (1156) to oppose his brother Geoffrey, who had set up a claim to Anjou and Maine, and had invaded these provinces, he forced him to resign his pretensions, and the apanage left him by his father, for an annual pension of 1000/. The people of Nantes, in Brittany, who had just expelled their count Hoel, invited Geoffrey to be their ruler; he gave, of course, a ready consent, but he enjoyed his dignity only for two years: on his death (1158) the king of England claimed Nantes as his heir, aaid moreover as feudal superior of Brittany. Conan, the duke of that country, had already entered on it; but Henry having gained king Louis to his side by a contract of marriage between his eldest son Henry, now five years of age, and the daughter of that monarch, who was yet in her cradle, soon ended the pretensions of the Breton prince, and Conan moreover, to secure Henry's aid against his unruly subjects, affianced his daughter and only child, an infant, to Henry's third son, Geoffrey, also an infant. On the death of Conan (1165), Henry, as guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, took possession of Brittany.

As soon as he had made good his claim to Nantes, the ambitious king of England cast his eyes on one of the largest and wealthiest provinces of France. Queen Eleanor's grandfather had married the only daughter of William count of Toulouse, but William had mortgaged or sold his dominions to his brother Raymond, who on his death quietly entered on them, and they continued in his family, though the duke of Guienne had asserted a claim in 1098, and Louis in right of Eleanor in 1145. These last pretensions were now advanced by Henry, and forming an alliance with Berenger count of Barcelona, and Trincaval lord of Nismes, he prepared to assert them (1159). Raymond of Toulouse, on the other hand, called on his superior lord king Louis, to whose sister Constance he was married, and Louis, now fully aware of the dangerous ambition of the king of England, prepared to oppose the very claim he had himself advanced some years before. Henry, sensible of the unwieldy nature of a feudal militia, followed the example of his grandfather, and in lieu of service imposed a tax of .3/. on every knight's fee in England, and forty Angevin shillings on those of Normandy, and with the produce of this *scutage,* as it was named, which amounted to 180,000/., he took large bodies of mercenaries into pay.

The war, however, was productive of no event of much importance. Henry was unable to make his claim good, and

the pope finally mediated a peace between him and the king of France.

During the anarchy of the late reign the church had gone on emancipating itself from secular control. Holy orders were conferred by the bishops without discrimination; and as all who had received the tonsure were members of the sacerdotal foody, and "theiishops," the historian says, "were more vigilant to defend the liberties and dignity of their order than to correct its faults, and thought they did their duty to God and the church if they protected the guilty clergy from public punishment," rapines, thefts, and homicides were frequently -committed by these "tonsured demons," as they are styled by Becket's biographer. The king was assured that not less (than one hundred homicides had been committed with impunity by the clergy since his accession. To this Henry was resolved to put a stop, and knowing the importance of having the primacy filled by a person from whom he would not have opposition to apprehend, on the death of archbishop Theobald (1161), he resolved to bestow the vacant dignity on his favourite and chancellor Thomas a Becket.

This extraordinary man was the son of a respectable citizen of London named Gilbert *h* Becket. According to a romantic tradition, his mother was the daughter of a Saracen emir. Gilbert, it is said, being on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had become a captive to the emir, by whom he was treated kindly and admitted to his society. The emir's daughter saw and loved him; she made occasions of conversing with him, in which she learned his name and that he was from London in England. She told him her love, and ber desire to become a Christian. An opportunity for escape, however, having presented itself, Gilbert, heedless of the fair Saracen, embraced it and returned to England. She resolved to pursue him, and quitting her father's abode in disguise she proceeded •to the coast. She knew but two English words, London and Gilbert; by pronouncing the first she found a ship bound for England, and when she landed she reached by means of it the capital. There she went about the streets crying out Gil-.bert. Her strange manner and garb drew a crowd after her, •and as she happened to go through the street in which Gilbert dwelt the noise attracted the attention of his servant Richard, and he went out to see the cause of it. Richard, who had shared his master's captivity in the East, at once recognised the fair Saracen. He told his master; they

brought her in, and then placed her in a nunnery till Gilbert had consulted the prelates who were sitting at St. Paul's. It was their opinion that he should marry her, as she was desirous of becoming a Christian : she was accordingly baptized by the name of Matilda, and made the wife of her beloved Gilbert*.

The fruit of the union with Gilbert and Matilda was a son named Thomas. As the child showed talent he was carefully educated at the schools of Merton, London, and finally Paris. When he grew up he was admitted into the family of the primate Theobald; he felt his inferiority to those whom he met there in learning, but the grace of his manners and his natural talents made up for the deficiency ; though twice by the arts of his rivals expelled from the palace, he contrived to reinstate himself in the favour of the primate, by whom he was even employed on a negotiation at Rome, which he executed with such ability as to be rewarded with some preferments in the church. With his patron's permission he then went and attended lectures on the canon and civil law, first at Bologna and afterwards at Auxerre. On his return, the provostship of Beverley, and soon after the wealthy archdeaconry of Canterbury, were bestowed on him by the primate, and when Henry II. came to the throne, Becket, then thirty-seven years of age, was by Theobald's influence raised to the high office of chancellor. He speedily won the favour of the young monarch ; the education of prince Henry was confided to him; he was made warden of the Tower, and had the custody of the castle of Berkhampstead and the honour of Eye, with the services of one hundred and forty knights.

Becket was of a 'vain, ostentatious temper ; his soul was superior to the love of money, and he spent his large revenues with princely magnificence. He kept a Hplendid table which the king often honoured with his presence, and at which numerous noble guests sat each day. Numbers of knights entered his service, reserving their fealty to the king, .and many barons sent their sons to serve him as to the best school of chivalry. Becket hunted, hawked, and played at chess. His clothing was of the richest quality; his retinue was numerous and splendid. Though his style of living was thus

* This tale rests on the single authority of Bromton, that collector and embellisher of romantic legends. It *may* be true, but Becket's biographers seem to have known nothing of it.

unbecoming an ecclesiastic, still no charge has been made against his morals in private life.

Becket was sent to Paris in 1158 to settle some disputes betwen Henry and the French king, and to negotiate a marriage between their children. Nothing could exceed the pomp in which he travelled; the people as he passed cried, ** What must the king of England be when his chancellor travels in such state!" In the war of Toulouse, Becket appeared at the head of seven hundred knights paid by himself. He was foremost in every enterprise, and when Louis threw himself into Toulouse, Becket was the man to urge an immediate assault, and to make light of Henry's scruples about attacking his superior lord. When the king retired he left the chancellor in command, and the warlike churchman reduced three castles, and in a single combat gallantly unhorsed a French knight.

Such was the man whom Henry had fixed on for the primacy, never doubting but that the primate would be as compliant to his will as the chancellor had been. He had been hitherto so little of a churchman, that when the king's intentions were made known, the empress, his mother, remonstrated, the people exclaimed, and the clergy expressed their grief and dismay at such an appointment*. Becket himself is said, when the king mentioned to him his intention, to have regarded his gay apparel with a smile, and saying that he did not look very like an archbishop, to have told him plainly that this appointment would probably cause him to lose his favour. He is also said to have expressed the same apprehension to his friends in private. Still he did not, like Ansehn, stedfastly decline the high office, and as his smile might have appeared to belie the words that succeeded it the king persisted, and after the primacy had lain vacant for thirteen months, he passed over to England with the royal mandate (1162), and having been previously ordained a priest, was consecrated at Canterbury by Henry bishop of Winchester, in the presence of prince Henry and a numerous assemblage of the nobility and higher clergy.

* So the clergy of England assert in their letter to Becket. His reply is not satisfactory. If the empress, says he, dissuaded it never came to the public ear; he heard the acclamation not the exclamation of the people; only those of the clergy who were envious made any objection, and he appeals to the unanimity that prevailed at his election. (Epist. Divi Thoma), Lib. i.'Ep. 108, 126, 127.) Might not a great change have been wrought by royal influence in the course of thirteen months ?

The sudden change which now took place in Becket's mode of life is ascribed by his friend and biographer to an immediate unction of the Holy Ghost at his consecration ; many late writers see in it nothing but hypocrisy. To us the truth seems to be as follows : Becket was, as we have seen, covetous of fame, and of it alone ; he had now attained an eminence which left nothing higher to aspire to; and, as versed in the canon law, he was probably a firm believer in the validity of the rights to which the church laid claim. These, in pursuit of the objects of worldly ambition, he had hitherto made light of, but now glory of a high order lay within his grasp ; he had only to stand forward as the champion of the church, to forfeit his royal master's favour, to brave his enmity, and even to offer up his life in sacrifice for the rights of the church, and undying fame awaited him. And all this was Becket prepared to do. Wc must then admire his magnanimity and daring spirit, while we condemn the duplicity which made him take an office that he knew was given for a far different purpose. But on this as on so many other occasions the end was held to sanctify the means.

Nothing gives a spiritual leader more influence over the minds of the people than the appearance of extreme sanctity, and contempt of the world and its vain pleasures. With this then Becket resolved to begin. He dismissed his splendid train and retrenched the luxury of his table. He who had vied with the gayest of the nobles in richness of apparel now wore next his skin sackcloth filled with dirt and vermin ; his food was of the coarsest kind ; his drink water in which the bitter herb fennel had been infused ; his naked back was frequently subjected to the discipline ; he washed each day on , his bended knees in his cell the feet of thirteen poor persons whom he then dismissed with food and money. He was constant in reading the Scriptures, in prayer and in ministering at the altar ; he walked in meditation, his face suffused with tears, in the cloister; he visited and comforted the sick monks. When religious men came to visit him he received them as if they were angels from heaven.

By way of intimation, as it were, to the king to prepare for the contest, Becket sent in his resignation of the chancellorship, under the pretext that he felt himself hardly equal to the duties of one office, much less of two. This irritated the king, and when the primate came to meet him on his landing at Southampton he received him coldly, and soon after called

oil him to resign his archdeaconry also. Becket refused, we know not on what grounds, certainly we may say not out of avarice; but he was obliged to yield. Shortly after he obtained the royal licence to attend a council held at Tours by pope Alexander III. He presented to the council a book of the life and miracles of Archbishop Anselm, for whom he solicited canonisation; thus intimating his purpose of treading in that prelate's footprints. As Alexander did not wish to irritate Henry he declined for the present to confer that honour.

One of the canons of this council was directed against all those who detained or usurped church property; this Becket on his return proceeded to put in force, asserting that no time can avail against the rights of the church. He required the king to surrender the town and castle of Rochester: Richard de Clare, one of the most powerful of the barons, was called on to resign the castle of Tunbridge, and other nobles other possessions, which the primate maintained had originally belonged to his see. While the king and the nobility were in a ferment at this proceeding, the undaunted primate went a step further, and asserted his right to present to all benefices within his diocese. A living falling vacant, of which one William de Eynesford was patron, the primate presented to it; Eynesford expelled the clerk by force; the primate excommunicated him: Henry, as he was a tenant in chief of the crown, required that the sentence should be withdrawn: Becket haughtily replied, that it was not for the king to dictate to him whom to absolve and whom to excommunicate. As however the law was explicit on the subject, he was finally obliged to give way.

The contest had thus gone on for nearly two years when an atrocity committed by a person in orders set the king and the primate fully at issue* (116'3). This man having seduced a young lady in Worcestershire, murdered her father that their guilty commerce might not be interrupted. The public indignation at this horrible deed was high; the king demanded that the clerk should be given up to be tried before the ordinary tribunal; the primate to save him had him placed in the prison of the bishop. Henry then summoned the bishops to

* Becket's friend and biographer Fitz-Stephen expressly says that this was the occasion of the breach between the king and primate. Yet the *honest* Dr. Lingard, who, when it suits his purpose, sets such value on contemporary biography, takes no notice of it whatever.

meet him at Westminster, and after complaining of the corruption of their courts, by which he said they levied more money off the kingdom within the year than *he* did, required that clerks in future if found guilty of a crime before the bishop should be degraded and then handed over to the civil power. The prelates were disposed to assent, till Becket took them aside and engaged them to refuse on the pretext of its not being just that a man should be tried twice for the same offence. The king demanded if they would obey the ancient customs of the realm; one assented, the rest followed Becket in saying, " saving my order." Henry, who knew that this reservation would include whatever they pleased, left the hall in a rage, and next day he deprived the primate of the custody of the royal castles which he still held. For this Becket cared nought, but the other prelates were terrified and counselled submission, in which they were joined by the pope's almoner, who alleged his instructions from the pontiff to that effect. The primate at length waited on the king at Woodstock and promised to observe the customs of the realm, omitting the obnoxious clause. The king treated him with civility, and a great council was summoned to meet after Christmas at the castle of Clarendon near Salisbury.

When the council met (116'4) the bishops were called on to fulfil their promise. Becket required that it should be made with the aforesaid reservation. His breach of faith incensed the king ; he menaced him with exile, and even with death ; two of the prelates with tears implored him to aubmit; the curls of Leicester and Cornwall assured him they had orders to employ force, and conjured him not to make it necessary; the Master of the Temple and one of his knights fell on their knees entreating him to have pity ou the clergy ; the door of an adjoining room was thrown open and armed men were seen with their clothes tucked up and their swords and battle-axes ready for conflict. The primate was incapable of fear for himself, but he felt a generous anxiety for the safety of others, and he yielded. Those who best knew these customs were then required to put them in writing, and at Becket's desire the assembly was prorogued to the following day.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, as the customs now reduced to writing were named, were in number sixteen, of which the following are some of the most important: clerks if accused of crimes shall be tried in the civil courts ; no churchman of any rank shall quit the realm without the king's permission j

all causes not strictly ecclesiastical shall be tried in the king's courts ; all prelates and other spiritual dignitaries who are the king's tenants *in capite* shall be subject to the feudal burthens, and attend in the king's courts ; the king shall hold all vacant sees and receive their revenues till the vacancy is filled; the election shall take place in the king's presence, and the person elected shall do homage, and swear fealty to the king as his liege lord.

Three copies were made of the Constitutions, to which the prelates affixed their seals according to usage with the king and barons. The primate refused, but it is probable that in this case also his obstinacy gave way. He went home, and as it were to punish his weakness in yielding, he abstained from the service of the altar for forty days. The pope at his desire gave him absolution for that sin as he affected to regard it, at the same time counselling moderation. Soon after he went to Woodstock and solicited an audience of the king, but Henry refused to see him. He then, like Anselm, attempted to escape to France ; but the sailors of Romney would not expose themselves for him to the indignation of the king, and be was obliged to return. He now began to set the Constitutions openly at nought; and the king on the other side was stimulated to exertion by those about him, who looked forward to a confiscation of church property and a share in the plunder.

The primate was cited to a great council at Nottingham. When he arrived (Oct. 13) the king refused him the kiss of peace ; a charge of high treason was made against him, and his goods and chattels were declared forfeited. Though the composition in such cases in Kent was but forty shillings, a sum of 500l. was required from him, for which he gave security. Next day he was culled on lor a sum of *300l.*, which he had received as warden of the king's castles ; lie declared that the whole sum had been laid out in repairs, lint added that that should be no cause of quarrel between him and the king. A further demand was then made of 500/. which Henry said he had lent him. Becket replied (as doubtless was the truth) that the money had been a gift; but his word was not allowed to balance the king's, and he gave security for that sum also. On the third day he was required to account for all the moneys he had received when chancellor, and to pay the balance. He replied that at his consecration he had been discharged of all demands by prince Henry and the jus-

ticiary in the king's name. He asked permission, however, to retire and consult with the other prelates. In these proceedings the king was plainly acting from a mean, paltry spirit of vengeance, and was seeking to crush the man who he saw preferred what he deemed his duty to the favour of his prince. The claim now made amounted to the enormous sum of 44,000 marks, and though in honour the primate stood discharged, he, hy the advice of his brethren, offered 2000, which were of course refused. Some then advised him to resign the primacy; Henry of Winchester alone encouraged him to resolution. As this was Saturday he craved a respite till Monday to make his answer.

Strong as was the primate's mind his body gave way under his mental agitation, and he fell ill so as not to be able to leave his bed on Monday morning. His resolution too almost failed, and he even had thoughts of going barefoot to the king and throwing himself at his feet, and praying him to be reconciled. But pride and a sense of duty came to his aid, and when some of the bishops came and recommended submission, he rebuked them in the severest terms. He had taken his final resolution, and that was to brave the royal indignation to the uttermost. He rose, went into the church, and at the altar of St. Stephen performed the mass for that martyr's day, whicli begins with " Princes sat and spake against me," and he directed to be sung the verse of the Psalms, (' The kings of the earth stand up and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and his anointed." Then providing himself with a *host* to have in case of extremity, he moved on toward the council; at the door he took from his chaplain the silver cross he was bearing before him, and carried if. himself. Tin; bishops came forth to meet him, and remonstrated with him on his conduct; he heeded them not; lie entered the hall, from which the king had retired to an inner apartment with his nobles, and sat down, holding the cross before him. The king's rage at being thus braved became ungovernable, and the prelates trembled for their primate's life. They then asked and obtained the royal leave to appeal to Rome against him for his perjury. They went out, and taxing him with his breach of faith renounced their obedience to him, and cited him to answer their charges before the pope. The primate, who saw clearly the advantage he had now gained, calmly replied, " I hear what you say." They sat down on the opposite side of the hall; the earl of Leicester came out and summoned him to come and

hear the sentence passed on him by the temporal peers. He denied with dignity and composure their right to judge him, and cited both them and the prelates to appear before the pope. He rose to depart; a cry of "perjured traitor !" met his ear; he looked round fiercely, and said with a loud voice, that but for his holy orders he would defend himself with arms against those who thus dared to insult him. He returned to the monastery where he abode, followed by the populace and the poorer clergy. He then sent to ask permission to leave the kingdom ; the king took till next day to consider; but in the night the primate quitted the abbey in disguise, and having wandered about for some time effected his escape to Flanders.

The king of France, a superstitious man, forgetting in his jealousy of Henry that the latter's was the common cause of kings, took the part of Becket, and applied to the pope in his favour. The pontiff gave a cool reception to a splendid embassy which Henry sent to him at Sens, where he was residing, and when Becket came thither he received him with every mark of distinction. Henry then sequestered the revenues of the see of Canterbury, and with the cruelty and injustice common in that age banished the kingdom all Becket[1]s relations and domestics, to the number of nearly four hundred persons, making them swear that they would join without delay the primate, whom he thus hoped to reduce to poverty. But the pope frustrated his design by absolving them from their oath, and distributing them in the convents of France and Flanders. The Cistercian abbey of Pontigny was assigned as the residence of Becket, who now set no bounds to his spiritual insolence ; he declared that. "Christ wan *in this caw* again tried before a lay tribunal, and once more crucified in the person of his servant," taking it for granted, according to the spiritual logic then usually employed, that his cause was the cause of God. At length (1166) he ventured in the most solemn manner to excommunicate all concerned in drawing up or supporting the Constitutions of Clarendon, and all who had laid or should lay hands on the goods of the church. Many persons were mentioned by name in this impious sentence, and threats of the same treatment were uttered against the king himself.

Henry, with all his vigour of character, was superstitious, and he feared while he hated Becket; he was also aware of the effect which the censures of the church might have on the

minds, of his people. He therefore gave orders to watch the ports most strictly, that no letters of interdict might be brought in, and he threatened with the severest penalties those who should bring them or publish them. Meantime he prosecuted with vigour the appeal which he had been induced to make to Rome; his agents there employed effectually those golden arguments which, as one of Becket's friends writes, "Home never despised," (that Rome which Becket himself says was prostituted like a harlot for hire,) and two cardinals were despatched to hear and determine the whole affair. Becket's arts and obstinacy, however, rendered their efforts ineffectual. At length (1169), when the petty warfare which had continued for some years between Henry and Louis was terminated by a peace and the marriage of their children, this last monarch sought to reconcile Becket and his sovereign. They met in the presence of Louis. Becket humbly knelt before his king, but unyielding as ever, he persisted in saving his order when promising to obey the customs of the realm. Henry in a rage reproached him with his pride and ingratitude; then turning to Louis, "Mark, my liege," said he, "whatever displeases him he says is against the honour of God; but that I may not be thought to act against that honour I make him this offer. There have been many kings of England before me, some who had greater, some who had less power than I. There have been many archbishops of Canterbury before him, great and holy men. What the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did for the least of mine, let him do for me, and I shall be content." The whole assembly declared that he had condescended sufficiently. Louis asked Becket what he could say to this: he still persisted; his friends then took him away by force. Louis treated him with neglect, and apparently was about to withdraw his protection: but his enmity to Henry and his unmanly superstition finally prevailed, and he fell at Becket's feet and with tears implored his forgiveness. When Henry sent to complain of his still protecting him, he replied with an appearance of magnanimity, "If the king of England will thus cling to what he calls the customs of his fathers respecting the church, he must let me adhere to those of *mine,* which ever were to protect the exile and the fugitive."

At length (1170) the contest was brought to a termination. It was agreed to elude the chief subject of dispute, and Becket was to be restored to his see to hold it as it had been

holden by his predecessors. But a new difficulty arose ; the primate required, according to the custom of the age, to be saluted with the kiss of peace: while the king declared that he had bound himself by a vow never to kiss Becket. The pope sent Henry a dispensation, but he would not depart from his resolution. The difficulty was however at length got over and the treaty concluded.

While the terror of excommunication was suspended over the head of Henry, and he knew not what its effects might be on the minds of his superstitious subjects, he had used the precaution of having his eldest son, prince Henry, crowned by the archbishop of York. Though it was done in secrecy, Becket heard of it, and he prevailed on the pope to suspend the archbishop, and excommunicate the bishops who had assisted at it. On his arrival in England, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the clergy and people, he proceeded to launch his spiritual thunder against those who had assisted at the coronation or persecuted the exiled clergy, and seemed bent on renewing the war with the king. When this intelligence reached the ears of Henry he was greatly moved at the prospect of a renewed contest; the archbishop of York, who was now with him, told him the plain truth, that he could never hope to enjoy peace while Becket lived, and the king, strongly excited, cried out before all his court, " To what a miserable state am I reduced, when I cannot be at rest in my own realm by reason of one single priest! Is there no one to deliver me out of my troubles ?" Four barons, named William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Richard Brito, and Reginald Fitz-Urse, who heard these words, bound themselves by a secret oath to make the primate revoke his censures, or to carry him out of the kingdom, or put him to death. They secretly left the court, and landing near Dover went to the castle of Ranulf de Broc, a man whom the primate had just excommunicated, who supplied them with soldiers. They entered Canterbury in small parties, and were received into the monastery by the abbot, who was on the king's side.

It was now the third day after Christmas. On that festival the primate himself had celebrated mass and preached to the people, and in his sermon he told them that his dissolution was at hand, and that as one of their archbishops had been a martyr, they possibly might have another. He then thundered

forth his invectives against the king's friends, and excommunicated De Broc and his brother by name.

On the day after their arrival (Wednesday, Dec. 29) the four barons, attended by twelve knights, entered the primate's bedchamber. It was after ten o'clock ; he had dined, and was conversing with his friends. They sat down on the ground opposite him, and after a pause Fitz-Urse required him to absolve the prelates ; he made an evasive reply ; both parties grew warm ; the barons desired him then to leave the kingdom ; he replied with his wonted spirit; they left the room ordering the monks to guard him; he followed them to the outer door, telling them he valued not their threats. " We will do more than threaten," they replied. In the court-yard they then began to arm themselves. The primate's servants barred the gate, and his friends not without difficulty prevailed on him to retire through the cloisters into the cathedral, where vespers had now begun. He proceeded thither slowly, the silver cross borne before him ; when they would secure the doors he forbade them, saying, " You ought not to made a castle of the church." lie was ascending the steps of the choir, when the barons, who after vainly assaying the palace-gate had got in at a window and searched it all over, entered the cathedral. It was now dusk, and he might probably have escaped if he would, but his heroic soul, wiiich aspired to the glory of martyrdom, spurned at the thoughts of flight. They rushed forward, crying, " Where is Thomas a Becket ? Where is that traitor to the king and kingdom ?" No reply was made. In a louder tone they then cried, "Where is the archbishop?" He advanced saying, "Here am I, no traitor, but a priest, ready to suffer in the name of Him who redeemed ine." They required him again to absolve the prelates, and again he refused. They told him then he must die, and Fitz-firse laying hold of his robe hade him get out from thence or die. He said he would not move. " Fly then," said Fitz-Urse. " Nor that neither," replied the undaunted primate ; " if it is my blood you want, I am ready to die that the church may have peace ; only in the name of God I forbid you to hurt any of my people." One struck him 'with the flat of his sword between the shoulders, saying, " Fly! or you are dead." They attempted to drag him out; he clung to one of the pillars ; he nearly threw Tracy down, and he flung Fitz-Urse off, calling him pimp. Stung by this insult,

the knight made a blow of his sword at him; Edward Grim his cross-bearer interposed his arm, which was nearly cut off, and Becket himself was wounded in the crown of the head as he was bent in prayer. "To God," said he, "to St. Mary and the Saints, the patrons of this church, and to St. Denis I commend myself and the church's cause." A second blow brought him to the ground before St. Benedict's altar. He settled his robe about him, joined his hands in prayer, and expired beneath repeated blows. Brito clove his skull, and the subdeacon Hugh of Horsea, justly named the 111 Clerk, with the impotent malignity of a savage scattered the brains about with the point of his sword.

Thus perished in the fifty-third year of his age this extraordinary man, a martyr in the cause of the monstrous usurpations of the church, but actuated, we believe, by a sincere sense of duty ; and fair might be his fame, and honoured by all might be his memory, if he had not in pursuit of his object, like but too many other saints of his church, trodden in the tortuous paths of bad faith and duplicity..

The murderers of the archbishop retired to the castl of De Moreville at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, not venturing to appear before the king. Nothing in fact could exceed Henry's consternation when he heard of the bloody deed. He saw an abyss yawning before him, as all the feelings of justice and compassion and honest indignation would be on the side of the church. The king of France and other princes called on the pope to avenge the cause of religion: The embassy, headed by the archbishop of Rouen, which Henry sent to Rome, found the pope highly incensed, and about to lay England under un interdict. But as the king was really guiltless, and the pontiff deemed it wiser to husband his sacred power than run the risk of seeing it exhausted, ho contented himself with a general excommuncation of the murders and their abettors. Two legates were sent to Normandy to examine the cause.

While Henry was thus seeking to appease the pontiff, some adventurers, his subjects, were extending his dominion and gaining for him a nominal kingdom. The island of Ireland was inhabited by a portion of the Celtic race, but as they had never been subdued by the Romans, they remained in their primitive barbarism. Christianity had been introduced among them in the fifth century by Patricius, a native of Britain, and the superstition characteristic of the Celtic race had led to the founda-

tion of numerous monasteries, which offered some glimpses of culture and tranquillity amidst the incessant feuds which prevailed among the native tribes, and the endless succession of murders, abductions, and similar crimes, that were of daily occurrence." Even in the twelfth century the native Irish seem to have been but little advanced beyond the Britons in the days of Caesar. They lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of their cattle, they had little tillage and few arts. The Northmen had invaded and ravaged this island like England and France, with this difference, that they were here the superiors in knowledge and culture: they founded towns along the coast, and all the trade of the island was in their hands.

Henry II. bad long cast an eye of cupidity on this fertile island. In the very commencement of his reign (1156), when Adrian IV. (Breakspear), an Englishman by birth, occupied the papal throne, he obtained a bull, authorising him to invade and reduce that barbarous island: for as the Irish had been converted before the see of Rome had put forth her monstrous pretensions, and Ireland was in a great measure separate from the world, the Irish clergy followed the simpler doctrines of their first teachers, and did not acknowledge subjection to Home. Adrian, therefore, assuming that all islands on which the Gospel-light had shone belonged to Christ's vicegerent on earth, in the plenitude of his power authorised and exhorted the king to invade Ireland, destroy the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay a penny yearly from each house to the sec of Home, The Irish were commanded to submit; the enterprise being for the glory of God, and the salvation of the souls of men.

Henry thus sought to gratify an unjust and grasping ambition by sanctioning a claim against which he was in his own case so soon to contend with all his energy. Various matters, however, prevented him for some years from taking advantage of the pontiff's generosity. At length a feud among the barbarous natives themselves called his attention toward Ireland. Beside their minor division into septs or clans, the Irish nation formed five kingdoms, Desmond, Thomond, Connaught, Ulster, and Leinster, and of the five sovereigns one was usually lord paramount of the whole. The supremacy lay now with Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught. Some years before (1153*), Dermot MacMorrough king of Leinster being in love with the wife of O'Ruarc, chief of Breffney (Leitrim and Sligo), took

* See O'Connor, *Scriptores llerum Hibernica'rum,*

advantage of her husband's absence, and carried her off from an island in a bog, where she had been placed for security. O'Ruarc complained to the lord paramount of the time, the lady was taken from her paramour, and some years later (1168) O'Ruarc was enabled to drive his enemy, who was hated by his subjects, out of his dominions. Dermot repaired to king Henry, who was at that time in Guienne, and offered to hold his kingdom in vassalage *of* him if restored by his arms. Henry accepted the offer, but as the state of his affairs did not allow him then to engage in the enterprise, he gave him letters patent to his English subjects authorising them to assist him. The Irish prince came to Bristol, and he soon after made an agreement with Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul or Pembroke, a man who, having impaired his fortune, was ready for any desperate adventure. Strongbow for his aid was to have the hand of Dermot's daughter Uva, and be declared heir to his dominions. Dermot also engaged two other ruined knights *of* South Wales, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. lie then returned to Ireland, and lay concealed in the monastery of Ferns, of which he was the founder.

In the spring (1169), Fitz-Stephen, who was first ready, set sail with a small force of thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers, and landed at Bannow, not far from the town of Wexford. He was followed by Maurice Prendergast with ten knights and sixty archers, and with this small force they ventured to inarch against Wexford, which was surrendered to them by the Ostmen*, who inhabited it. Fitz-Gerald next arrived with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and such was the advantage their superior arms and military skill gave the invaders, that no force the Irish could bring together was able to resist them. Dermot, not satisfied with recovering his own kingdom, aspired to extend his odious sway. He sent a messenger urging Strongbow to make haste and perform his promise, and the earl having obtained a reluctant consent from Henry, to whom he repaired in Normandy, quickened his preparations. He first sent over Raymond le Gros with ten knights and seventy archers, and this petty force, we arc assured, defeated a body of three thousand Irish who came to oppose them when they landed near Waterford. Strongbow himself now came with two hundred knights and esquires, and a good body of archers. Waterford

* That is, Eastmen, as the Northmen called themselves in Ireland.

surrendered; Dublin was taken. Strongbow married the Irish princess, and Dermot dying shortly after, he became sovereign of Leinster, and aimed at the conquest of the whole island. Roderic, a weak inert prince, was roused at last, and with thirty thousand men he came and laid siege to Dublin; but Strongbow made a sally at the head of but ninety knights and their followers, and routed this tumultuous rabble with great slaughter.

The news of the extraordinary success of these adventurers was by no means agreeable to king Henry, who feared they might cease to conduct themselves as subjects. He sent orders for them to return, and forbade any supplies to be sent to them; he finally resolved to pass over himself to Ireland. He sailed from Milford (1171) with a fleet of four hundred sail, and landed near Waterford. All the Irish princes except Roderic and a few others repaired to him, and acknowledged themselves his vassals. He proceeded thence to Dublin, where he held a great council at which the Irish princes attended, for regulating the state; and soon after the clergy met in synod at Cash el to restore the church to due order. Henry kept his Christmas in Dublin, at which festival he entertained the Irish kings and chiefs, and the following Easter (1/72) he returned to England, leaving Hugh de Lacy justice of Ireland. Strongbow, though deprived of his kingdom, retained great possessions; the conquerors dwelt intermixed with the Irish through Leinster, and gradually extended themselves into the remainder of the island. The two races, separated by origin, language, and manners, never coalesced. Ireland continued as before Lo be. Ihc Ihejilre of anarchy and bloodshed. The injustice of conquest and the trails it produces were not here, as in other eases, compensated by increased civilization, for the English settlers degenerated, while the Irish remained nearly stationary. The scanty annals of the following three centuries in Ireland offer one black tissue of ferocity, vice, and crime, with hardly a gleam of virtue and humanity to break the gloom. The earnest entreaties of the native Irish for the benefits of English law were constantly rejected through the influence of their Anglo-Irish countrymen, who found it more easy to plunder and oppress them while they were separate in law and in language. Ireland (politically speaking) should either not have been invaded, or it should have been conquered as England had been by the Saxons and Normans.

The fame which Henry gained by this nominal conquest of Ireland enabled him to treat on advantageous terms with **the**

pope. In the month of September (1173) he met the papal legates at Avranches; and having made a solemn oath that he had neither commanded nor desired the death of the archbishop, and promised to allow that prelate's friends to return, and to restore the possessions of the see, to acknowledge Alexander and permit appeals to Rome, he received absolution and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland. Becket's zeal was rewarded by the pontiff with canonisation as a martyr; numerous miracles (the number stated is two hundred and seventy) were said to have taken place at his tomb, to which vast crowds of pilgrims resorted every year, and rich offerings were made at it. Becket's murderers being only liable to the censure of the church (as the clergy by refusing to submit to the civil law had forfeited its protection) remained some time at Knaresborough unmolested. At length, finding themselves generally shunned as excommunicated persons, they went to Rome to implore the pontiff's forgiveness. He enjoined them as a penance to visit the Holy Land, and they died while there, and were buried at the gate of the Temple.

Henry, now the most powerful monarch of his time, having ended his contest with the church, looked forward to the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity in future. But the king of France, always jealous of him, sought to raise up enmity against him in his own family. Henry had by his queen Eleanor four sons; Henry, whom he had caused to be crowned as his associate in the throne, and for whom he intended England, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Timraine; Richard, who was to have Poitou and Gniennc.; Geoffrey, who would have Brittany in right of his wile; and John, named by the courtiers Lackland (Sansterre), but for whom he destined the lordship of Ireland. Prince Henry, excited by his father-in-law king Louis, now insisted on his father's resigning either England or Normandy to him, and on the king's refusal he fled to Paris. Queen Eleanor, whose own frailties had not made her indulgent to those of others, offended by the repeated infidelities of the king, stirred up her sons Richard and Geoffrey to make demands similar to that of their brother, and persuaded them when denied to fly also to the court of France. Eleanor herself also absconded; but she fell soon after into the hands of her husband, by whom she was kept confined for the remainder of his reign. Kings and princes were not ashamed to aid these three undutiful boys*

* Henry was but eighteen, Richard sixteen, and Geoffrey fifteen years old.

against their indulgent parent. An extensive confederacy was formed; William the Lion king of Scotland was induced to join by the promise of Northumberland, the earl of Flanders by that of Kent, the earls of Blois and Boulogne were to have rewards of the same kind. Many of Henry's continental barons, weary of the strictness of his government, declared for the young princes their future rulers. Even in England the earls of Leicester and Chester openly took arms against their sovereign. A simultaneous invasion of his dominions was proposed by the confederates.

Henry first applied to the pope, who readily excommunicated his enemies for him. But this spiritual weapon proving of little avail, he took into his pay a body of twenty thousand Brabancons, with whom and with his faithful subjects he prepared to make head against his enemies. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne invaded Normandy on the east, king Louis entered it on the south; the former took the town of Aumale, the latter that of Verneuil. The Bretons rose under the earl of Chester and Ralph de Fougcres; but the king defeated them near Dol, and then forced their leaders to surrender in that town. A conference followed between the tw6 kings, in which Henry, only stipulating to hold the sovereignty for his life, offered half the revenues of England, or of Normandy and Anjou, to his son Henry, half those of Guienne to Richard, and promised to resign Brittany to Geoffrey. But the insolence of the earl of Leicester broke off the negotiation, for this rebel had the audacity to revile and insult his sovereign, nd even to lay his hand on his sword as if to draw it on him.

The king of Scots had meantime entered Northumberland, and his barbarous hordes committed their usual excesses. But Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, defeated him and forced him to make a truce and retire. Lucy then marched southwards to engage Leicester, who had landed in Suffolk with a large body of Flemings, and being joined by Hugh Bigod of Framlingham, was about to push on for the heart of the kingdom. The guardian met him with an inferior force at Fernham in Suffolk. Ten thousand Flemings fell in the action, and Leicester himself was made a prisoner.

The following year (11/4) a number of the English barons rose in arms, and the king of Scots made an irruption at the head of eighty thousand of his ferocious subjects. The guardian, ably supported by the bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural

son, a gallant man, took the field against him, but was very hard pressed, and Henry found his own presence requisite in England. He landed at Southampton (July 10), and being either influenced by superstition or resolved to call it to his aid, he proceeded to Canterbury to worship at the tomb of the new saint. When he came within sight of the church he alighted from his horse and walked to it barefoot: he prostrated himself before the shrine of the martyr, and the bishop of London addressed the spectators, calling on them to believe in the innocence of the king. Henry then assembled the monks, and placing a scourge in the hand of each, bared his back and submitted to the discipline which they inflicted, and he watched that night alone in the church. Next day, having received absolution, he set out for London, where intelligence soon arrived of the defeat and capture of the king of Scots at Alnwick by Ralph de Glanville, the famous justiciary, and the northern barons; and as this victory was said to have been gained on the very day (July 12) that the king had received absolution, it was regarded as a proof of his being reconciled with Heaven and the blessed martyr. Henry was too politic not to take advantage of this opinion and profess to rejoice in the renewed friendship of the saint; He speedily reduced the English rebels, and returning to Normandy relieved the town of Rouen, which Louis was besieging. A truce was then made ; a conference followed at Tours, and an accommodation was effected, Henry giving his sons far less advantageous terms than he had offered them before. He however consented to pardon their adherents.

The Scottish king had to pay dearly for his share in this unjust enterprise. He himself, his bishops and barons, were obliged to come to York (Aug. 10, 1175), and in the cathedral do homage to king Henry, acknowledging him and his successors for their superior lord, and ceding to him the fortresses of Berwick and Roxburgh in perpetuity.

Having thus terminated the contest in which he had been engaged with his family and neighbours, Henry for some years turned his thoughts to the improvement of the laws and police of his kingdom.

The turbulence of his sons, however, again (1183) disturbed his peace. He had required Richard to do homage for Guienne to his brother Henry. This violent youth refused, and a ferocious war, in which no quarter was given, commenced between the brothers. The king with some difficulty made

up the difference, but immediately his son Henry began to plot against him. A fever, however, seized this young prince and carried him off (June 11). When dying he was filled, with remorse, and sent to entreat his father to visit him; the king fearing treachery refused, but sent him his ring by a prelate in token of forgiveness. The dying prince pressed it to his lips, then ordering the bishops who were present to lay him on a bed of ashes, he in that position received the sacraments and expired.

As Richard was now heir apparent the king called on him to resign Guienne to his brother John. Richard, however, refused, and was preparing to have recourse to arms, but on the appearance of his mother in Guienne he quietly gave it up to her. Scarcely was this feud ended when Geoffrey demanded that Anjou should be annexed to Brittany, and meeting with a refusal he fled to the court of France and began to levy troops. He was killed, however, soon after at a tournament (1186), leaving his widow pregnant of a son, who when born was named Arthur, and was acknowledged duke of Brittany.

The Christian dominion in the East was now at an end. The great sultan Saladin had utterly defeated the Christians at Hittin, or Tiberias, and reduced the Holy City and all the towns except a few on the coast. All Europe was filled with grief and indignation; a new crusade, ini which the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the kings of France and England were to Le the leaders, was preached (1188). But while the preparations were going forward the French king excited the restless Richard to invade the territories of the count of Toulouse, and then under pretext of defending the count, Ins vassal, he made an irruption into some of king Henry's provinces. Tim French nobles, however, would not stand by their lord in such manifest injustice, and a conference was held to treat of peace. But Philip required that Richard should be crowned king of England, be put in immediate possession of the French provinces, and marry his sister Alice, who had been already sent to England as his affianced bride. Henry, who was suspected of carrying on an illicit commerce with that princess, refused. Richard then revolted and did homage to the king of France, and the war was renewed. In vain the papal legates used their spiritual weapons on the side of Henry; his barons rebelled, town after town surrendered to his enemies, and he was obliged to yield to all the demands

of the French king. To complete his grief, when he demanded a list of the barons whom, as usual, he was to pardon, the name of his favourite son John appeared at the head of it. In the anguish of his soul he cursed the day on which he was born, and pronounced a malediction on his children, which he never would revoke. He fell into a lingering fever, of which he died (July 6, 1189) at the castle of Chinou, near Saumur; his last moments being cheered alone by the presence of his natural son Geoffrey. As soon as he expired the barons and prelates departed ; and the attendants stripped the corpse and carried off everything of value. A few days after king Henry was buried without much pomp at the abbey of Fontevrault, his son Richard and a few prelates and barons attending his obsequies.

Henry Plantagenet was handsome in person and polished in manners. He was eloquent, affable and courteous, a lover of justice and a friend to learning. He was abstemious in his diet, and used a prodigious deal of exercise in order to keep down his tendency to corpulence. He was an indulgent parent and a kind master. On the other hand, he was faithless to the marriage-bed; passionate, vindictive, false, and regardless of his oaths and promises. The extreme caution of his temper was often more injurious to his interests than the opposite de* feet would have been, and cupidity was the moving cause of Some of his most beneficial measures. On tin: whole, however, he was possessed of most of *the.* best qualities'of his race, and was One of the. ablest princes that have occupied the throne of **England.**

Of his sons by queen Eleanor, two alone, Richard and John, survived him ; his three daughters were married to the kings of Castile and Sicily, and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. The best known of his natural children were (Jeoffrey, who was first made bishop of Lincoln, and then archbishop of York, and William sumamed Longespc, or Longsword, who espoused Ela the heiress of Salisbury, and obtained with her that earldom and its estates. The mother of one or both of these sons was the Fair Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire *.

It is to the reign of Henry I I . that most of the changes usually ascribed to the Norman conquest are to be referred.

' * See Appendix, E.

The origin of the common law may, it is thought, he placed in this reign. Itinerant justices (Justices in Eyre), for example, were appointed with six circuits (nearly corresponding to the present ones), which they usually went every year. For this institution, which has proved of such inestimable value, we are however less indebted to the king's love of justice than to his avarice; for the chief business of these judges was to look after the royal revenue and see that the crown lost none of its rights by fraud or neglect. It was also in this reign that trial by jury began to assume its present form; for originally the jurors were sworn witnesses of facts, and not as now, judges of them. But the measure for which Henry was most famed was that of allowing trial by Grand Assize, that is, by jury, in civil suits instead of the wager of battle, or single combat, which the Normans had introduced in addition to the Anglo-Saxon ordeals of fire and water. This mode from its superior reasonableness and equity was generally received, and led the way to other important innovations. It was at this time also that Latin became exclusively the language of writs and charters.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD I. (CŒUR DE LION).

1189-1199.

THE title of Richard to the crown of England was so clear that he remained for more than a month in France after the death of his father, during which time the orders which he sent over to England were punctually obeyed. His first "act was to direct the liberation of his mother queen Eleanor from the prison in which she had lain for some years, and he gave her permission to set at liberty such other prisoners as she chose. To those who had been faithful and loyal servants and subjects to his father he manifested the utmost favour, while those who had aided him in his own rebellion were forbidden even to appear in his presence. Having received the ducal crown of Normandy and done homage to king Philip, he at length sailed for England, and landing at Portsmouth (Aug. 13), proceeded to London in order to be there crowned.

On the 3rd of September king Richard was consecrated in the abbey of Westminster, by Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury. He thence proceeded to the hall to hold his feast. Some of the leading Jews, as deputies from their afflicted race, (though, fearful of their magic arts, the king had forbidden their presence by proclamation,) ventured to enter the hall bearing gifts after the manner of the East. A Christian struck one of them at the door; the courtiers then fell on them, robbed them, and drove them out; the word flew that the king had given orders for the massacre of the Jews; they were slaughtered in the streets, their houses were burnt, their women and children cast into the flames. The king directed a judicial inquiry to be made, and a few of the ringleaders were taken and hanged, but so many of the principal citizens had been implicated that it was not deemed prudent to search too closely into the matter.

Richard had taken the cross, and his martial ardour and chivalrous spirit of religion urged him to lead to the East an army worthy the magnitude of his dominions. To raise the needful funds was now his care. In his father's coffers he found 100,000 marks beside plate and jewels. He sold the manors and other domains of the crown; he put the offices of the state to sale ; the bishop of Durham purchased the office of justiciary for 1000 marks; the same prelate also bought the earldom of Northumberland for 1000 pounds from the needy king, who jestingly observed that he had made a young earl of an old bishop; for the sum of 10,000 marks he restored to his Scottish vassal the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and released him from all agreements which the late king had "extorted by new charters and by means of his captivity*." To those who remonstrated with him the king replied that he would sell the city of London if he could find a purchaser. All these modes of raising money not sufficing, he, with the pope's permission, took money in lieu of service from those who having assumed the cross preferred remaining at home; he borrowed large sums from his wealthy subjects, and he made those who had committed offences pay dearly for impunity.

Richard appointed the bishop of Durham, and William

* This was no renunciation of feudal superiority as has been erroneously supposed, for it is added, " So however that he shall fully and entirely perform to us whatever his brother Malcolm king of Scotland did of right perforin, and of right ought to perform, to our predecessors."

Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the chancellor and papal legate, to govern the kingdom during his absence in the East. He sought to secure the fidelity of his brother John by heaping on him wealth and honours; he gave him eight castles with their lands, and made him earl of not less than six counties, and he married him to Alisa the heiress of the wealthy earl of Gloucester. For greater security he exacted from him and his natural brother Geoffrey, now archbishop of York, an oath to remain in Normandy till his return; from which, however, he imprudently released them before his departure.

Ere the king set out the zeal of the warriors of the Cross in England once more directed itself against the ill-fated people of Israel. At Norwich, Stamford, and elsewhere many of them were butchered; at York they fled into the castle for refuge after the wives and children of several had been massacred before their eyes. When the governor, who was absent, arrived, they declined admitting hirn, alleging their necessity. He broke out into a rage and cheered on the populace to the assault; the priests also urged them, a hermit clad in white led them on, and the castle was besieged for some days. Seeing the hopelessness of resistance a rabbi advised his brethren to make a voluntary surrender of their lives to their God rather than fall into the hands of their .cruel foes. A few only dissented, the rest collected and destroyed their jewels and other articles of value; they then set fire to the castle, and while it burned, Jocen, the most honourable man among them, cut the throat of his wife; his example was followed by all; Jocen then destroyed himself, and the others did likewise. The few who shrank from voluntary death met their doom next morning from the people. All the bonds of Christians to Jews which were deposited in the cathedral were taken and burnt, Glan= villu the great justiciary was scut to inquire into the allah, but three persons only were punished.

Our limits do not permit us to enter into the details of king Richard's crusade. In the end of June 1190 he and the king of France reviewed their troops, 100,000 in number, on the plains of Vezelay. They thence marched to embark at different ports, and they met again at Messina in Sicily. The sister of Richard had been married to the late king of this island; but his natural uncle Tancred, who had usurped the throne, had refused to pay the queen her dowry and had even cast her into prison. Honour and natural affection urged

Richard to demand justice for his sister. Tancred sought to sow enmity between him and king Philip; but after a good deal of altercation Richard became reconciled to Tancred, who yielded to all his demands, and to whose daughter he engaged his nephew Arthur in marriage. When Philip called on him. to perform his marriage with the princess Alice, he gave a positive refusal, offering to prove that she had borne a child to his father; and Philip, probably aware of the truth of what he alleged, forbore to press him. Shortly after queen Eleanor arrived leading with her Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, whom he had wooed while he was residing in Guienne, and Philip gave his consent to the marriage.

Richard sailed from Messina, taking with him his wife and sister. On his way to Syria he made the conquest of the isle of Cyprus; he found the king of France and the other Christian princes with a numerous army of pilgrims beleaguering the city of Acre, while sultan Saladin lay close at hand with his forces. In about a month after the arrival of the English king the garrison, surrendered, two thousand five hundred of them being to remain as hostages till the sultan should release an equal number of Christian prisoners and pay a sum of 200,000 byzants. The king of France then went home, leaving a part of his troops behind, and some difficulty or delay arising about the payment of the ransom, king Richard had his prisoners brought out and coolly massacred in view of the sultan's camp. He then led his army along the coast toward Jaffa. Near Arsoof he defeated the troops of Saladin, who then destroyed Ascalon at his approach. Negotiations for peace were carried on ; a marriage between the queen of Sicily and Malek-el-Adel, the sultan's brother, was proposed, but no treaty could be effected; the Christian army came within view of Jerusalem, and then retired owing to dissensions among its chiefs. At length ft truce for three years was made with the sultan, and, the pilgrimn having visited the Holy City, the king of England embarked with a small retinue at Acre (Oct. 9,1192) to return to his dominions. During the sixteen months of his abode in the East he had performed such feats of personal valour, that his name long continued to be a word of terror among the Saracens, but the waywardness and inconsistency of his character had prevented him from gaining the esteem or respect of any.

We must now take a view of what was passing meantime in England, Soon after the king's departure Longchamp arrested

his colleague the bishop of Durham, and forced him to resign his earldom and his other dignities. He assumed the greatest pomp and state, treated the kingdom as if it were his own, and bestowed all places in church and state on his relations and dependents. In his progresses through the kingdom he was attended by a guard of fifteen hundred mercenaries, and nobles and knights appeared in his train. The king, hearing of this conduct while he was at Messina, appointed the archbishop of Rouen, the earl of Strigul, and three other knights to be his counsellors in order to restrain him; but such was their dread of Longchamp that they did not even venture to show him their commission. At length he dared to drag Geoffrey the archbishop of York from the sanctuary of a church and cast him into prison; and while the general indignation was strong against him for this act prince John summoned a great council at Reading, before which he was cited to appear. * He shut himself up in the Tower of London, but want of provisions forcing him to surrender he was deprived of his offices, and fearing to remain he made his escape to France in the dress of a woman. The office of justiciary was now conferred on the archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of great moderation and virtue. Longchamp, whose legatine commission had been renewed, kept threatening to lay the kingdom under interdict; and the king of France, who was now returned, though he had sought in vain to prevail on the pope to release him from the oath which he had made to Richard not to make any attempt on his dominions during his absence, was preparing to invade Normandy. The refusal of his nobles to aid him in so unjust an enterprise obliging him to desist, he tried to gain over prince John by the offer of the hand of his sister Alice and the possession of king Richard's dominions in France; but the influence of his mother and the menaces of the English council retained that prince, though unwillingly, in his allegiance.

News now arrived that king Richard lay a captive in Germany. Having suffered shipwreck in the Adriatic, he was proceeding under an assumed name through Germany, when (Dec. 20) he was discovered and arrested at an inn in a small town near Yienna by the duke of Austria, whom he had grossly insulted when in Syria. The duke lost no time in informing the emperor Henry VI. of his prize, and at Christmas he proceeded with his captive to Ratisbon, where the emperor kept that festival, and engaged to give him up to him at the ensuing Easter.

The emperor sent forthwith to inform the king of France, who now resolved to take every advantage of Richard's calamity. He offered the emperor a large sum of money to detain him in captivity; by insisting on a calumnious tale of Richard's having procured the murder of the marquess of Montferrat in the East, and even plotted against his own life, he induced his nobles to join in an invasion of Normandy; and having held a conference with prince John, he engaged him to aid in stripping his captive brother and benefactor of his dominions. Their iniquitous project however failed. Philip, after making himself master of a part of Normandy, was forced to raise the siege of Rouen, and conclude a truce with the English regency. John, whose scene of operation was England, having seized the castles of "Windsor and Wallingford, proceeded to London to claim the crown, asserting that his brother was dead; but the nobles rejected his claim with contempt, knowing what he said to be false; the justiciary having assembled an army forced him to beg a truce, and not thinking himself safe in England, he fled to his ally the king of France.

When the English nobles heard of the captivity of their king they assembled in council at Oxford (Feb. 28, 1193), and resolved that the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert should proceed to Germany to learn his situation. The abbots met the king in Bavaria on his way to Mentz *, where he was given up (Mar. 23) to the emperor by the duke of Austria. In the meanwhile Richard's wife and sister, who were at Rome, were urgent with the pope to use his power in his behalf; queen Eleanor also wrote pressing letters to him in favour of her son. By her advice Richard offered to hold his crown in fee of the emperor and to pay him 5000£. a year as tribute.

At Easter Henry brought the king of England before the diet of the empire, and there accused him of aiding his enemy Tancred of Sicily;' of having deposed the king of Cyprus, a relative of the emperor; of having caused the marquess Conrad, a vassal of the empire, to be assassinated; of having ill-treated German pilgrims, insulted the banner of the duke of Austria, betrayed the Holy Land to Saladin, and committed sundry acts of disloyalty against his liege the king of France. From all these charges Richard defended himself with spirit and dignity; his eloquence drew tears from some of those who were present, and the emperor embracing him promised him

* See Appendix, F.

his friendship. He was assigned an abode at Mentz befitting his rank, and on the 29th of June his ransom was agreed on. He was to pay down 100,000 marks of silver, and give sixty hostages to the emperor and seven to the duke for the payment of the further sum of 50,000, of which 20,000 were to'go to the duke, to whose sou he was to give his niece Eleanor of Brittany in marriage. To raise the money a scutoge of twenty shillings was imposed on every knight's fee in England, a tallage was laid on the towns, and the clergy gave their plate and otherwise contributed largely. "Before Christmas, queen Eleanor and the bishop of Rouen set out with the money for Germany; but new difficulties were raised by the emperor, to whom the king of France and prince John had made the most lavish promises to induce him to detain his captive for another year. But Eleanor appealed to the princes of the empire, and on the 4th of February, 1194, after more than a year's captivity, king Richard was set at liberty, and on the 13th of March he landed at Sandwich in his own dominions. When the king of France heard of his liberation he wrote to prince John in these words, "Take care of yourself; the devil is unchained."

On king Richard's entrance into London, the citizens, we are told, made such a display of their wealth to testify their joy, that one of the Germans who were with him could not help saying, " If our emperor had known the riches of England, thy ransom, O king, would have been far greater," After passing hut three days in London, Richard went to lay siege to prince John's castle of Nottingham; and on its surrender he held there a great council, in which all that prince's possessions were declared to he forfeited if he did not appear within forty days to justify himself It was further resolved, that to wipe off as it were the stain of captivity the king should he crowned anew, The ceremony was performed at Winchester (April 1/). Richard then embarked his troops on hoard one hundred ships for the war against the king of France, and landed at Barfleur.

The war, like most of those of the time, consisted merely of skirmishes and taking of castles on hoth sides. Prince John, who was at Evreux, resolved to throw himself on his brother's mercy. Ever base and treacherous, he invited the officers of the French garrison to dinner, and massacred them while at the entertainment; then with the aid of the townsmen he fell on and slaughtered the garrison. He threw himself at his brother's

feet imploring forgiveness; queen Eleanor interceded, and Richard pardoned him, saying, "I forgive him, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will my pardon." He did not however as yet restore him his possessions.

The war was terminated by a truce (July 23, 1195), on the expiration of which it was again resumed, and during the short remnant of king Richard's reign it was only occasionally intermitted. That monarch's death occurred in the following manner: (1199) Vidomar viscount of Limoges, who was his vassal, having found a treasure of ancient coins, scut the king a part as a present; but Richard as superior lord claimed the whole, and on the viscount's refusal to surrender it he placed himself at the head of a body of Brahaneons and laid siege to his castle of Chalnz. AS he and Mareadee, the leader of his mercenaries, were one day (Mar. 26) taking a view of the castle, one of the garrison, named Bertram de Grourdon, discharged a bolt from nis crossbow, which hit the king in the left shoulder. Richard returned to his tent and gave orders for the assault; the castle was taken, and, us the king had menaced, all its defenders were hanged except Gourdon, who wan probably reserved fur a more cruel fate, lint the want of skill of his surgeon had rendered the king's wound mortal, and feeling the approach of death he summoned Gourdon to his presence. "Wretch!" said he, "what have I ever done to thee that thou shouldst seek my life 7" "You have killed," replied he, "with your own hands my lather and two brothers, and you intended to hang mc; I am now in your power, and you may torment me as you will: but I shall endure with joy, happy in having rid the world o(such a pest." The king, struck with his reply, ordered him a Sum of money and his liberty; but Marcadee unknown to him seized the unhappy man, flayed, him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died on the tenth day, in the forty-second year of his age, expressing great penitence for his vices, and having undergone a severe flagellation at his own desire from the clergy who attended him.

The epithet of Lion-heart *(Cœur de Lion)* which his courage procured for him has apparently been the cause of investing this prince with qualities to which lie had little claim; as we (erroneously we believe) couple magnanimity and generosity with an idea of the courage of the monarch of the woods. But Richard was in reality selfish, passionate, cruel, revengeful, and capricious; he had all his father's bad and few of his good

qualities. Like him, however, he had a fondness for the Gay Science, or lyric poetry of the south of France, and he even practised that art himself; and like him too, he had a ready wit, and could express, himself with eloquence *. No monarch drew larger sums from his subjects' purses, and for this purpose he scrupled at neither violence nor meanness.

Tn the latter part of this king's reign (1196) a riot took place in London excited by one William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed Longbeard, " the patriarch," as Hallam says, " of a long line of city demagogues," styling himself the advocate of the- people. The cause was the heavy taxes imposed by the king for his war in France, which Longbeard asserted to be necessary, but maintained that they were eluded by the rich and great and thrown entirely on the poor. He went over to France to the king; on his return he resumed his agitation, and so inflamed the people by his speeches from St. Paul's Cross, that no less than .52,000 persons bound themselves to obey his orders. Archbishop Hubert however assembled the citizens, and prevailed on them to give him hostages. Fitz-Osbert clove with an axe the head of the officer sent to arrest him, and then took refuge in the tower of the church of St. Mary le Bow j hut the church was set on fire, and as he attempted to escape he was stabbed by the son of the man whom he had slain, and was then dragged to Ty* burn, and there hung from the Elms. Miracles were, as usual, said by his partisans to have been wrought at his grave.

CHAPTER I I I.

JOHN (LACKLAND).

1199-1216.

KING RICHARD, it is said, left his dominions to his brother John, though Arthur duke of Brittany, as representative of

* In his war with the king of France, the bishop of Beauvais, who fought against him, was made a prisoner. The pope wrote requiring him to pity his dear son. Richard sent him the prelate's coat of mail with these words, " This have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or not." " No, not my son's," said the pontiff, " hut of some son of Mars, who may deliver him if he can."

his father Geoffrey, was, by the feudal law, the next heir, and had already been regarded as such by the king his uncle. But, as we have seen, the principles of primogeniture and representation had been hitherto little attended to in the Anglo-Norman line, and Richard may have thought his nephew (who was but twelve years of age) too young, or, as is more probable, he may have been influenced by queen Eleanor, who hated Constance the mother of Arthur, and feared the power she might acquire during the minority.

To seeure England John sent thither his fuat friends, Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl-marshal William earl of Strigul, and he induced Robert de Turnham, who held the castle of Chinon, where the late king's treasure was deposited, to yield it up to him. Normandy, Poitou, and Guienne submitted, but Anjou, Maine, and Touraine declared for Arthur, whose side the king of France also took, with the design of embarrassing John, and he sent the young duke to Paris to be brought up with his own son Louis. Meantime the primate and the earl-marshal had held a conference with the English nobility and clergy, and by presents and by promises of good government had prevailed on them to swear allegiance to John. On his arrival he was crowned (May 27) by the primate at Westminster, and shortly after he recrossed the sea to carry on the war against the king of France.

The war, as usual, consisted in the taking of castles, and the making of truces. William des Roches, the governor of the young duke of Brittany, perceiving that Philip was making the cause of that prince merely the stalking-horse to his own ambition, carried him and his mother away, and reconciled them with king John. Ere long, however, Constance, fearing for the life of her son, fled with him to Angers. As John by an alliance with the emperor of Germany and the earl of Flanders was now too powerful for king Philip, who was also embroiled with the pope, the latter gladly consented to a peace. Louis, son to the French king, espoused Blanche of Castile, the English king's niece, whom queen Eleanor conducted out of Spain for the purpose. He was to receive Berri and Auvergne, and a dowry of 20,000 marks with her. Philip on his part abandoned the cause of prince Arthur, who lost in consequence the provinces he claimed, and had moreover to da homage to his uncle for Brittany.

Being now secure in his dominions, John, who never knew a moral or religious restraint, proceeded by his disregard of

justice to raise up new enemies for himiself. He fell in love with Isabel, the beautiful daughter of his vassal the count of Angouleme, and though she was actually betrothed to the count of La Marche, and his own wife the heiress of Gloucester was living, he resolved to espouse her. He therefore made the discovery that himself and his wife were too near akin ; and the archbishop of Bordeaux and two other prelates, to whom the pope committed the inquiry, declared the marriage void. Her father having meantime stolen away Isabel from the count of La Marche, the bishop of Bordeaux performed the marriage ceremony, and John conducted his bride into England, where she was crowned with him at Westminster (Oct. 8, 1200). The count of La Marche, though John was his superior lord, would not tamely brook the affront thus offered to him. Aided by his brother the count d'Eu, and secretly encouraged by the king of France, he induced the Poitevins to revolt. John summoned his English barons to cross the sea and reduce the rebels -, but they refused, unless lie cngngwd to restore and respect their privileges. They were however forced to yield, and either serve or pay hiim two marks for every knight's fee. Soon after his landing he had an interview with the king of France, in which they renewed their treaty of amity, and at the desire of the latter John and his young queen went and passed a few days at Paris, where Philip resigned his own palace to them. John then proceeded against the rebels, but instead of attacking them he entered into negotiations, promising them justice ; and having thus pacified them a little he returned to Rouen, where he spent the rest of the year in festivity.

The Poitcrin barons, wearied with the duplicity of John, appealed to Philip as the superior lord (1202) ; and this prince, being now on good terms with the church, flung off the mask and declared himself their protector. He also espoused the cause of Arthur (whose mother Constance had lately died), and knighted him and gave him his daughter Mary in marriage. At an interview between the two kings, Philip required that John should resign to his nephew his French provinces, and make sufficient satisfaction to the count of La Marche. John refused these terms, and a war ensued. Philip rapidly made himself master of several towns and fortresses in Normandy. The young duke of Brittany put himself at the head of two hundred lances and set out for Poitou. On his way, hearing that his enemy queen Eleanor was at a castle named Mirebeau

and but slenderly guarded, he resolved to endeavour to secure her person. He carried by assault the lower part of the castle, and was hard pressing the queen, when John, who on learning the danger of his mother had advanced rapidly with some troops to her aid, was seen approaching. Arthur, who had been joined by the count of La Marche and other nobles, advanced to give him battle, but they were defeated and driven back to Mirebeau, where they were miserably slaughtered, and Arthur, the count of La Marche, the viscounts of Limoges, Thouars and Lusignan, and two hundred knights were made prisoners. The latter were laden with irons, tied on carts drawn by oxen, and sent to different fortresses in England and Normandy ; twenty-two of them were actually starved to death in Corfe Castle. The young duke was confined for the present at Falaise*. The king of France, who was besieging Arques, retired on the news of this disaster.

The fate of Arthur is involved in mystery; the belief of the time respecting it seems to have been as follows : on his return to Normandy John repaired In Falaise, where he had au interview with his nephew, whom lie required fo renounce his alliance with the French king, and be reconciled to his uncle and natural friend. The gallant but imprudent youth replied with great spirit, demanding the cession not alone of the French provinces hut of England to him as the rightful heir. John retired now fully resolved on his destruction. Some of John's counsellors suggested the ordinary expedient of blinding and mutilating him, but the king deemed death the surest course. He proposed his assassination to William de Bray, who replied that he was a gentleman, not a hangman, and refused. A ready agent was soon found and despatched to Falaise, but Hubert de Bourg, the governor of the castle, said he would execute the order himself, and then to save the prince spread a report of his death. John however was not to be cheated of his prey ; he hati the prince removed to the New Tower ou the banks of the Seine at Rouen. One night (Apr. 3) Arthur was roused from his repose at midnight, and ordered to come out of the tower in which he lay. The king and his equerry Walter de Mauluc were seated in a small boat at the foot of the tower ; the prince entered the boat; the lowering countenance of his uncle spoke his fate ; he threw himself on his knees, and with floods of tears sued for mercy; in vain! he

* Arthur's sister Eleanor, called the maid of Brittany, was shut up in a convent at Bristol, where she remained a captive for forty years.

was seized by the hair, and a dagger pierced his bosom ; but whether John himself or Mauluc (who received the heiress of Mulgref and her estates as his reward) was the actual assassin remains in doubt. A stone was fastened to the body, which was then flung into the Seine*.

This murder lost John a third of his dominions. The Breton barons met at Vannes, and sent deputies to accuse him before his superior lord the king of France. Philip forthwith summoned him to appear arid answer before his peers to the charge of having murdered an arriere-vassal of the crown of France, his own nephew and vassal, whom he was bound to protect, and who was son-in-law of the lord paramount to whom he owed honour as well as fealty. John sent requiring a safe-conduct. Philip said, " Let him come in peace." " But," replied the envoys, "a safe-conduct to return?" " Be it so," said he, " if the judgement of his peers allow it." They urged that their master was also king of England, and that his subjects there might not allow him thus to expose himself. " What is it to me *V* said Philip ; " is not the duke of Normandy my vassal ? If he has chosen to gain a higher title, I am not thereby to lose my rights over him." As John did not appear he was pronounced by the court to be contumacious, condemned to death, and declared to have forfeited all the territories he held of the king of France. Nothing could be more accordant with justice on feudal principles than was this sentence, though Philip in seeking it was probably actuated more by ambition than by a sense of equity. The following spring (1203) Philip assembled an army to carry the sentence into effect, and aided by the remissness of John and the general horror which the murder of his nephew had caused, he speedily stripped him of all his continental dominions except Guicnnc. Queen Eleanor died during these events (1204) at an advanced age, having lived to witness the decline of the monarchy, to whose greatness she had so largely contributed. The question whether the Capetians or the Plantagenets were to predominate in France was now finally settled in favour of the former.

It was the misfortune of this most worthless prince that he always had to deal with enemies far superior to himself in ability, and to whom his vices and crimes gave a considerable advantage over him. Philip Augustus was perhaps the ablest

* The murder of Arthur is certain, the manner or the agent is of little importance.

man of the line of Capet that ever occupied the throne of France ; but had not John basely murdered his nephew he might never have found a pretext for stripping him of his transmarine dominions. In like manner the king's vices, by depriving him of the affections and support of his nobility, caused him to succumb in a contest with the Holy See, in which right was clearly on his side.

The papal throne was now filled by Innocent I I I . , the ablest and most aspiring pontiff (Gregory V I I . excepted) by whom it has ever been occupied. He had lately humbled the king of France and the emperor of Germany, and the death of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury now gave him an opportunity of trampling on the pusillanimous king of England. It had long been disputed between the suffragan bishops and the monks of St. Augustine at Canterbury which had the right of electing to the primacy. On the death of Hubert (1205), the junior monks, anxious to anticipate the prelates, without even consulting their seniors met at midnight in chapter, and conferred the dignity on Reginald their sub-prior, whom they instantly despatched to Rome to receive the papal confirmation, strictly charging him to keep the matter a most profound secret till he arrived at the Holy See. Reginald's vanity, however, got the better of his discretion ; and as soon as he reached Flanders he assumed the title and state of an archbishop ; the news soon reached England ; the king and the senior monks were incensed ; the junior monks were ashamed, and to accommodate matters the chapter uminimously elected the bishop of Norwich. Fourteen of the monks were despatched to Rome to solicit tin; pontiff's approval ; the suffragans also sent an agent to maintain their claims, and Reginald was now there in person. Innocent saw his opportunity for advancing the claim of the papacy to appoint to spiritual dignities. Setting aside the two elections as irregular, he ordered (1207) the monks to choose for their primate the cardinal Stephen Langton, who was an Englishman by birth though educated abroad. They remonstrated, but in vain ; they were forced to obey, one only, Elias de Brantefield, having the courage to persevere in his refusal.

To soothe the king Innocent sent him a present of four gold rings set with precious stones, accompanied by a letter explaining their mystic meanings: he also wrote him a letter, extolling, and with truth, the virtues and the learning of the new primate. John, however, was not to be soothed. Suspecting

the monks of having played him false, he sent two of his knights to expel them from their monastery and seize their lands; and these knights by threatening to burn their dwelling over their heads forced them to depart and seek shelter in Flanders. John then wrote a very spirited and angry letter to the pontiff. Innocent replied in very bland terms, but hinting at the story of Thomas a Becket; and this was followed by an order to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to lay the kingdom under an interdict if John did not submit to the church. When they notified this to him, the other prelates with tears besought him to give way; but he swore by the teeth of God (his common oath) that if the pope did so he would send him the whole body of his clergy, bishops and all, and seize their estates to his own use, and that if in future he caught any Romans in his dominions he would put out their eyes and cut off their noses, as a mark by which they might be known. The pope and his adherents were however well aware that this was all idle vaunting; for John had so alienated the minds of his people by heavy and arbitrary taxation, and of his nobles by seducing their wives and daughters, that he could not reckon on any aid from them. The interdict accordingly was pronounced (1208). John in return seized the estates of such of the clergy as obeyed it; he banished the prelates, and he confined the monks in their convents, giving them a mere pittance from their own revenues to support them. To gall the clergy still more he cast into prison the concubines or inferior wives which they generally had, with the connivance of the Holy See, and required large sums as the price of their liberty. Such, we are assured, was the profligate desperation of John, that he sent two knights and a priest, named Robert of London, on a secret embassy to Malcken-Nasir the Almohade prince of Morocco, offering to hold his kingdom of him, and even, it is added, to embrace the faith of Islam, if he would aid him in the conflict for his crown which he foresaw. The Moslem, however, rejected the offer with contempt *

After a year's trial of the effect of the interdict, the pontiff proceeded to the ultimate course of excommunication (1209); but the bishops to whom the publication of it was committed, feared the king too much to obey; and Innocent having waited a little sent two legates, Pandolf and Durand, to England,

* The story is told by Paris, who had often heard Robert relating the particulars.

who on John's spurning at the claim of the church to his obedience in things temporal as well as things spiritual, fulminated the sentence (1211). On the return of the legates (1212) Innocent pronounced a sentence of deposition against John, which he directed the king of France to execute, promising him as his reward the crown of England, and (what perhaps Philip valued less) the forgiveness of all his sins.

Philip having summoned all his vassals to his standard assembled a large army at Rouen, and a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels was collected to transport it to England. John on his side prepared for defence ; he directed his seaports to send their shipping to Portsmouth, and he issued orders to all his vassals to appear in arms at Dover, for the defence of the realm. Such numbers came that provisions ran short; and the king, having selected sixty thousand of the best armed and appointed, dismissed the remainder. This army, though brave, could not, however, be relied on; its patriotism was chilled by superstition ; it hated and despised the prince whose cause it sustained. The agents of the court of Rome (which wished to humble John rather than to aggrandise Philip) saw their advantage; Pandolf, who was in Prance, sent two templars to John to propose a private interview; the king agreed to it, and they met at Dover (1213). The artful legate then so worked on his fears by exaggerating the power of Philip, and showing him the extent of the disaffection of his own barons, that John in his terror declared himself ready to submit on any terms to the church. Pandolf required that he should acknowledge Langton, restore the other bishops, and make good all the temporal losses and damages they and the clergy in general had sustained during the contest: and he finally recommended and required that, as a means of securing his kingdom against Philip, lie should put it under the protection of the Holy See, by becoming its vassal in due form. To all these demands John assented without hesitation ; he forthwith passed a charter, making a surrender of England and Ireland to God, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors, and agreeing to hold them of the see of Rome by the annual payment of 1000 marks. He then (May 15), in the church of the templars and surrounded by his prelates and nobles, paid his homage in the usual manner to the legate, laying at his feet a part of the tribute, on which it is said the haughty priest insolently trampled ; and though all present were offended, the archbishop of Dublin alone dared to give expression to his feelings.

Pandolf returned to France, and having congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprise, commanded him to dismiss his army, and not to molest a vassal of the Holy See. Philip, seeing that he had been made, at a great cost to himself, the mere tool of the pontiff's ambition, remonstrated and complained, but to no purpose. He then appealed to his barons; and their superstition yielding to loyalty, love of fame and interest, they vowed to aid him in his attempt on England. The earl of Flanders (a secret ally of John's) having refused, Philip, swearing that France should be Flanders or Flanders France, invaded that province. But Longsword earl of Salisbury, John's natural brother, went over with the English fleet of five hundred sail, and attacking that of the French as it was moving along the coast, destroyed one hundred and took three hundred ships. Philip unable to save the rest was obliged to burn them himself, and thus abandon all hopes of the conquest of Flanders.

The court of Rome removed her anathemas in order, as she had laid them on in order. The sentence of deposition was taken off by admitting John to do homage. "When he went to meet Lnngton and the prelates at Winchester on their return (July 20), he threw himself on the ground before them, and with tears implored them to have pity on him and the realm. The primate then led him into the chapter-house • and having administered to him an oath of obedience to the pope and of good government of his kingdom, gave him absolution and admitted him to dine with him, to the great joy of the people. The interdict, however, was kept on till satisfaction for their losses should have been made to the clergy; but the bishop of Tusculum, who came over as legate on this and other accounts, partially relaxed it by allowing mass to be performed with a low voice in the churches. When inquiry was made, the clergy rated their losses at a sum which amazed the king; he offered one hundred thousand marks for a receipt in full; they refused, but the pope directed his legate to be content with forty thousand. The result was that the superior clergy wer» indemnified, while the claims of the inferior clergy were treated with neglect. The legate at length (June 29, 1214) took off the interdict, which had lain on the kingdom for upwards of six years.

An extensive confederacy against the king of France having been formed by the sovereigns of Germany and England, and the earls of Flanders, Toulouse and other princes, John landed an army at La Rochelle and recovered Poitou. **But**

the battle of Bouvines (July 27), in which Philip with a far inferior force defeated 150,000 Germans, Flemings and English, dissipated all the prospects of John. On receiving the news of this disaster he reimharked his troops without delay, having obtained a five years' truce from the king of France.

In his contests with the pope and the king of France, John had met with nothing but loss, disgrace and humiliation. It only remained for him to be humbled by his own subjects. The author and prime mover of the resistance to the arbitrary power of the crown which laid the true foundation of English liberty was the primate Langton; and since it is not given to us to read the heart of man, and we can only judge of his motives by his acts, we may not with justice deem the prelate to have been actuated by any motives but love of equity and sincere patriotism, and his name should therefore be always held in veneration by the lovers of their country.

Langton thus proceeded. In the oath which he administered to the king previous to his absolution, lie made him Swear to restore the good laws of king Edward. On tin; 1th of August following, in a council held at St. Albans under Fitz-Peters the justiciary, orders were given that the laws of Henry I. should be followed ; and on the 25th of the same month, at a meeting of prelates and barons al St. Paul's in London, Langton showed them that monarch's charter, and explained to them its applicability to their grievances. John on hearing of this despatched an envoy with a large* sum of money to Rome, and Innocent deeming it to be for his interest to support his vassal against his barons, sent, as we have seen, the bishop of Tusculum to England. The affair of compensation to the clergy occupied the time till the king's expedition to France; and shortly after his return the barons held a large meeting at the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds (Nov. 20), under the pretence of keeping the festival of the saint, where Langton again exerted his eloquence, and they swore on the high altar to make war on the king till he should confirm their liberties by a charter. On the festival of the Epiphany (Jan. 6', 1215) they repaired to the king at London and urged their demands, and he promised to give them his answer at Easter. In the interval he made some concessions to the church ; he assumed the cross to secure to himself the privileges of a crusader, he summoned his mercenaries from the continent, and he directed the sheriffs to make the freemen in their counties take the oath of allegiance. Both parties had

sent to Rome, but the pontiff openly took the side of the king, and wrote a circular to the barons enjoining them to cease from hostility.

In Easter week the barons, at the head of two thousand knights with their esquires and other attendants, met at Stamford, and on the Monday after (Apr. 27) advanced to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the king then lay. He sent the primate and the earls of Pembroke and Warrenne to ascertain their demands. They were the same as before; the king with an angry sneer cried, "And why do they not also demand my kingdom?" He then in a fury swore that he never would grant liberties which would make him a slave. He sent back the mediators with some offers, which the barons regarding as evasions would not hearken to. Pandolf and the bishop of Exeter insisted that the priniflte was hound to excommunicate the baron* ; lie replied, that if the king did not dismiss his foreign troops, he should *deem* it his duty to excommunicate *them.* John finally sent offering to leave all matters to the decision of the pope, and of eight persons to be chosen by the barons and himself. This also they refused ; they proclaimed themselves to be the army of God and of Holy Church, appointed Robert Fitz-Walter to be their general, and commenced operations by investing Northampton. After spending fifteen days before it, they raised the siege and advanced to Bedford, which Beauchamp its governor delivered up to them, and hither deputies came inviting them to London. They set out at once, marched all night, and reached that city in the morning (May 24). It being Sunday the citizens were in the churches, but the gate named Aldgate stood open to admit them, and they occupied the city without opposition.

They now summoned all those who adhered to the king or had not yet declared themselves to join them, under a penalty of being treated as public enemies. Numbers immediately flocked to them. "It is needless," say the writers, "to name the barons who composed the army of God and of Holy Church: they were the whole nobility of England." John, who was now at Odiham in Hampshire with a retinue of but seven knights, seeing resistance hopeless resolved to dissemble. While he in secret wrote to excite the pope against them, he affected to yield to their demands with cheerfulness. At Merton (June 8) he granted a safe-conduct to the deputies of the barons, who were to meet him at Staines, and on Trinity Monday (15th) both parties appeared on the mead

named Runnymead on the banks of the Thames between Staines and Windsor. On the one side stood Fitz-Walter and the flower of the English nobility ; on the other the king, attended by Pandolf the legate, eight bishops, and fifteen barons and knights. The barons presented in writing the heads of their grievances, and of the means of redress; these were, according to usage, reduced to the form of a charter; the king affixed his seal (19th), and issued it as a royal grant, and copies were sent all through the kingdom. Aware of the king's perfidy, the barons further required that all foreign officers and their families should be sent out of the realm; the city and Tower of London be left in their hands till the 15th of August; and a committee of twenty-five barons be appointed as guardians of the charter, with power to make war on the king if he violated it. When the king hud assented the barons renewed their homage.

ity the Great Charter *(Magna Charta)*, as it is named, the church was secured in its liberties und rights, the barons were relieved by the regulation of the feudal burdens of aids, scutages, wardships, etc., and their sub-vassals were assured the sa,m« advantages by their lords ; London and the other cities and boroughs were guaranteed their ancient liberties and usages, and secured against arbitrary taxation ; foreign merchants were protected ; no man was to be imprisoned or outlawed hut " by the legal judgement, of bis peers or by the law of the land." Again, says the king, " We will sell, delay, or deny justice to none ;" and to regulate fines, it is added., "a freeman shall be amerced according to his offence saving his freehold, a merchant Saving his merchandise, and a villain saving his waggonage." The court of Common Pleas was to be stationary ; the forest-laws were mitigated.

Such is the faint outline of this celebrated charter, the foundation on which the noble edifice of English liberty was raised; for it contains the germ of every subsequent improvement that has been made. The names of Langton, Fitz-Walter and the other eminent men who forced it from a reluctant tyrant must be held in everlasting honour ; for they thought not of themselves alone ; they cast the shield of protection over the rights and interests of all, even of the stranger. The blessings which have flowed from Magna Charta are hardly to be appreciated. To use the glowing words of a philosopher and a historian,—" To all mankind it set the first

example of the progress of a great people for centuries, in blending their tumultuary democracy and haughty nobility with a fluctuating and vaguely limited monarchy, so as at length to form from these discordant materials the only form of free government which experience had shown to be reconcilable with widely extended dominions. ("Whoever in any future age or unborn nation may admire the felicity of the expedient which converted the power of taxation into the shield of liberty, by which discretionary and secret imprisonment was rendered impracticable, and portions of the people were trained to exercise a larger share of judicial power than was ever allotted to them in any other civilized state, in sneh a manner as to secure instead of endangering public tranquillity; —whoever exults at the spectacle of enlightened and independent assemblies, who, under the eye of a well-informed nation, discuss and determine the laws and policy likely to make communities great and happy ;—whoever is capable of comprehending all the eifects of such institutions, with all their possible improvements, upon the mind and genius of a people, is sacredly bound-to speak with reverential gratitude of the authors of the Great Charter. To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind*."

John had behaved to his barons with the utmost courtesy, and even set his seal to the charter with a smile. But when they were gone he gave vent to his smothered rage; he cursed the day'ofihis birth, gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, and gnawed sticks and straws, acting like a maniac He then began to think on revenge ; be sent to implore the aid of his liege lord at Rome, and he despatched some of his friends to hire for him bodies of the mercenaries now so numerous in France and Flanders. Meantime the barons, in the exultation of success, had appointed a splendid tournament to be holden at Stamford on the 2nd of July ; when to their surprise they learned that it was the king's intention to take advantage of their absence at it, to seize the city of London. They accordingly put off the tournament, and sent to the king at Winchester, who only laughed at their suspicions. Various conferences were then appointed ; but the king, who only sought to gain time, eluded them: and at length (Sept. 1) he went to Dover to meet the

* Mackintosh, History of England, i. 221. See also Hailam's judicious remarks on this subject,

mercenaries who now were flocking fast to his standard. The barons in alarm directed William d'Albiney to occupy the castle of Rochester; the king forthwith laid siege to it: and as the castle was unprovided with stores, Albiney was obliged to surrender (Nov. .30). John was about to hang the whole garrison, but the leader of his mercenaries, who feared retaliation, prevented him. However, though he spared the knights he executed their followers.

While engaged in the siege of Rochester, John learned that, as he expected, the pontiff had declared in his favour, and absolved him from his oaths. As the barons took no heed of the Holy Father's mandates, he formally excommunicated them by name *(Dec.* 16), declaring them to be worse than Saracens. The king on bis side having divided his army at St. Albans, sent his brother the earl of Salisbury with one part to ravage the eastern counties, while he marched in person with the remainder northwards. The northern barons at his approach (Jan. 121 (I) set fire to their houses and corn and fled into Scotland, to whose king they did homage. John ravaged the country in a most dreadful manner; the inhabitants were tortured, massacred and pillaged ; castles, towns and villages were burnt, the king usually giving the example by setting fire in the morning to the house in which he had passed the night, lie penetrated to Edinburgh, wasting and destroying Scotland also. Similar atrocities were perpetrated by the carl of Salisbury and the hordes he commanded.

The barons, who were now at London, seeing the king at the head of a force which they could not resist, their castles taken, and their lands grunted away to the leaders of mercenaries, resolved after some days' anxious deliberation to call in foreign aid; and they sent to offer the crown to Louis son of the king of France, the husband of the princess Blanche. Louis, setting at naught the anathema launched at him by the pontiff, sailed from Calais with a fleet of six hundred and eighty ships and landed (May .30) at Sandwich. John, who lay with his army at Dover, had retired to Bristol, wasting the country on his way. Louis advanced to London, where he received (June 2) the homage of his new subjects. John's mercenaries now left him in great numbers; several of his barons went and did homage to Louis; among them was his brother the earl of Salisbury, whose wife the tyrant had debauched*. He also lost his main support the pope, who died

* Gulielm. Armor. 90. quoted by Lingard, yet the fact is hardly credible.

at this time (July 16); the legate Gualo, however, was strenuous in his cause, and he still held all the fortresses in the kingdom. Louis awaked the suspicions of the English barons by grants to his own followers, and it was whispered that he had a design to destroy them as traitors. John made lavish promises; many barons went over to him; the aspect of his affairs was brightening, when, as he was crossing the Wash on his way from Lynn, the waggons containing his treasure were swallowed up by the tide, and the stream of the Welland. He came with a heavy heart to the monastery of Swinestead, where he was seized by a fever, caused by anxiety or a surfeit, or as some said by poison; and four days after (Oct. 19) he breathed his last at Newark, in the forty-ninth year of his age, leaving behind him a character equally odious, despicable and atrocious, his numerous vices being unredeemed by a single good or great quality.

With respect to John's surrender of his kingdom to the pope, we must in justice observe that it derived much of the odium which attaches to it from his personal character, and from the future encroachments of the papal see. His nobles assented to it, and never made it a ground of reproach to him. His father had done the same, so also had the king of Aragon and the Norman monarchs of Naples and Sicily, and his brother Richard had declared himself a vassal of the empire. Vassalage, we must recollect, was no dishonour in those days, even to the highest.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY III. (OF WINCHESTER).

1216-1272.

HENRY, called of Winchester, the place of his birth, the heir to the throne, was but ten years of age when his father died. The prelates and the barons of the royal party resolved on his immediate coronation, and the ceremony was performed at Gloucester (Oct. 28) in the presence of the legate; the young monarch at the same time doing homage and swearing fealty

to the pontiff. On account of his tender years the care of his person and the government of the realm were committed to the earl of Pembroke, earl-marshal, with the title of Guardian of the Kingdom.

Henry, though a child, was a more formidable rival to Louis than his father had been. His tender years inspired pity. "We have persecuted the father for evil demeanour, and worthily," said the marshal at the coronation; "but this young child whom ye see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he innocent of his father's doings." The marshal himself was a man of great probity, talent and energy; the legate had directions to uphold the minor's cause with all his authority. The Great Charter was confirmed in a council holden at Bristol (Nov. 12), and their liberties were secured to all who should return to their allegiance; and soon the earl of Salisbury, William d'Albiney, and several knights came and ranged themselves beneath the royal banner.

By the surrender of two castles the regent obtained from Louis a truce to the following Easter. On its expiration (Apr. 30, 1217), as the royalists had laid siege to the castle of Montsorel, the troops of Louis and the barons, numbering six hundred knights and twenty thousand foot-men, marched from London to its relief, wasting and plundering the country on their way. The royalists retired at their approach; and they entered Lincoln in triumph, and laid siege to the castle, which was defended by a heroine named Nichola de Camville. Pembroke assembled an army at Newark and inarched to her relief. Deceived by the apparent magnitude of his forces the hostile army remained in the town; and while by way of bravado they were pressing the siege of the castle, the regent's troops burst open one of the gates and entered the town; a sally was at the same time made from the castle: assailed on all sides, they were forced to give way; the common men were massacred without mercy; three earls, eleven barons, and two-thirds of the knights were made captives. The town was given up to pillage; the women and children had sought refuge on board of the boats in the river, but their weight sank them, and most of the fugitives perished.

This victory, named the Fair of Lincoln, secured the crown to Henry. The only hopes of Louis now lay in the troops which his wife was collecting for him in France. These troops embarked (Aug. 24) on board of a fleet of eighty large and a great number of small vessels at Calais; but Hubert de

Burgh the justiciary put to sea with but forty ships, **and** boldly attacking them gave them so total a defeat that but fifteen escaped. Louis was now obliged to seek his safety in negotiation. A treaty was signed at Lambeth (Sept. 11) by which he and his foreign troops were allowed to depart, and an amnesty was granted to his English adherents. The barons all returned to their allegiance, and the Great Charter was again confirmed*.

The death of the able and virtuous earl-marshal, which occurred the very next year (1219), was a general misfortune. The custody of the royal person was then committed to Peter des Roches, a Poitevin whom John had made bishop of Winchester; and the exercise of the royal authority was entrusted to Hubert de Burgh the justiciary. These ministers were rivals; the one favoured the native families, the other united himself with the foreigners whom John had introduced into the kingdom. Pandolf, who was returned as legate, held the balance between them.

As a means of recovering the crown-lands and the royal castles from those who held them, the legate, at the desire of De Burgh and the council, declared the young king of age (122,"5) to dispose of his lands, castles, and wards. Hubert instantly required the surrender of the royal castles; the earl of Albemarle and some others resisted, but Hubert levied troops, the legate caused them to be excommunicated, and they were obliged to submit. One of John's foreign favourites named Fawkcs de Breaule, who held the castle of Bedford, having had several verdicts found against him for the violent expulsion of persons from their lands, had the audacity to seize one of the judges, and imprison him at Bedford. As he was a partisan of Des Roches, the justiciary resolved that he should not go unpunished. He led a force, in which the king was present in person, and besieged the castle of Bedford. After a brave defence it was forced to surrender; and, to deter others, all in it but the archers were hanged. Fawkes, who was at Chester, was forced to give himself up to the king's mercy; he was stript of his property, and banished the kingdom with his family. Shortly after the bishop of Winchester also withdrew, under pretext of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Hubert now ruled without control for several years, and he every day augmented his wealth by the grants which he ob-

* A separate Charter of Forests, with mitigated penalties, was now enacted.

tained from the crown. At length (1232) the aspect of his affairs began to change; Des Roches returned and was received with great favour by the king; complaints of Hubert's avarice and ambition were poured into the royal ear, and finally, when, on occasion of an inroad of the Welsh the king complained of want of money, it was hinted to him that by making Hubert and his relations disgorge their gains his wants might easily be supplied. Hubert was forthwith called on to account for the wardships, royal rents and other revenues which had passed through his hands since he had been made justiciary. Conscious of guilt, or despairing of justice, he took sanctuary at Merton; by the king's orders the mayor of London set out at the head of twenty thousand citizens to drag him from the sanctuary; but Henry meantime changed his mind, and gave him five months to prepare his defence. Hubert having taken advantage of his liberty to go to visit his wife at Bury St. Edmund's, a body of three hundred horse was sent to fetch him back and place him in the Tower; Hubert, who was in bed when he heard of their approach, jumped up and fled undressed as he was to the nearest church, where he stood on the steps of the altar holding the host in one hand and a cross in the other. But his pursuers seized him, placed, him on a horse, with his legs tied under the belly, and thus led him to London. The king, however, in awe of the church, sent him back to his sauctuary, giving the sheriff of Essex strict charge to seize him if he attempted to escape, A ditch and paling were made round the church, and on the fortieth day Hubert was forced to surrender himself. He was placed in the Tower and then brought to trial; he made no defence, throwing himself on the mercy of the king. He was sentenced to forfeit the greater part of his property and to be confined in the castle of Devizes. But the next year (1233), on occasion of a quarrel between the king and his barons, the charge of this castle being given to a retainer of the bishop of Winchester, Hubert fearing for his life let himself drop down one night into the moat, and then took refuge in a church. Here he was instantly besieged by the sheriff; but in a few days a party of horse came, who drove off the sheriff and conveyed Hubert to the earl of Pembroke in Wales; the next year (1234), when peace was made between the king and the barons, Hubert was restored to his estates and honours. It does not appear that he ever again engaged in affairs of state.

The rising of the barons which restored Hubert to liberty was caused by the insolence of the bishop of Winchester, who

now engrossed the king's favour. This prelate invited over vast numbers of his countrymen, the chief offices of state were conferred on them, and the royal revenues were employed to enrich them. The indignant barons refused to attend the king's council unless the foreigners were dismissed; adding that, if the king persisted in favouring them, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on a head more worthy to wear it. The king and bishop, however, by detaching some of the leading members, broke up their confederacy. William earl-marshal having fled to Ireland, orders were sent to the lords justices there to send him dead or alive to England. As the shorter mode, they engaged, it is said, a surgeon, who was called in to cure some of his old wounds, to cauterise them in such a manner as to cause his death. Peter des Roches now went on in his violent course, dreading no opposition; the influence before which he fell came from a quarter whence perhaps he least expected it. Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, attended by several other prelates, came to the king (1234), and having set before him the dangerous consequences both to himself and his people of the course which he was pursuing, insisted on the dismissal of the foreigners, menacing an excommunication in case of refusal. The king was terrified and submitted, the foreigners were banished, and a ministry was formed, in which the primate, a man of great prudence and integrity, was included.

A celebrated historian, and one who cannot be suspected of an undue partiality to the clergy, has thus expressed himself on an occasion similar to the present; and their conduct in this and the preceding reign amply confirms the truth of his observation.

"It must be acknowledged that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite together a body of men who had great sway over the people, and who kept the community from falling to pieces by the factions and independent power of the nobles. And, what was of great importance, it threw a mighty authority into the hands of men, who by their profession were averse to arms and violence, who tempered by their mediation the general disposition towards military enterprises, and who still maintained amidst the shock of arms those secret links without which it is impossible for human society to subsist."

king and watch over the expenditure, and control the administration of justice; and that the chancellor, the justiciary, two justices of the King's Bench, and two barons of the Exchequer should be chosen by the council, and hold their places independent of the crown. The king would only consent to renew the Great Charter, and when he got the supplies he thought no more of his word. In 1248, when he again demanded a supply, he met only with reproaches for his breach of faith and oppression of his people; money was positively refused.

Want of money again (1253) compelling Henry to beg a supply, he took the vow of a crusader, under the sanctity of which he deemed himself sure of some part of his subjects' money. The clergy deputed the primate and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle to remonstrate with him on his oppression of both them and the people. Among other grievances they noticed the improper mode of appointing to vacant dignities: the king, who wanted not for wit, deficient as he was in good sense, replied, " It is true I have in this been somewhat to blame: I obtruded you, my lord of Canterbury, on your see: I employed both threats and promises, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected: I acted very irregularly, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities. But I will correct these abuses ; and you too, to make the reform complete, ought to resign and try to be re-elected in a more regular manner." They said that the question was not to correct past errors, but to prevent their recurrence. The king promised as before; a supply was granted, but it was required that he should confirm the Charter in a more solemn manner than had yet been employed. The bishops and abbots all stood holding lighted tapers in their hands ; the Great Charter was read aloud: they pronounced the sentence of excommunication against whosoever should violate it; then casting their tapers on the ground they exclaimed, " May the soul of him who incurs this sentence thus stink and corrupt in hell!" The king, who during the reading had stood with a calm and cheerful countenance, holding his hand on his heart replied, " So help me God as I shall observe and keep all these things, as 1 am a Christian man, as I am a knight, as I am a king crowned and anointed!" Yet incapable of energy enough to keep a promise, he immediately returned to his old courses.

usual impetuosity attacked and carried the bridge which the Gascons held (July 19), and passed over in great numbers. Henry's troops, however, maintained the fight bravely, till news came that a large body of the enemy had crossed the river lower down. Fearing to be cut off they then broke and fled for Saintes, and the king himself narrowly escaped captivity. Next morning the French appeared before that town; the count of La Marche sallied forth, and an indecisive action was fought. But the count now saw the danger of his situation, and he resolved to make terms for himself if possible with Louis. By means of his son he succeeded. Henry was just sitting down to table when he heard what the count had done, and at the same moment he learned that the townsmen had agreed to admit the French troops in the night. It was resolved to fly without delay to Blaye, and so rapid was the flight that the military chest and the costly ornaments of the king's chapel were left behind. Louis did not pursue, as a dysentery had begun to prevail in his army, and a truce for five years was made shortly afterwards. The conscientious Louis, doubting of the justice of the title by which he held the English possessions in France, was most anxious to obtain a renunciation of them from Henry, who on his side demanded an equivalent. At length (1259), after many years of negotiation, an arrangement was effected. Henry made the renunciation, receiving in return the Limousin, Perigord and Querci, and the reversion of the Agenois and part of Saintonge. He then did homage as duke of Guienne and a peer of France.

In all his difficulties at home and abroad the feeble king placed his chief reliance on the power and authority of the pope, to whose ambition and avarice he in return yielded himself as a ready instrument. This was in the main most advantageous to the cause of freedom, for the clergy as sharers in the common evil united with the barons in their opposition to the crown. The pope, who in consequence of the contest which he had engaged in with the emperor Frederick I I . was immersed in debt, had recourse to every possible mode of extracting money from the clergy. By appeals to their generosity and duty he obtained large sums; these not sufficing, he proceeded, in imitation of the temporal princes, to levy tallages on them. The frequency of these exhausted the patience of the English clergy; they remonstrated ; the barons and even the king took part with them, but still the pope triumphed, and they were obliged to pay. Another grievance of

the clergy was what were called Provisions, by which the pope, regardless of the rights of patrons, assumed the power of appointing to vacant benefices. In consequence of this a large portion of the richest livings were in the hands of Italians, who, after providing at a small expense for the performance of the duty, drew the rest of the income out of the kingdom. The pope himself acknowledged that the benefices thus held amounted to 50,000 marks a year, a sum exceeding the revenues of the crown; and the fact that Mansel the king's chaplain held seven hundred livings, will give an idea of the extent to which pluralism was carried. An association named the Commonalty of England was formed in 1232 to oppose the Provisions: its head was a knight named Robert Twinge, who had been deprived by a provision of his right of nomination to a living. The principal of the barons and clergy secretly favoured it, and though it did not number more than eighty members, it became very formidable to those against whom it was directed. The papal couriers were murdered; the foreign clergy were seized, thrown into private dungeons and obliged to pay heavy ransoms; the produce of their farms was carried off, and sold by auction or distributed among the poor. After this had continued for eight months the king interfered. Twinge went to Rome to plead his cause; the pope acknowledged his right to nominate, and declared that provisions should be in future confined to the benefices that were in the gift of spiritual bodies; thus artfully seeking to separate the interests of the laity from those of the clergy. In this, however, he did not quite succeed; the spirited conduct of Robert Grosseteste the illustrious bishop of Lincoln, who (1253) absolutely refused to admit a provision into his diocese, gave a check to the practice.

The pope soon made a new attempt on the property of the clergy and laity of England. At the time when the Normans made the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, they had subjected it as a fief to the Holy See. It had passed by marriage to the emperors of Germany, between whom and the popes there had long been unceasing enmity, open or concealed. On the death of Frederick II. (1254) the pope, as the superior lord, and urged by his hatred of the German princes, made an offer of the crown to Richard earl of Cornwall, king Henry's brother, esteemed the richest subject in Europe. The earl was too prudent to be caught by the dazzling offer; the pope then offered the crown to the king himself for his younger son Ed-

nmnd, and the thoughtless Henry at once swallowed the glittering bait; he engaged to land with an army in Italy, and bound himself to defray the whole expenses of the war. These soon became considerable, for success was uniformly on the side of Manfred, the natural son of Frederick, who now maintained the imperial cause. Henry applied to his barons to aid him (1256), but they saw through the designs of the pope and refused to contribute a shilling. Pope and king then fell on the unfortunate clergy. The former granted the latter a tenth on all the benefices in England for five years, the goods of all the clergy "who died intestate, and the revenues of all vacant benefices and of non-residents: he also placed at his disposal the proceeds of the crusade which he ordered to be preached against Manfred. The bishop of Hereford, who was at Rome, drew bills to the amount of 150,540 marks on the prelates and abbots of England in favour of some Italian bankers ; and as it was expected that they would prove rather restive, the legate had orders to exert his authority to the utmost over them. When he called them together, and told them the pleasure of the pope and king, their surprise and indignation knew no bounds. The bishop of Worcester vowed that he would sooner die than yield; the bishop of London declared that if the king and pope should take the mitre off his head, he would put a helmet in its place. The legate told them that all their benefice* belonged to the pope* and that he might dispose of them us he pleased. He finally menaced them with excommunication, and they were constrained to yield ; all the favour they could obtain was the being allowed to deduct the amount, of the bills out of *the* tenths they were to pay. Still the money did not suffice for the pope, and as Henry could raise no more, the pontiff transferred the crown to Charles of Anjou, brother to the king of France, who slew Manfred in battle and gained the kingdom (1266).

The high spirit of the English barons could ill brook the manner in which the numerous grants which they had been induced to give to their thoughtless monarch had been squandered away in inglorious projects of ambition, or lavished on foreign favourites ; and various attempts were made to restrain the royal extravagance. In 1242, when about to grant a supply, they required that it should be placed in one of the king's castles, under the custody of four barons to be appointed by the great council; and in 1244, on a similar occasion, they demanded that four barons should be declared Conservators of the Liberties of the Nation* two of whom should always attend the

king and watch over the expenditure, and control the administration of justice; and that the chancellor, the justiciary, two justices of the King's Bench, and two barons of the Exchequer should he chosen by the council, and hold their places independent of the crown. The king would only consent to renew the Great Charter, and when he got the supplies he thought no more of his word. In 1248, when he again demanded a supply, he met only with reproaches for his breach of faith and oppression of his people; money was positively refused.

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Hitherto Henry had been supported by the advice and influence of his brother the earl of Cornwall, a man of energy and talent far superior to his own; but he now lost that support. The earl, whose good sense had led him to reject the diadem of Naples, was not proof against the offer of that of Germany. He went to that country, taking with him his immense treasures, which he speedily squandered in pursuit of the splendid phantom; for though he was crowned king of the Romans (1257) he never was able to make his authority acknowledged. His absence from England left the king unsustained, and the barons confederated to limit and restrain the royal authority.

The most eminent man among the barons at this time was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a Frenchman by birth, and younger son to the cruel fanatic who headed the nefarious crusade which Innocent III. had preached against the sect oi the-Albigenses in the South of France*. De Montfort was married to the eldest sister of the earl of Leicester, on whose death without issue his estates went to his sisters. The title of Leicester fell of course to the sons of the countess de Montfort; and as the eldest would not for the sake of it give up the dignities he held in France, lie resigned in favour of his brother Simon, who thus became earl of Leicester, and soon after (1238) espoused the king's sister, the dowager countess of Pembroke. The barons were highly indignant at this match, but the talents and address of Leicester were such that he rapidly won their affections and those of all orders of the people. Henry committed to him the government of Guienne, which he ruled for some years with great vigour. He was recalled to answer charges made against him by the archbishop of Bordeaux and some of the Gascon nobility. In the interview with the king, the latter giving way to anger called him a traitor. "Ha *I* traitor!" cried Leicester; "i f you were not a king you should repent that insult." "I shall never," replied Henry, "repent anything so much as having let you grow and fatten within my dominions." The efforts of mutual friends, however, reconciled them for the present.

Leicester, who enjoyed a high degree of consideration with all orders of the people, formed at length, in conjunction with

* "A name," says Lingard, "celebrated in the annals of religious warfare." So gently are a series of some of the most bloody massacres in the annals of popery alluded to by the candid historian!

Humphrey de Bohun high constahle, Roger Bigod earl-marshal, the earls of Warwick, Derby and Gloucester, and the other great barons, a regular confederacy for limiting the royal authority. When in 1258 the king, in extreme want of money for his Sicilian war, summoned a great council to Westminster, the barons appeared at it in full armour. On the entrance of the king they laid aside their swords. "Am I then a prisoner?" cried Henry in alarm. "No, sir," replied the earl-marshal, "but by your prodigality and your partiality to foreigners the Tealm is plunged in misery. We therefore require that the powers of government be entrusted to a committee of prelates and barons, who may correct abuses and make good laws." After some dispute the king assented, and it was agreed that a great council should be holden at Oxford to make all the needful regulations.

The council, which from the consequences of its acts was afterwards named the Mad Parliament, met at Oxford on the 11th of June. The barons came attended by their vassals in arms, and as the king had no military force he was obliged *to* submit to their dictation. A committee of twenty-four prelates and barona, one half selected from the king's council, the other half chosen by the barons, was appointed. Each twelve then selected two out of the other twelve, and these four had the selection of fifteen persons who were to form the council of state. This council consisted of seven of each party, with Boniface the primate, the queen's uncle, at its head; the king's brother and nephew, who were of the twenty-four, were carefully excluded from it, so that the influence of the reformers was paramount. They forthwith removed the chancellor, the justiciary, the treasurer, and the governors of the principal royal castles, and replaced them by men devoted to the barons. They then commenced their measures of reform, which were as follows: the freeholders of each county were to choose four knights to inquire into the damages committed in it under the royal authority, and lay them before the council. The freeholders were also to choose each year the high-sheriff for each county ; the sheriffs and the great officers of state were to give in their accounts annually, and parliaments* to be holden thrice in each year. To secure the obedience of parliament, it was directed, under pretext of saving the members trouble and expense, that twelve persons should represent those who

* This word was now come into use as equivalent to Great Council.

were to compose the parliament, and that whatever these should enact in conjunction with the council of state, should be viewed as the act of the whole.

One of the first acts of the council was to force the king's half-brothers to quit the kingdom; they then obliged the earl of Warrenne, the most powerful man of the king's friends, and his nephew prince Henry, and finally his son prince Edward, now a spirited youth of eighteen years of age, to take an oath of obedience to the ordinances of the council; and when in the following year Leicester learned that the king of the Romans was on his return, he sont to prohibit him from landing unless he engaged to take the oath also, a mandate which that prince found it necessary to obey.

By the original agreement all the reforms were to have been completed by Christmas. But those who held the power were by no means willing to part with it so soon, and under the pretext of further important reforms being needful, they continued in office all through the next year (1209). A quarrel between Leicester and Gloucester first shook their authority; and when* at length the promised reforms were made public, they appeared so insignificant in the eyes of the people, that a great change took place hi their affections toward the barons. Leicester after his quarrel with the earl of Gloucester had retired to France, and so many of the barons went over to the king that he soon found himself in a condition to resume his authority (1261). A bull was easily obtained from Rome absolving him from his oath ; he displaced the justiciary, chancellor and sheriffs appointed by the barons, and put others in their room, and exercised all the functions of royalty. During the following year (1262) various interviews took place between him and the barons, and it was proposed to refer their differences to the king of France and the king of the Romans. Leicester, who had returned, went back to France, declaring that he would never trust a perjured king.

Toward the end of the year Henry went over to visit the king of France. Leicester then returned to England, where the discontent of the barons had revived, in consequence, it is said, of prince Edward's partiality for foreigners. He speedily reorganised the old confederacy, which was now joined by prince Henry and by Gilbert de Clare the young earl of Gloucester. Henry on his return (1263) having ordered the barons to swear fealty to both himself and his son, the earl of Gloucester ob-

jected to the latter part, and retired to Oxford, where he was joined by the malcontent barons: Leicester came and placed himself at their head. They took Worcester and some other towns, ravaged the lands of the royalists, and advanced toward London, where the people were generally in their favour. The king shut himself up in the Tower, prince Edward went to secure the castle of Windsor, whither the queen his mother was proceeding by water; but the populace assembled, assailed her with the vilest epithets, flung all kinds of filth into her barge, and prepared to sink it with huge stones as it should pass the bridge. She was obliged to have recourse to the mayor for protection, by whom she was placed in safety at St. Paul's.

The king of the Romans now attempted to mediate, but the power of the barons was so great that the king was forced to resign nearly the whole of the authority he had resumed. Various causes however, having brought over many barons to his side he was able to take the field once more. On this occasion Leicester was nearly made a prisoner. He had entered Southwark with a small body of troops; the royalists secured the gates of London; and the king appeared at *one* side of Southwark, the prince at the other. Leicester, deeming destruction certain, advised his followers to assume the cross and prepare for death like Christians; but the king having, in compliance with the usages of the time, sent a herald to summon them to surrender, the populace had time to learn their danger, and bursting open the city-gates to come and relieve them. The forces now being nearly equal on both sides, it was agreed to submit to the arbitration of the king of France. Henry appeared in person before that monarch; Leicester, on the plea of a fall from his horse, by attorney. The award of Louis was that the provisions of Oxford should be annulled, the king be restored to his full authority, and a general amnesty take place. The pope confirmed the award, and directed the archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate all who should refuse to submit to it (1264). The barons, however, as soon as they heard of it, exclaiming that it was partial and unjust on the face of it, refused obedience and resumed their arms. The city of London, the Cinque Ports and adjoining counties were entirely in their favour; the parties were nearly balanced in the midland counties and the inarches of Wales; while the North and West of England were decidedly royalist. Leicester, by means of his devoted partisan

Fitz-Thomas the mayor of London, caused the citizens to enrol themselves in a military association, and a formal convention for mutual aid and support was sworn to by them and the principal barons. On this occasion the unhappy Jews at London and some other places were plundered and massacred, a measure which no doubt was of advantage to the circumstances of some of the confederate nobles. The property of the Lombards or Italian bankers in London also became a prey to the partisans of the barons.

The king being joined by the Scottish border-lords, Bruis or Bruce of Annandale, Baliol of Galloway and Comyn of Badenoch, and by the Piercies of the North, the great houses of Bigod, Bohun, Warrenne and others of his own subjects, took the field once more. He took Northampton by assault; Leicester and Nottingham opened their gates; he then marched southwards to the relief of Rochester, to which Leicester was laying siege. At the approach of the royal army, the earl, fearing for London, raised the siege and fell back to that city; the king, having made an ineffectual effort to recall the people of the Cinque Ports to their allegiance, led his troops to LOWPU in Sussex. Leicester now resolved to put the whole to the hazard of a battle. Having united fifteen thousand Londoners to his army he led it toward Lewes. At Fletehing he halted, and sent a letter to Henry, stating that it was not against *him* but his evil advisers that they had taken arms. The reply was a defiance on the part of the king, the prince, and the king of the Romans, with a challenge from the two last to Leicester and Derby to meet them in the king's court and decide the matter by single combat. Leicester then addressed his troops, representing to them their cause as that of justice and religion; he directed them to fix a white cross on their breast and shoulder (as if they were Crusaders), and to pass the night in devotion. In the morning the bishop of Chichester pronounced a general absolution, assuring, according to usage, those who should fall of immediate admittance into heaven.

On the 14th of May the baronial army appeared before Lewes; the royal troops in three divisions, led by the prince, the king of the Romans, and the king himself, advanced to give them battle. The prince, who led the van, fell with fury on the Londoners, who occupied that post of honour in the opposite army, speedily routed, them, and drove them off the

field. In his eagerness to punish them for their general turbulence, and for their insults to his mother, he lost sight of the rules of prudence, and instead of falling on the rear of Leicester's troops, he pursued them for four miles. Leicester taking advantage of the prince's error directed his whole force against the main body of the royalists, defeated them, and took the king of the Romans prisoner ; then charging the third division, scattered it and obliged the king himself to surrender. Prince Edward, on his return from the pursuit of the Londoners, three thousand of whom had strewn the field with their bodies, found the battle irretrievably lost. As he traversed the field the baronial troops came out and attacked him ; the king's brothers, earl Warrenne, and about seven hundred knights instantly fled to Pcvensey, and embarked for the continent. The next morning a convention named the Mi se of Lewes was concluded, by which the prince and his cousin Henry d'Allmaine* agreed to surrender themselves as hostages for their fathers ; all prisoners taken during the war were to be released, and arbitrators were to be chosen to regulate all the points of difference between the two parties. The number of slain in the battle is said to have been live thousand on each side.

Leicester was now in effect the ruler of the kingdom ; he carried the king about with him aa a pageant, treating him with apparent respect, and employing his name and authority for his own purposes ; he kept, in breach of treaty, the more energetic king of the Romans a close prisoner at Kenilworth, and the young princes were confined at Dover. If we credit the chroniclers adverse to him and his cause, his rule was a complete tyranny; his ambition and his avarice knew no bounds. He seized, they say, for himself the estates of not less than eighteen of the barons taken at Lewes, kept the ransom of the king of the Romans (though he was the carl of Gloucester's prisoner), and that of all the other barons, while he told those of his own party that they should be content with having their lives and properties secured by the victory he had gained. He is even accused of having encouraged the piracy to which, to the ruin of all foreign trade, the people of the Cinque Ports betook themselves, by receiving a third of their ill-gotten gains.

* Allmaine is Allemagne. His father had been elected emperor of Germany.

One of the earliest acts of Leicester's authority was to send persons named Conservators of the Peace to each county, to execute the principal functions of the sheriffs, to whom however he left their offices. These conservators caused four knights to be chosen in each county to represent it in a parliament, which met on the 23rd of June, and which was consequently at Leicester's devotion. It was enacted in it that the king should for the present delegate the power of choosing his council to three persons, who should choose nine councillors to be empowered to exercise nearly the whole royal authority; and if in any case the agreement of two-thirds of the council could not be obtained, the matter .should be reserved for the committee of three. As this committee was composed of Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester and the bishop of Exeter, and the council was of course selected from Leicester's creatures, it is quite plain that all that was proposed by this state machinery was to conceal the person of the real actor from the view of the people.

Leicester's power was nevertheless far from secure; the pope and the king of France were both hostile to him ; the latter favoured the efforts of Henry's queen to raise an army of mercenaries for the assertion of the royal cause ; the former directed the legate Ouido to proceed to England and excommunicate Leicester and the other enemies of the king. Leicester having menaced the legate with death if he entered the kingdom, the bull was committed to four English prelates with orders to publish it. As it was against their will they received Un; hull, they easily let the officers at Dover take it from them, and as an appeal was made to Rome, when; the. pope was just dead, nothing farther eoidd he done for some time. Leicester was equally fortunate with respect to the queen's armament. This princess had collected at the port of Damme in Flanders a large body of troops with shipping to carry them, but adverse winds prevailed so long that they at length disbanded and dispersed, and Leicester was thus relieved from uneasiness on this account.

The commencement of the year 1265 is rendered for ever memorable by a measure destined to have the most important influence on the development of the British constitution; and which, as it has been elegantly expressed, has " afforded proof from experience that liberty, order, power, and wealth are capable of being blended together in a degree of harmony which the wisest men had not before believed to be possible."

Hitherto the great councils of the nation had consisted only of the prelates, barons, and tenants in chief of the crown ; but Leicester in the summons for a parliament at this time directed *' the sheriffs to elect and return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough in the county ;" thus establishing the principle of representation, and giving the people of the towns who had hitherto been taxed at will, a share in the legislature of the realm. By a fortunate chance also they were allowed to sit along with the knights of the shire and not in a separate chamber, a circumstance which greatly contributed to give them dignity and importance. That Leicester could have foreseen the full effects of what he was doing is not to be supposed ; the measure itself was one which in the natural course of things must inevitably have occurred within u few years; deputies of the towns had silica for the last century in the Coitcs of Spain; towns were everywhere rising into importance, and becoming of too great weight in the balance of states to be any longer subject to the arbitrary power of princes and nobles. Leicester may doubtless have seen much of this, but his probable motive was merely to add to the parliament members who he knew would be wholly devoted to himself and the ready agents of his will.

As Leicester bad summoned to this parliament none of the prelates and barons but such as were devoted to him, everything was done at his pleasure. After some weeks' conference an arrangement was made with the king and the prince; preparatory to the liberation of the latter, in which every precaution for securing the continuance of Leicester's power was taken. The prince was then (Mar. 13) declared free by the barons ; but he found his liberty only nominal, as he was still guarded by the adherents of Leicester.

The power of this nobleman though thus great could not from its nature be permanent. He was a foreigner, and at most but the equal of those proud nobles over whom he had raised himself; and though a large portion of the clergy, irritated by the frauds and extortions of the Holy See, supported him as the champion of religion, and the people of the towns and the lower orders in general were his partisans, their weight was not yet able to counterpoise that of the great barons. Yet he at first crushed all symptoms of resistance ; and he forced Roger de Mortimer and the other marchers of Wales to sur-

render their castles and submit to the sentence of parliament, by whom they were ordered to quit the kingdom for various periods. He then ventured to imprison the earl of Derby under a charge of treason, and he meditated seizing the earl of Gloucester at a tournament at Northampton ; but the earl aware of his danger retired to his own county and there raised the royal standard. Leicester hastened to Hereford with the king, prince and a large body of knights, and negotiations were entered into by which each party sought to deceive the other. The great object of Gloucester was to liberate the prince, whose presence would be of the utmost importance to his cause, and it was thus effected. Edward under pretcnoo of taking an airing obtained permission one day after dinner to ride out of Hereford ; at some distance from the town he proposed to his keepers to run races with their horses ; they agreed, several matches were made and run, the prince and those in the secret taking care not to engage in them. By the time the keepers' horses were pretty well tired, it being near sunset, a man mounted on a grey horse appeared on the summit of an adjacent hill and waved his bonnet. The prince knowing the signal set spurs to his horse and galloped off attended by Gloucester's brother, another knight and four esquires. The keepers pursued, but when they saw Roger Mortimer and a party of armed men issue from a wood and receive the prince they turned back. Mortimer conducted the prince to his castle of Wigmore, and next day Edward met Gloucester at Ludlow. They mutually agreed to forget all past injuries and exert themselves to restore the king, who should bind himself to govern by law, and to exclude foreigners from his councils,

The first care of the royalists was to gain the towns ou the Severn and break down the bridges over that river. Leicester, being thus cooped up in Hereford, lay waiting for the tenants of the crown whom he had summoned by writs in the king's name : and he formed an alliance with Llewellyn prince of Wales, agreeing to sell him for 30,000 marks all the king's rights over that country. When joined by the Welshmen he attempted to get over to Bristol, but being attacked at Newport by prince Edward he retired and sought refuge in Wales. His son Simon de Montfort, who was besieging Pevensey when he received the summons to repair to his standard, having stopped for some days at Kenilworth, the family-mansion, was

suddenly fallen on by the prince while in his bed ; most of his companions were made prisoners, and he himself escaped naked into the castle*.

Leicester, ignorant of the fate of his son, had crossed the Severn and reached Evesham on his way to Kenilworth. The prince, who was at Worcester, set out in the night, and earlv in the morning (Aug. 4) arrived in the neighbourhood of Evesham, He made three divisions of his forces, of which one led by himself stood on a hill on the road to Kenilworth, the other divisions led by Gloucester and Mortimer occupied the two remaining roads. They displayed the banners captured at Kenilworth, which caused them at first to be taken fur the. troops of Simon de Montfort; but when Leicester ascended an eminence and viewed their numbers and array, he saw the mistake ; he then said to those about him, " The Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are prince Edward's." Having according to his usual custom spent some time in prayer and communicated, he charged the prince's division. Being repulsed he formed his men in a circle, and thus for some time resisted all the efforts of the royalists. The old king, whom be still had with him, was placed* in the front cased in armour. One of the royalists not knowing who he was wounded and unhorsed him, and would have slain him, but that he cried out, " Hold, fellow! I am Harry of Winchester !" and the prince who was at hand, hearing his voice, ran up and conveyed him to a place of safety. Meantime Leicester's horse was killed under him ; as he fought on foot he asked if they gave quarter. ""Not to traitors r was the reply, and he soon fell slain over the body of his eldest son, Of all the barons and knights who fought on his side but ten remained alive. The victory of the royalists was complete and final.

The lifeless body of Leicester was brutally mangled by the foot soldiers of the royal army, but his remains were afterwards removed by the king's orders and interred at the neighbouring abbey. His memory long lived among the populace ; the title of Sir Simon the Righteous shows the estimation in which he was held, and though he was excommunicated even miracles were ascribed to him. Of the superior talents of Leicester both as a statesman and a warrior few doubts can be entertained; of the purity of his motives we have not the

* They lay out of the castle, say the Annals of Mailros, for the sake of bathing early in the morning.

means of speaking with certainty, for our authorities are his warm panegyrists or his zealous adversaries. Those modern writers who are the partisans of the papacy or of royalty, of course represent him as actuated solely by interest and ambition.

The victory at Evesham completely broke the power of the barons. The king of the Romans and the other prisoners made at Lewes were set at liberty by those who held them, in hopes that they would prove intercessors in their behalf. A parliament met (Sept. 8) at Winchester, by which among other matters it was enacted that the estates of Leicester's adherents should be confiscated, and the city of London be deprived of its charter. These rigorous measures only served to rekindle the flame, and partial risings took place in various quarters. Simon de Montfort leaving a stout garrison in Kenilworth took refuge in the isle of Axholm in the fena of Lincolnshire j but lie was compelled by the prince to submit, and on the intercession of the king of the Romans he was allowed to quit the kingdom and promised a pension of 500 marks. lie however soon after put himself at the head of the Cinque Ports pirates, and the prince led his troops against these towns, and having taken Winchelsea by storm forced them to sue for peace. An amnesty was granted, and they swore fealty to the king. The prince then marched into Hampshire, where a bold rebel named Adam Gordon was ravaging the country. He came up wifh him in a wood near Alton, and though Gordon was the most athletic man of the time, he engaged him singly, wounded, unhorsed and made him a prisoner. In admiration of his valour he then gave him his liberty and restored him to his honours and estate, and Gordon ever remained -attached to his benefactor. The garrison of Kenilworth still held out, though blockaded by the king in person with a large force, and the fugitives from Axholm and other places had .secured themselves in the isle of Ely, once the retreat of the Saxons against the Normans.

Many being of opinion that the late parliament had dealt too severely with the adverse party, a committee of twelve prelates and barons was formed during the blockade of Kenilworth to devise more moderate measures. They divided the offenders into three classes, to whom they gave the option of redeeming their estates from those to whom the king had granted them; the first being to pay a sum equivalent to seven years' income, the second to that of five, the third to

that of two or of one year. This Dictum of Kenilworth, as it was named, was confirmed by the king in parliament; the garrison of Kenilworth, and those in the isle of Ely rejected it, but famine forced the former to surrender after a siege of six months, and measures were about to he adopted for reducing the others, when the earl of Gloucester taking a sudden disgust, retired to his earldom, and having levied troops there ostensibly against Roger Mortimer, suddenly marched to London, united his forces with the citizens, and made himself master of the Tower. The king and prince appearing with a large force he submitted on receiving a free pardon, and the royal forces being then directed against the isle of Ely it was reduced by a plan similar to that employed by the Conqueror* Llewellyn of Wales was also forced to submit and engage to pay tribute, and the king having thus reduced all his opponents, held (Nov, 18, 1267) a parliament at Marlbridge, or Marlborough, in which several of the provisions of Oxford were confirmed, and some new laws enacted, which are known by the name of the Statutes of Marlbridge.

The kingdom being now at peace, prince Edward resolved *to* indulge his piety and love of adventure by joining the excellent king of France in a crusade to the Holy Land. He required that the earl of Gloucester should either accompany or follow him ; he gave liberty to the Cart of Derby and a new charter to the citizens of London ; and then set out accompanied by his wife Eleanor of Castile and his cousin prince Henry. Finding that king Louis had died on the coast of Africa and that his son Philip had given up the crusade, he stopped for the winter in Sicily. He sent his cousin Henry on business to England, but that prince stopped at Viterbo to be present at the election of a pope. Here one morning (Mar. 13, 1271) he went into a church to hear mass, and as he stood in meditation after it was concluded, he suddenly heard a voice cry, " Thou traitor, Henry, thou shalt not escape!" He turned and beheld his cousins Simon and Guy de Montfort in full armour with their swords drawn. He sprang to the altar; its sanctity availed him nought; he fell pierced by a multitude of wounds. Two priests vainly interposed ; the one was slain, the other left for dead. The assassins mutilated the body and dragged it to the church-door, where they mounted their horses and rode away. The church excommunicated them, but they were never brought to justice.

The king of the Romans did not long survive his son; he

died of paralysis in the April of the following year (1272), and seven months after he was followed to the tomb by the king his brother. He fell sick at Bury St. Edmunds, and being conveyed to Westminster expired there on the 20th of November, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign.

To draw a character of so feeble a prince as Henry **III.** would be mere waste of time. He had not energy enough to be either good or bad in an eminent degree. As a private person he might have gone happy and blameless through life; seated on a throne he was an object of contempt.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD I. (LONGSHANKS).

1272 1307.

EDWARD was in the Holy Land when the death of his father gave him the crown of England. Aero was all that there remained to the Christians, and the small force of one thousand men which the English prince had brought could avail but little to effect its security. Yet during the eighteen months that he remained in the East he upheld the fame of the blood of the lion-hearted Richard, and at his departure (12/2) he procured for those whom he had conic to aid u ten-years' truce from the Sultan of Egypt. The fall of Acre, however, was only delayed; it opened its gates in 1291 1 to a Moslem conqueror, and the Christian dominion in the East expired.

During his abode in Acre Edward nearly lost his life by treachery. The emir of Jaffa pretending to desire to embrace Christianity had gained his confidence, and messages passed between them. The Moslem envoy was one day admitted alone into the room in which Edward was lying on a couch during the heat of the day. Finding the long-sought occasion arrived he drew a dagger and made a blow at the prince's heart. Edward received the stroke on his arm, arose, cast the assassin to the ground, and despatched him with his own weapon. But the dagger was supposed to have been poisoned, for **the** wound assumed **a dangerous appearance. The prince**

made his will and calmly prepared for death; the skill, however, of his English surgeon, aided by the strength of a good constitution, effected a cure, and he was completely recovered at the end of three weeks. To make the story more romantic, a Spanish writer adds that Edward's faithful spouse Eleanor, at the risk of her life, extracted the poison from the wound with her lips.

At Messina, on his way home, Edward learned the death of his father. On the invitation of the pope he visited Rome (1273); the greatest honours were shown him there, and wherever he passed through Italy and Savoy, lie proceeded to Paris, and did homage to Philip the Fair for his continental dominions. As there were some disturbances in Guiennc he deemed it right to settle them before he went to England. This caused him a delay of an entire year, during which time he ran a great risk of losing his life by treachery, as it was said. The count of Chalons, being about to hold a tournament, sent *a* challenge to the king of England to appear at it. The pontiff, WHO was then at Lyons, wrote to dissuade him from accepting it, asserting that treachery was meant. Edward's chivalrous spirit, however, would not suffer him to decline, He appeared on the appointed day with one thousand men, horse and foot; the count's array it is said displayed double the number The tournament began; it was at first conducted with the usual courtesy, but it soon presented the appearance of a mortal conflict. Edward himself overthrew the count and made him his captive, and the Petty Battle of Chalons, as it was named* terminated in favour of the English.

After regulating some commercial differences with the countess of Flanders, Edward at length (Aug. 2, 12/4) embarked for England, where he was received with the utmost joy, and shortly after (19th) he and his queen were crowned at Westminster. The king was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; with a high and well-merited reputation for all the civil and military virtues, he possessed the respect and affections of his subjects; his realms were peaceful and prosperous. A field for his ambition to display itself would naturally present itself somewhere, and chance determined for the project of uniting the whole island of Britain under one sceptre, instead of wasting, like his predecessors, the national energies in contests with France. Wales first and then Scotland were attacked by his arts and his arms.

Llewellyn prince of Wales had, as we have seen, taken aa

active part on the side of the barons in the late civil wars. He had, however, after the battle of Evesham, renewed his fealty to king Henry, but when summoned on that monarch's death to swear it to his successor he had refused. After the return of Edward, Llewellyn was thrice summoned to appear and do homage to the English crown, but he declined under the pretext of his life not being safe in England. It would appear that he still kept up an intercourse with the Montfort family, for he was betrothed to their sister Eleanor; but this lady on her passage from France to Wales was taken by un English vessel and was detained by orders of the king. Edward having assembled an army advanced (1276) to the frontiers of Wales; he there offered Llewellyn a safe-conduct, but the Welshman insisted on the liberation of his affianced bride, and the delivery of the king's son as a hostage for his safety. He was then as contumacious pronounced a rebel by parliament, and a subsidy of a fifteenth was granted for the war against him. To add to the embarrassment of Llewellyn, his own brother David, whom he had deprived of his patrimony, was active in the English interest, and- Rees of Meredith, the head of a rival family, took the same side. Edward having assembled his forces the following midsummer (1277), crossed the Dee in Cheshire, and marching along the coast made himself master of Anglesea. As his fleet commanded the sea, the Welsh were cooped up in the barren region of Snowdon, and famine soon obliged Llewellyn to submit. He agreed to pay 50,000l. for the expenses of the war, to cede the country from the Conway to Chester, to hold Anglesea as a fief of the English crown, to give ten hostages, and to do homage. The king shortly after remitted the fine, restored the hostages, and gave his consent to the marriage of Llewellyn with Eleanor de Montfort.

Edward retired, deeming the subjugation of Wales now complete. Bat the insolence of the English on the one side and the rooted antipathy of the Welsh to the strangers on the other, soon disturbed the tranquillity. The people of the ceded districts could not endure the introduction of English law; deeming it, for example, a great hardship that the justiciary should hang those who committed murder, when they had offered to pay the fine imposed in such cases by Welsh law. A prophecy ascribed to Merlin also excited their minds at this time. This ancient Cymric seer had, it seems, foretold that when English money became round a prince of Wales would

be crowned at London ; and as Edward had lately issued a new and circular coinage, and forbidden the penny to be cut any more into halfpence and farthings, they deemed the time of Welsh dominion to be arrived.

The insurrection was commenced by prince David, who on the night of Palm Sunbay (1282), amid the uproar of a tempest, surprised the castle of Hawarden, in which the justiciary De Clifford resided, and put all in it to death except De Clifford, who was conveyed a captive to Snowdon. This was the signal for a general rising; the Welsh everywhere poured down on the marches, and Llewellyn came and laid siege to the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. Edward lost no time in collecting troops ; he raised his standard at Worcester, and thence advanced to the, relief of his fortresses. Having constructed a bridge of boats on the Menai broad enough to allow forty men to march abreast, he passed his army over and reduced the isle of Anglesea. He then sent a detachment over to the main land to observe the enemy, hut on the sudden appearance of the Welsh they took fright, and fled hack to the shore. The tide had now divided the bridge, and most of them perished in attempting; to escape by the boats. As the English were assembling troops ou the southern frontier Llewellyn now hastened to defend the passage of the Wye. Here one day (Dec. 11), as he was reposing in a barn on a hill near the bridge, which was held by his people, he was awaked by a loud shout, and the English, who had passed by a ford, were seen ascending the hill. A knight named Adam Frankton came by chance to the barn, and Llewellyn though unarmed engaged him but was run through the body by his spear and slain. After the defeat of the Welsh Frankton returned to the barn, and it was only then that the quality of the slain was discovered. Llewellyn's head was cut off and sent to Edward, by whose orders it was fixed on the Tower of London encircle*! with ivy, or as some said silver, in ridicule of Merlin's prophecy.

When Llewellyn's death was known most of the Welsh chiefs hastened to make their submission. David alone, despairing of pardon, or it may be actuated by a generous love of independence, still held out. But his treacherous countrymen hunted him for six months through the mountains, and at length (1283) captured him and his family. He was brought in chains to Edward; a parliament was assembled at Shrewsbury to try him ; and he was sentenced (Sept. 30) " to be drawn to the gallows as a traitor to the king who had made him a

knight; to he hanged as the murderer of the gentlemen taken in the castle of Hawarden ; to have his bowels burnt because he had profaned by assassination the solemnity of Christ's passion ; and to have his quarters dispersed through the country because he had in different places compassed the death of his lord the king." This sentence, perhaps the earliest instance of what became the usual punishment for treason, was literally executed, and David's head was placed beside that of bis brother on the Tower.

Edward spent more than a year in Wales to regulate the country. lie divided it like England into counties and hundreds, and formed corporations in the towns, He strengthened the castles of Conway and Caernarvon, and gave the adjoining lands to English barons; but he left all the remaining lands in the hands of their original proprietors. By accident or design the queen was at this time (1284) delivered of a son at Caernarvon, whom the politic Edward, to the great joy of his new subjects, declared to be prince of Wales ; and as this prince soon after, by the death of his elder brother, became heir to the crown, the title of Prince of Wales has ever since been thai of the heir-apparent to the throne of England.

Tradition told, that fearing lest the bards who flourished in Wales as in all Celtic countries should by their patriotic strains again awaken in the breasts of the people the love of independence,. Edward assembled all these sous of song, and then barbarously put them to death ; hoping, as the poet says, " to quench the (poetic) orb of day" in this "sanguine cloud." But such an act was totally repugnant to the character of Edward, and the charge is unsupported by a single particle of historic evidence.

The following year (1285) was devoted by Edward to the labours of legislation, and the three succeeding years were spent on the continent, where the fame of his justice and wisdom had caused him to be chosen arbitrator between the royal houses of France and Aragon. On his return the affairs of Scotland attracted his attention and gave him employment for the remainder of his reign.

In the year 1286, Alexander I I I . of Scotland died by a fall from his horse. His children by his queen Margaret, the sister of Edward, having all died before him, the succession came to the maid of Norway, as the infant daughter of Eric king of Norway by Margaret the daughter of the Scottish king was named. Edward proposed a marriage between the young

queen and his eldest son; her father and the states of Scotland gave a ready consent, the pope granted a dispensation, and the princess embarked for Scotland. Unfortunately she fell sick on the voyage, and she breathed her last on one of the Orkney isles (1290). Immediately no less than thirteen claimants of the throne appeared; but as it was manifest that only the descendants of L)avid earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, could have a right, and as this prince had had none but daughters, the claim could only lie among their descendants. John Baliol lord of Galloway was the grandson of the eldest daughter, Robert Bruee earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale the son of the second, John Hastings lord of Abergavenny the grandson of the third. This last it is evident had but little claim, and the question (a dubious one in that age) was, whether the more remote representative of the elder, or the nearer of the second sister was the heir. To avoid an appeal to arms it was determined by the nobles that the decision should be referred to the king of England, whose reputation for wisdom and justice stood so high, and of whose right to decide, as feudal superior of the realm, they were probably conscious (1291).

Edward readily accepted the office of arbitrator; he advanced with a large army to the frontiers, and summoned the Scottish parliament to meet him at the castle of Norham on the southern bank of the Tweed. The Scots assembled on the opposite bank, and on the appointed day their states appeared in the church of Norham, where they were addressed by Brabazon the English justiciary, who required them as a preliminary act to acknowledge Edward as their feudal superior. They hesitated. "By Holy Edward, whose crown I wear," cried the king, "I will have my rights or die in the assertion of them." They craved a delay of three weeks in order to consult those prelates and barons who were still absent. The delay was granted; at the same time an instrument containing various historical proofs of the king's claim was delivered to them, and they were required to state their objections, if any, to it. On the 2nd of June the bishop of Bath, the chancellor, passed over to the Scottish side of the river, and stated that as no opposition had been made to the king's claim he would proceed to decide. He then asked Robert Bruce if he was willing to abide by the decision of Edward as sovereign lord of Scotland. He repled in the affirmative; the other competitors did the same. Baliol was absent (probably on purpose), but next morning he gave his

consent, though it is said with reluctance. They all then passed over, and met king Edward in the church of Norham, where they signed an instrument to that effect. It was resolved that they should exhibit their claims before a council of forty Scots chosen by Baliol and his kinsman Comyn, forty more chosen by Bruce, and twenty-four English named by king Edward, who also required that all the fortresses of Scotlaud should be put into his hands, and the military tenants of the crown swear fealty to him that he might be enabled to carry into effect the decision of the council. Edward then went southwards, leaving the council to sit at Berwick. At the expiration of a year (June 2, 1292) he returned to hear their decision. But as they had not yet determined, he directed them first to examine the claims of Bruce and Baliol, and then to dispose of those of the others. When they made (heir report the king laid it before the united parliament of the two nations, who decided in favour of Baliol. Hrue.e and Hastings then required that the kingdom should he divider!; this proposal, though so manifestly for his interest, Edward rejected ; and (Nov. 17) he pronounced judgement in favour of Baliol, to whom on his swearing fealty in the fullest terms he restored the royal castles and gave complete possession of the kingdom.

If we except an apparent want of generosity in taking advantage of the confidence of the Scottish nation to exact a formal recognition of his feudal superiority, there is certainly little to blame in the conduct of Edward throughout this transaction. An unworthy motive, probably without justice, has been ascribed to his subsequent behaviour. By the feudal law an appeal lay from the sentence of an immediate lord to the court of the common superior ; and as duke of Aquitaine Edward had himself been often thus cited before, the court of France. Appeals were accordingly made (12913) by Macduff earl of Fife and others from the sentence of Baliol to the king of England. Baliol when summoned to appear and answer the charge of Macduff took no notice of the summons; when cited a second time he appeared in person, and not by attorney as he might have done, and sentence was given against him ; and for his contempt of the authority of his liege lord, it was adjudged that three of his castles with their royalties should be sequestered. Baliol asked time to consult his subjects; the request was granted; and when the time he had required was expired, adjournment after adjournment was ,made.

While Edward was thus exercising his feudal superiority over Scotland, he became himself the object of a similar claim from the king of France. The occasion was as follows. The crews of a Norman and an English ship having gone ashore to water at the same place, a quarrel arose in which a Norman was slain. The Normans in revenge attacked the lii'st English ship they met, took out of it a merchant of Bayonnue and hanged him with a dog at his feet out of their yards. Retaliation followed ; the English wen; joined by the Irish and Dutch, the Normans by the French and Genoese MARINERS. Neither sovereign interfered. At length a Norman fleet of two hundred sail having pillaged the coast of lias-cony, put into a port of Brittany, where they were discovered by a licet of eighty ships belonging to Portsmouth and the Cinque Ports. The English challenged them to come out, the challenge was accepted, and a bloody engagement ended in favour of the English, who captured the entire hostile fleel. The king of France now summoned Edward as duke of Guicnic to appear before the court of Puris, and answer for the various offences alleged to have been committed by his vassals of Guienne against the subjects of his liege lord. Edward went the bishop of London to oiler compensation to those injured provided the like were made to the English. This being refused he offered to refer the matter to arbitrators or to the pope. Finally he sent to Paris his brother Edmund, who was married to the mother of the French queen. Edmund was assured by the two queens, that as Philip merely wanted to vindicate his honour, he only required that Edward should resign Guienne to him for forty days, at the end of which time he pledged himself to restore it. Edward gave his consent ; a treaty to this effect was executed (1291) ; the citation against him was withdrawn ; and possession of Guienne was given to the officers of Philip. At the end of forty days Edmund applied to Philip for the performance of his promise ; but he was put off for some days, and when he renewed his application he met with a positive refusal; and though the citation had been withdrawn sentence of forfeiture for non-appearance was passed against Edward.

It seems strange that so politic a prince as Edward should thus allow himself to be swindled out of one of his fairest possessions. It is indeed said by some that his eagerness to make himself master of Scotland rendered him careless of Guienne ; but there is no clear proof of his having any designs on Scotland at this time, and a more probable reason is

assigned by those who say that there was a treaty of marriage on foot between him, he being now a widower, and the sister of Philip, and that he wished Guienne to be settled on his issue by that princess; for which purpose it was necessary to surrender it to the superior lord in order that an enfeoffment to that effect might be executed.

Edward was not a man to submit tamely to such a flagrant injustice, lie raised money, collected an army, sent to excuse himself to his Gascon vassals for having given them up, and formally renounced his allegiance to Philip. But adverse winds detained him for seven weeks at Portsmouth, during which time the Welsh, thinking he was gone, rose in arms, slaughtered the English who were in their country, and ravaged the marshes. The king went in person against them and speedily reduced them to obedience. Their leaders were sentenced to confinement during pleasure in different castles, and their estates given to their heirs. Henceforth Wales remained peaceable and quiet.

Edward was again about to set forth to recover his continental dominions, when he received information that the Scots, impatient of his yoke, had concluded an alliance with the king of France, and that a match had been contracted between Philip's niece and Baliol's eldest son. The Scots, moreover, as they distrusted the timid temper of their king, had given him a council of four bishops, four earls and four barons, in whose hands the government now really lay. This intelligence determined Edward not to quit England; he sent his brother Edmund with some troops to Guienne, and then to put Baliol to the test, he required him as his vassal to aid him in the recovery of that province; he next demanded that the castles of Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick should be put into his hands by way of security; and finally summoned him to appear before him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne the following March. None of these demands being complied with, Edward advanced to Newcastle (Mar. 1296) at the head of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The Scots, who had concealed their king in the Highlands, prepared for defence. To draw away king Edward they made an inroad into Cumberland, but regardless of them, he crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, and sat down before Berwick, which was carried by assault the next day, and its garrison of seven thousand men put to the sword. Warrenne earl of Surrey was then sent with a large force to besiege the castle of Dunbar, whose garrison agreed to surrender if not relieved within three days.

On the third day (Apr. 27) the Scottish army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse appeared on the hills beyond the town. Warrenne fell back a little to prepare for battle. A cry of "They run!" rose in the Scottish lines, and the whole army precipitately poured down into the valley to destroy the fugitives; but here they encountered the firm close-set lines of an English army. The conflict was short; the Scots fled on all sides, leaving ten thousand of their number dead on the field. Scotland was conquered in this battle. Dunbar, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates. Baliol came in person to Kincardin (July 2), and made a formal surrender of his kingdom. Edward advanced as far as Elgin without meeting any resistance. He then returned to Berwick, where having held a parliament and received the homage of the Scottish nation, he retired Jeaving earl Warrenne guardian of the kingdom. The principal offices of state were given to Englishmen, and the more potent Scottish nobles were obliged to come and reside south of the Trent. Edward carried away with him the regalia and the fatal stone chair at the abbey of Scone, in which the Scottish kings were wont to he crowned, and which was regarded as the palladium of the kingdom ; he deposited it in Westminster abbey. It is also said, but without any evidence whatever, that he ordered all the records which contained proofs of (Scottish independence, to be destroyed.

Baliol was assigned the Tower of London for a residence* and he was allowed the full range of a circuit of twenty miles round London. At the end of three years he obtained permission to retire to his estates in Normandy, where he £pent the remaining six years of his life, more happy probably than when ruling over the turbulent Scots.

While Edward was engaged in Scotland, the whole of Guienne, except Bayonne, fell into the hands of the French prince. Edmund died soon after his arrival, and the earl of Lincoln took the command. The king, on his return from Scotland, made vigorous preparations for the war with France. His plan was to attack it on the side of Flanders, and with this design he had formed alliances with the emperor, the earl of Flanders, and other princes. He also intended to continue operations in Guienne, and he proposed putting the forces destined for that province under the constable Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford and the marshal Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk. But to his surprise these nobles positively

refused, alleging that their office only obliged them to attend his person in the wars. "By God, sir earl," cried the enraged monarch to the constable, "you shall either go or hang." "By God, sir king," replied the undaunted earl, "I will neither go nor hang." They then retired from the court with about thirty of the barons, and as they refused to execute their office in mustering troops, the king appointed a temporary marshal and constable for the purpose.- As we shall return to the subject, we will here only observe that the two carls were not disloyal to their sovereign ou this occasion; they only wished to set hounds to the arbitrary conduct which he had strongly displayed in his mode of raising money for his intended expedition.

At length the king crossed the sea with a large army, but no action of any importance took place. A truce for two years was concluded, and finally through the mediation of the pope a peace was made; the French king restoring Guienne to Edward, who himself married that monarch's sister Margaret, and affianced the prince of Wales to his daughter Isabella.

While Edward was absent in Flanders (1297), an insurrection against his authority broke out in Scotland. Earl Warrenne being obliged to return to England on account of his health, left the direction of affairs to Ormesby the justiciary, and Cressingham the treasurer ; the former a harsh austere man, the latter an ecclesiastic deeply infected with avarice. By these men the Scots were made to feci keenly their national degradation: several gentlemen were outlawed or-imprisoned for refusing or delaying to take the oath of allegiance. We need no proof that the subordinate English agents faithfully imitated the insolence of their superiors. One of these officers having offered an affront to William Wallace, a gentleman of small fortune in the west of Scotland, the latter, who was a man of gigantic stature and great strength and courage, struck him dead on the spot. Knowing then that he had no mercy to expect, Wallace fled to the woods, the retreat of those who feared punishment for their patriotism or their crimes. His superior powers of mind and body soon raised him to command, and he carried on with great ability and success, a *guerilla*-warfare (as it is now named) against the English and their adherents. In concert with sir William Douglas, another leader of outlaws, he made a bold attempt to surprise the justiciary at Scone; but Ormesby, having had timely notice, fled into England. Many of the other English officers followed his ex-

ample : the Scots rose in various parts and massacred such of the English as fell into their hands. The fame of Wallace and Douglas increased every day, and they were joined at length by the bishop of Glasgow, the steward of Scotland, sir Alexander Lindsey, sir Andrew Moray, sir Richard Lundin and other chiefs. The young earl of Carrick* hesitated how to act. At first he went to Carlisle when summoned, and renewed his fealty; then he changed and tried to raise Annandale, and he finally repaired with his own retainers to the camp of the patriots.

But meantime earl Warrenne bad by Edward's orders called out the forces of the six northern counties, and two English armies entered Scotland. At Irvine (July 9) one of thern, led by Warrenne's nephew Henry Percy, came up with the Scottish forces. As dissensions had broken out among the patriotic chiefs, and they feared the result of a battle, they all, with the exception of Wallace and Moray, hastened to make their submission and obtain their pardon. These last two chiefs moved northwards with the greater part of the forces, and they were joined by the tenantry of several noblemen secretly encouraged by their lords. Warrenne advanced with a large army to Stirling, near which Wallace lay with forty thousand men at a place called Cambuskenneth on the opposite side of the Forth, over which river there was only one bridge, of wood, and merely broad enough to allow two men to go abreast. Lundin, who was now with Warrenne, strongly advised him not to attempt this passage in the face of an enemy ; but the earl, urged by the impetuous Cressingham, took no heed of the admonition. Led by Cressingham and sir Marmaduke Twinge, the English began to cross the bridge (Sept. 11). Wallace waited patiently on the hills where he lay till about five thousand men were over, and then having sent round a part of his force to secufe the head of the bridge, he gave orders to pour down on them ; and the whole were speedily slaughtered in the presence of their leader, who could give them no aid. Cressingham was among the slain, and the vindictive Scots, it is said, flayed his body and made thongs for their horses out of the skin. Warrenne lost no time in making his retreat into England, and toward winter Wallace and Moray crossed the borders and ravaged the northern counties during an entire month.

Wallace was made " guardian of the kingdom and general of the armies of Scotland," under which title he summoned a

* Bruce, the claimant of the throne, died in 1296 ; his son was at this time with Edward. This was his grandson.

parliament to Perth. But the sun of his glory was soon to set. Edward, who had returned, was now (1298) on his way ta Scotland, and when he joined earl Warrenne at Berwick he found himself at the head of seven thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, chiefly Welsh and Irish. He advanced to the Forth ; but want of provisions forced him to fall back ; and hearing that Wallace lay with his army in the forest of Falkirk, in order to harass him in his retreat he moved in that direction. Having halted for the night on the moor of Linlithgow, the English on advancing next morning (July 22) found the enemy posted behind a morass. Wallace had drawn up his pikemen in four circular masses, called Schiltrons, connected by lines of archers from the forest of Selkirk. He had stationed his cavalry in the rear. Having made this judicious arrangement, he cried, " I haif brocht you to the king, hop (dance) gif ye can." One division of the English got entangled in the morass; a second, led by the bishop of Durham, went round it; the prelate then ordered his men to halt till the other divisions should have come up. " To thy mass, bishop !" cried a knight, and dashed on against the Scottish cavalry, who fled at the first charge. The line of archers was speedily broken, but the pikemen stood firm, till the English archers and the military engines having played on them and openings having been effected in their circles, the horse rushed in and cut the brave Scots to pieces. The loss of the Scots is variously stated at from fifteen to fifty thousand men. Wallace escaped, but he could only resume his former predatory courses.

After his victory Edward traversed the country in all directions without meeting any resistance. Want of provisions, however, soon obliged him to retire, and Galloway and all the country north of the firths remained in the hands of the Scots, whose affairs were now guided by the bishop of St. Andrews, Bruce earl of Carrick, John Comyn, and John de Soulis acting as regents in the name of John Baliol (1299). They laid siege to the castle of Stirling, which not being relieved by Edward was forced to surrender.

The Scots had applied to pope Boniface VIII. to interfere in their behalf, and in the course of this summer the pontiff wrote a letter to Edward, in which, after asserting that Scotland belonged in full right to the Roman see, he proceeded to detail the proofs of its independence of the English crown, with which the Scots had furnished him ; and concluded by boldly reserving to his own decision every point at issue between the

king of England and the king or people of Scotland. This bull was so long delayed that it did not reach Edward till after his return from Scotland in the following summer (1300). A truce at the desire of the king of France having been concluded with the Scots, a parliament met (Feb. 1301) to take it into consideration. This assembly in the strongest and most emphatic terms denied the right of the pope to interfere in the temporal concerns of the crown of England, and declared that they would not suffer the king, even if so inclined, to yield to any of those pretensions contained in the pontiff's letter; for whose satisfaction as a friend, however, though not as a judge, a long reply to that letter was drawn up. In this reply the fabulous pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his story of Brute the Trojan were treated as real history, and quoted as authority. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods were then gone through, and every instance of homage clone by Scottish princes was enumerated. This reply when sent to Home was given by the pope to the Scottish agent, and by him transmitted to the regency, who were not slow to frame a counter-statement. Here the mythic history of Ireland was opposed to that of England; the Saxon history was set aside, as Edward being a Norman could nut claim from the Saxons; the Norman instances were denied ; Edward's refusal to submit to the decision of the pontiff was ascribed to his sense of the weakness of his cause ; and it was asserted that Scotland is the peculiar property of the Holy See, Constantiiie having bestowed on it all the isles of the West.

Whatever might be the strength or justice of the Scottish arguments, Edward set them at nought. Having concluded a peace with the king of France he prepared for the final reduction of Scotland. In the spring of 1303 John de Segrave, whom he had made governor of that kingdom, set out by his orders with about twenty thousand men for Edinburgh. He led his forces without much precaution, and on coming to Rosslyn he divided them into three parts, each of which encamped separately. Early next morning (Feb. 24) the first division, under Segrave[1] s own command, was fallen on before they were up by a body of eight thousand Scottish horse, led by Comyn the governor and sir Simon Fraser, and was completely routed,. Segrave himself being made a prisoner. The second division now came up ; the Scots having previously put their prisoners to death fell on and routed *it* also. The third division now

appeared; again the prisoners were massacred and again the English were defeated.

This success raised the hopes of the Scots; but ere long the king appeared with a force which it were folly to resist. They hoped to defeat him like Warrenne at the bridge of Forth, but he crossed that river by a ford. The castle of Brechin alone resisted; he traversed the whole north of Scotland, and then took up his residence for the winter in the abbey of Dumferline. Hither repaired Cornyn the guardian and the other nobles, and (Feb. 9, 1301) a treaty was concluded, securing them.in their lives and estates, subject to such fines as parliament should impose. Some of the more turbulent or influential were required to leave the kingdom for different periods. Wallace was invited to submit with the rest*, but actuated by patriotism or some less worthy motive, he preferred the life of an outlaw. Stirling castle, strong by its position on a rock, still held out, and Edward was obliged to invest it in person. After a brave resistance of three months a surrender was agreed on, and Oliphant the governor and twenty-five of the garrison came down, as was the custom in such cases, barefoot, in their shirts, with halters about their necks. Edward advanced to meet them; they fell on their knees and implored his favour, "*I* have none lor you," said the king; "you may surrender at discretion." They assented. "Then," said he, "you shall be hanged as traitors." "Sir," said Oliphant, "we own our guilt, our lives are at your mercy." The rest also declared themselves guilty and sued for mercy. The king turned aside, and it is said dropped a tear; he then ordered them to be conducted into England, but not in chains. A few months after Wallace was betrayed by his servant to sir John Monteith. He was brought up to London, where he was arraigned for murder, robbery, and treason. To the first two charges he pleaded guilty, but he denied that he was a traitor, as he had never sworn fealty to Edward. He was however found guilty and executed: his head was placed on the Tower; his four quarters were sent to different parts of Scotland for a similar exposure †.

The following year (1305), Edward, after consulting with

* "Et quant a monsieur Guilliam de Galeys, est accorde, qu'il se mette en la volunte et en la grace nostre seigneur le Roy si lui semble que bon soit."—Ryley, 370.

† See Appendix, G.

Wishart bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce, and John Mowbray, all Scots and asserters of Scottish independence, prepared to draw up a plan for the government of Scotland. By this the places of trust were to bo put into the hands of natives and Englishmen conjointly; the laws of Scotland were to continue of force; and an amnesty was passed on condition of fines being paid, which however were to be spent in Scotland for the benefit of the kingdom (Oct. 15).

Edward now deemed that he had secured his dominion over Scotland; but never was an expectation more fallacious, for four months were hardly passed when Scotland was again in insurrection. Baliol being now dead and his son a captive In the Tower, the task of maintaining the rights of the family had fallen to his nephew John Comyn of Ikdenoch, whom we therefore have seen of late years acting us head of the nation. Robert Bruce, the grandson of Baliol's competitor, a young man about twenty-three years of age, was now the head of the rival house. These two noblemen having repaired to Dumfries, on what account is not certainly known*, Bruce (Feb. 10, 1306) requested Comyn to give him a private meeting in the choir of the church of the Minorites. They met; what their discourse was remains unknown ; high words arose, and Bruce drew his dagger and plunged it in Comyn[1]3 bosom. Comyn foil; Bruce hurried out of the church pale and agitated, " I think T have killed Comyn," said he to his friends whom he met without. " You only think so!" cried sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, " I will secure him,'' and he and the rest rushed into the church. Seaton, Bruce's brother-in-law, there slew Comyn's uncle, who had hastened to the spot; and Comyn himself, who was still alive, was despatched by Kirkpatrick.

After this daring deed, Bruce, despairing of pardon, assumed the title of king. The people favoured his pretensions, and he was crowned (Mar. 27) at Scone. But ere long the English forces poured into Scotland, where they were joined by the adherents of Comyn; and Bruce being defeated (June 24) at Methven near Perth, became a wanderer in Athol and Breadalbane. His little band was again dispersed, and having made his way to the coast he sought refuge in the isle of Rathlin on the coast of Ireland, where he remained concealed for the winter. King Edward, though broken by age and

* See Appendix, H.

disease, had resolved to avenge the murder of Cornyn. He knighted the prince of Wales and a number of the young nobility. At the banquet held on* this occasion he vowed before God, and the swans which according to usage were placed on the table, to punish the Scottish rebels; and he prayed the company, if he died, not to let him be buried till his son had performed his vow. The prince and nobles also swore, and the king then set out for Carlisle, where he issued orders for the trial of such of Bruce's adherents as had been made prisoners; and the earl of Athol and some others were executed as traitors.

In the spring (130/) Bruce re-appeared and gained some advantages. The king, finding his health somewhat improved, assembled a large army at Carlisle and put himself at its head to enter Scotland; but he had only gone five miles to a place named Burgh-on-the-Sands when the violence of his disorder obliged him to stop, and the next day (July *7)* he breathed his last, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. '

It has justly been said of this great monarch, that he "is the model of a politic and warlike king." In person, though his limbs were too long and slender (whence his name of Longshanks), he was imposing and handsome; he was skilled in all martial exercises; his courage was undoubted; his manners were courteous and affable. Though arbitrary in temper he was a lover of justice, and the money which he raised by his sole authority from his people was employed with frugality for national objects. In a word, there was in him much to admire, and considering his limes little to condemn ; for the maxims of feudal law justified in a great measure his conduct toward Wales and Scotland. We may perhaps venture to style him the greatest of the house of Plantagenet.

By his first queen Eleanor of Castile, whom he tenderly loved, Edward had four sons and eleven daughters, of whom only one son, Edward, and four daughters survived him; by Margaret of France he had two sons, Thomas earl of Norfolk and earl marshal, and Edmund earl of Kent, and one daughter who died before him.

In a legal and constitutional point of view the reign of Edward I. is one of the most important in our history, in which it on this account forms an epoch. The Confirmation

of the Charters, of which the following is the history, was the great constitutional measure of his reign.

Edward, as we have said, though he spent it frugally, exacted his subjects' money arbitrarily. He leaned very heavily on the church. The reigning pontiff, the ambitious Boniface VIII., had, at the desire, it is said, of the clergy, issued a bull menacing with excommunication any prince who should tax the church without his consent. When therefore the king, on the occasion of his war with France in 1296, demanded of the clergy a fifth of their moveables, they pleaded the bull, and the primate "Winchelsea told him that, they owed obedience to two masters, of which the spiritual was the greater. The king, instead of applying to the pope in the usual manner, told them that as they would not support the government they were not worthy of its protection, and he forthwith outlawed them and took possession of all their goods and chattels. They now were robbed, plundered and abused by every ruffian that chose to do so, and the law would give them no redress. They gradually therefore made their peace with the king, yielding to all his demands.

These supplies, however, and those granted by parliament not sufficing, he proceeded to seize the wool and leather in the hands of the merchants, to force the counties to supply him with corn and cattle (for all which indeed he promised payment at a future day), and finally required the personal service of every holder of land, to the value of 20/. a ynar. It was then that the constable and marshal made the bold stand against him above narrated; finding that they were supported by the nobility, he sought to make a peace with the church, and he appointed the primate one of the tutors of his son whom he was leaving guardian of the realm. He even condescended to apologise publicly to the people for his exactions, ascribing them to necessity and promising amendment. The two earls did not then venture any furtker than to draw up a remonstrance against his violations of the Charters, which was presented to him as he was embarking at Winchelsea, and to which he gave an evasive reply. But when he was gone they came up to parliament, when summoned, with a large body of both horse and foot, and refused to enter the city till the gates were committed to their custody. The primate, who was secretly in their interest, advised the council to comply, and they thus became masters of the prince and parliament. Their demands, **however,** were most moderate; they only required that **the**

charters should he solemnly confirmed, a clause be added securing the nation for ever against taxation without consent of parliament, and pardon to themselves for their refusal to attend the king. The prince and his council assented to these terms; they were sent over to the king, who after some delay and with great reluctance gave them his confirmation. On his return the earls insisted that he should confirm them anew, and after evincing great repugnance, and having recourse to every subterfuge, he was obliged to yield. He afterwards obtained from the pope a dispensation from his oath; but the spirit of the people was too .strong for him or the papal bull: the Great Charter was thus finally and firmly established, and the important right of being the sole legitimate raisers of the sup- (>lies was gained for the people. The names of Humphrey Bo- lun ami ltoger Bigod must ever rank among those of .England*s most illustrious patriots. In defence of the rights of the people they withstood and overcame the most able and energetic of her .monarch »,

The present constitution of parliament was fully established in this reign, Edward finding it more for his interest in general to let his people tax themselves, and grant a *subsidy* as it was now termed, than to employ the old mode of tallaging; not but that lie still had recourse to thatarbitrary mode of raising supplies till the Confirmation of the Charters was wrung from him. Scutage also now went out of use, the tenants in chief paying a subsidy like the citizens and clergy.

The improvements in the law which were made in his reign have obtained for Edward the title of the English Justinian. The limits of the jurisdiction of the several courts of law were fixed; the itinerant justices were directed to hold assizes thrice a year in each county. By the celebrated Statute of Winchester effectual provisions were made for the public security. It enacts that every host shall be answerable for his guests; that the gates of towns shall be kept locked from sunset to sunrise; that when a robbery is committed the hue and cry shall be made after the felon, and every man be ready to follow it armed; the hundred to be answerable for the damage if the robber is not taken. For greater security to travellers, the trees and underwood were to be cleared away for a space of two hundred feet on each side of the highway. Officers named Conservators were appointed to carry these provisions into effect, whose powers were gradually extended, and their title changed to that of Justices of the Peace,

The statute of *entails*, which so mainly contributes to keep up the wealth and influence of the nobility, and to prevent the division or alienation of landed property which is so detrimental to the interests of an aristocracy, is also to be referred to this reign. To check the clergy in their schemes for the acquisition of land, Edward caused to be passed the statute of *mortmain;* this however they contrived to elude by what were called *uses*; but the ingenuity of the common law lawyers equalled theirs; each new device was met by an appropriate remedy, and the law finally triumphed over the church.

It is remarkable that Edward, who was so little of a bigot in general, showed himself a fanatic in respect of the Jews. One of the consequences of the Conquest had been the establishment of this people in England, where they followed their usual trade of lending money, and were also the importers of the rare and precious commodities of distant countries. Their rate of interest was enormous, owing to the insecurity of payment; the church had infused a prejudice against lending at all on interest, and the Jews on this account and as the enemies of Christ, were objects of hatred to the people. But the crown protected them, though it made them pay dear for its favour. They were in fact regarded as the property of the king, and all that they possessed was his, and might be seized at his pleasure.

In 1287 Edward threw the whole of them into prison till they paid a sum of 12,000/., and in 1290 he confiscated their property and banished them the kingdom *.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD II. (OF CARNARVON).

1307-1327.

EDWARD II. was twenty-three years of age when he succeeded to the throne. He was handsome in person and amiable in temper; but he was weak in mind and devoted to pleasure—in all things the opposite of his illustrious sire. He was exceedingly attached to a young man of his own age named Piers

* They did not re-appear in England till the time of the Commonwealth.

Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, whom the late king had given him as a companion. Gaveston, though brave, witty and accomplished, was dissipated and insolent, and the king rinding his society injurious to the prince, had banished him the realm and bound his son by oath never to recall him without his permission. This injunction he solemnly repeated when he summoned the prince, who was going to London, to the side of his sick-bed at Carlisle. At the same time he charged him, in case of his own death, not to intermit the Scottish war; and it is added, made him swear that when he was dead he would cause his body to be boiled in a caldron till the flesh was separated from the bones, which last he should always have carried before him when marching against the Scots.

The new king had not sufficient strength of mind to refuse an oath, or to keep it when taken. His first act was to issue an order for the return of Gaveston ; he buried the body of his father at Westminster; and after marching a little way into Scotland, where he was joined by Gaveston, he retired and disbanded his army. Even before the favourite's return the royal duchy of Cornwall had been conferred on him; the royal officers were now changed at his pleasure ; he was made lord chamberlain, and married to the sister of the earl of Gloucester, the king's niece. A large grant of lands in Guienne was bestowed on him, and at Christmas, when Edward was departing for France to do his homage and espouse the princess Isabel, Gaveston was appointed guardian of the realm. On the king's return with his lovely bride (Feb. 1308) the guardian and the barons of the realm came, as usual, to meet him; Edward, regardless of c(c-corum, the moment he beheld Gaveston, rushed into his arms, kissed him and called him his brother; of the other nobles he took little notice. At the coronation (Feb. 25), to the mortal offence of the ancient nobility, the high honour of carrying the crown before the king was assigned to the favourite. Their indignation now knew no bounds, and three days afterwards they met and petitioned the king to banish him. Edward put them off till Easter, but he was then obliged to comply. Gaveston himself was made to swear that he would never return, and the bishops pronounced him excommunicate if he broke his oath. The king made him new grants of land and accompanied him to Bristol, where he embarked, and the barons to their surprise soon learned that he was governor of Ireland.

The causes of the enmity of the nobles to Gaveston are to

be sought not merely in their patriotism, or their national or family pride: the personal vanity of many of them had been wounded on various occasions. Gaveston, who excelled in martial exercises, had unhorsed the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and others in the tournaments, and his biting wit had affixed nicknames on many of them *, which mortified more than serious injuries. When he was no longer present, however, their resentment gradually cooled, and the king found means to induce them to allow of his return; the pope absolved him from his oath, and Edward hastened to Chester to meet him (1309). But untaught by experience, both the king and his minion went on in their old courses. The barons refused to attend a parliament summoned to York. As the king's necessities were urgent, Gaveston was obliged to conceal himself in Flanders, and the parliament then met at Westminster (Feb. 1310).

The barons, as they were wont when intending to intimidate their sovereign, came attended by their armed vassals. The king was obliged to consent to the appointment of a committee of eight earls, seven bishops and six barons, who under the title of Ordainers were to regulate his household and redress the national grievances. lie then proceeded to the north, where he was joined by Gaveston, on whom he lavished more wealth and honours. He entered Scotland and advanced to the Forth ; he passed the winter at Berwick, and in the spring (1811) he committed the conduct of the war to the favourite. In August lie returned to London to receive the articles of reform which had been drawn up. These articles tended chiefly to limit the excesses of the royal authority, and to give parliament a control in the appointment of public officers, and it was expressly provided that Gaveston should be banished the king's dominions. Edward after along resistance consented to sign them ; but he previously made a protest, with a view probably to a future evasion. Gaveston and he parted with tears (Nov. 1), and the favourite retired to Flanders. The king dissolved the parliament and returned to the north, and before Christmas the barons learned with surprise and indignation that Gaveston had rejoined him at York. By a royal proclamation (Jan. 18, 1312) it was stated that he had returned in

* He called Lancaster "the old hog," and "the stage-player;" Pembroke, "Joseph the Jew;" Gloucester, "the cuckold's bird;" and Warwick, " the black dog of the wood."

obedience to the king's orders, and a new grant was made him of his estates and honours.

The barons now saw that there was an end of all hopes of weaning the king from Gaveston, and that either they or the favourite must fall. A new confederacy was formed, of which the head was Thomas earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III., the possessor of five earldoms; and the primate gave it his countenance. Having assembled under the pretext of a tournament, they proceeded to York, and finding that the king was at Newcastle they followed him thither. Regardlcxtn of the tears and entreaties of his queen, Edward fled with his favourite to Tynemouth, and thence by sea to Scarborough, where leaving Gaveston in the castle he returned to York. Gaveston was besieged by the carls of Surrey and Pembroke, and finding the place untenable (May 17), he surrendered to the latter on condition of being reinstated in it if no accommodation could be effected within two months. Meantime he was to be confined in his own casth* at Wallingford. On the way thither he halted at Pembroke's castle of JJcdiugtou near Banbury, where that earl left him with only a few servants. He went to rest without suspicion; before dawn he was desired to dress himself and come forth; at the gate he found the earl of Warwick and a large force; he was placed on a mule and led to Warwick castle, where shouts of triumph and martial music greeted his arrival. The confederate lords sat in council; it was proposed to spare his life, but. one of the party observed* "You have caught the fox; if you let him go you will have to hunt him again." Ills death was therefore resolved on; in vain he threw himself at the feet of Lancaster and implored for mercy; he was taken to an adjacent heath and there beheaded (June 19). The intelligence of this atrocious deed threw the king into a paroxysm of grief and rage. Time and circumstances, however, gradually cooled his anger or taught him to conceal it, and toward the end of the following year he and his barons were to all appearance fully reconciled.

Scotland now claimed all the attention of the English king. While Edward had been engaged in supporting his insolent favourite against his barons, Bruce had gradually made himself master of all the strong places held by the English. News arriving (1314) that the governor of Stirling had agreed to surrender if not speedily relieved, Edward summoned his military tenants to meet him at Berwick. But various difficulties being

thrown in his way, and Lancaster, Warwick and other lords disobeying the summons, he did not reach Stirling till the day before that of the promised surrender, and with a force far inferior to what he had calculated on*. He found Bruce's army **arranged** in three square columns, and extending from the *burn*, or brook, of Bannock to near the castle, with pits having sharp stakes placed in them, and covered with hurdles and sods, to protect its left wing. The men of Argyle, Carrick and the Isles formed a reserve under Bruce himself. His entire force amounted to about forty thousand men, and fifteen thousand camp followers lay in a Valley at some distance with directions to show themselves during the conflict.

That very evening a skirmish took place between the advanced posts, in whkm Bruce elove with his battle-axe the skull of a knight named Henry de Bohun. At daybreak (June 21) the Scots, having heard mass from the abbot of Inchaftray, formed in line of battle ; the abbot again prayed and the whole army fell On their knees. "They kneel," cried some English ; "they beg for mercy." " He not deceived," replied lngelram de Urnfraville; " they beg for mercy, but it is only from God." The English infantry and archers advanced; the Scots received them boldly: the conflict was long and dubious; Bruce brought up his reserve; some men-at-arms took the English in flank, and they broke and fled. The earl of Gloucester then led on the horse to renew the engagement, but the slight covering of the pita gave way under their weight, and men and horses were overthrown.

The appearance of those who lay in the valley completed the dismay of the English, and they fled in all directions. Edward himself never halted till he readied Dunbar, where ho embarked for Berwick. His treasure, military stores and engines fell into the hands of the conquerors. Many knights and esquires were made prisoners; these Bruce treated with kindness and courtesy ; but the common soldiery were slaughtered without mercy.

The victory of Bannock-burn secured the independence of Scotland. Nothing can be more natural than that it should form a topic of proud exultation to writers of that nation; but

* According to the poet liarhour, the great Scottish authority for the details of this hattle, he had 100,000 men, of whom 40,000 were cavalry and 50,000 archers.—Tytler, Hist, of Scotland, i. 296. This of course is gross exaggeration, and there is reason to suppose that the infantry did not much exceed 20,000 men.

tee who have no national predilections may ask what was the real gain of Scotland; and would it not have been as well, since the whole island was to be ruled by one sceptre, if the union had taken place then, as three centuries later, after Scotland had endured all the evils of feudal anarchy and of a continued State of predatory warfare with England *'!

A dreadful famine and pestilence succeeded in England; tho dissensions between the king and his barons were renewed. In 1315 Bruce sent his brother Edward with six thousand men over to Ireland at the invitation of the native chiefs, numbers of whom joined his standard, and he was crowned the following year king of that country. Robert Bruce passed over to his aid, and they advanced to Dublin and Limerick. But the severity of the weather forcing them to fall back to Ulster, Robert returned home and Edward was afterwards (Oct. 5, 1318) defeated and slain near Dundalk. Robert after his return reduced Berwick (1318), and spread his ravages to the Humber; and Edward, having vainly endeavoured to recover Berwick, agreed to a truce for two years (1320).

The feeble mind of Edward, incapable of self-reliance, felt a favourite to be indispensable. The place of Gaveston was therefore now occupied by Hugh le Despenser, the son of a most respectable old gentleman of the same name. Exclusive of any insolence of his own, the very circumstance of his being the favourite would have sufficed to render Spenser an object of enmity to Lancaster and the other factious barons, and an occasion soon occurred which set them at enmity with him. Spenser having married one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Gloucester had become possessed of a large property on the marches of Wales. John de Mowbray, who had married the daughter of the lord of Gower, whose estate lay contiguous to that of the favourite, on the death of his father-in-law entered into possession of it without the usual livery of seizin from the crown. Spenser, who coveted the lands of Gower, now maintained that they were forfeit. The lords of the marches associated (1321) for the defence of their rights. With a large force they entered the favourite's lands, took his castles and destroyed all his property. They then marched

* Mr. Tytler bids us look at Ireland as a proof of what Scotland in such case would have been. We answer this by bidding *him* look at Wales. There could be no analogy between Scotland and Ireland. The Scots differed little from the English in language, manners and laws.

into Yorkshire and formed an alliance with Lancaster and the barons of his faction against the two Spenscrs ; and headed by Lancaster they advanced toward London, wasting and destroying the estates of the elder Spenser on their way. From St. Albans they sent a message to the king requiring the banishment of Un; Spcnsers : Edward returned u spirited refusal : they advanced and took up their quarters about Holborn and Clerkenwell, whence after some delay for consultation they proceeded with armed men to Westminster, where the parliament was sitting, and forced the king and barons to assent to their demands. They then separated and retired to their homes.

But ere two months were passed the king saw himself able to take vengeance on them. As the queen was on her way to Canterbury she proposed to pass the night at the royal castle of Leeds. Lord Badlesmere, the governor, was absent; his wife refused her admittance ; some of her attendants even were slain, The queen complained loudly of the insult, the feelings of the nation were roused, and Edward was enabled to assemble an army, and attack and take the castle. Feeling himself now strong he recalled the Spensers as being banished illegally. The confederates had again recourse to arms, and they formed an alliance with Robert Bruce (1322). The king advanced northwards; at Burton-on-Trent Lancaster held the royal troops for three days in cheek, hut when they had forded the river he retired into Yorkshire. On reaching Boroughbridge he found the opposite hank of the river occupied by sir Simon Ward and sir Andrew Harclay. The earl of- Hereford was slain in attempting to force the bridge;; Lancaster having vainly tried a ford was obliged to surrender. He was conducted to his own castle of Pontefract, where he was arraigned before the king and some earls and barons. He was not permitted to make any defence ; in regard for his royal descent the sentence of hanging passed on him was commuted to decapitation : he was then set on a grey pony without a bridle ; his confessor walked by his side : the people insulted and pelted him with mud. "King of Heaven," cried the unhappy nobleman, " grant me mercy, for the king of earth has forsaken me." On an eminence without the town the cavalcade halted ; the earl knelt with his face to the east: he was made to turn to the north, whence he had looked for aid, and his head was then struck off. Twenty-eight of die captive knights were hanged as traitors; others were fined

or imprisoned. The elder Spenser was created earl of Winchester, and several of the forfeited estates were bestowed on him.

Among the most important captives was Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, one of the lords marchers of Wales. Having managed to corrupt one of the officers of the Tower he got to the river, where a boat was waiting for him j on the other side he found his servants and horses; he eluded all pursuit, and reached the coast of Hampshire, where a ship lay ready, and passing over to France he entered the service of king Charles, the queen of England's brother. This prince, under pretence of Edward's not having appeared at his coronation to do him homage, was planning to deprive him of his foreign dominions. It was suggested that the queen should go over to Paris to exert her influence over the mind of her brother. She therefore visited France (1325) with a splendid retinue, and a treaty similar to that by which Edward I. had been cajoled out of Guienne was concluded. The king, however, agreed to this treaty, and he was on his way to go arid perform homage when he fell sick at Dover. A proposal then came from the queen that he should resign Guienne and Ponthieu to his son, who was then but twelve years old, and that Charles would accept the young prince's homage. Edward assented; the prince departed, promising a speedy return ; the. homage was performed, but there was no sign of the return of the queen or her son. The king wrote in affectionate terms to both ; the queen replied urging her fears of Spenser. Edward in his answer alleged that this was a mere pretence, as she and Spenser had always been on the best terms. He also wrote to the pope and to the king and peers of France, but all to no purpose.

The fact seems to be that the queen was now living in adultery with Roger Mortimer, whose person and manners had gained her aifections. Her brother, who knew not or affected not to know her dishonour, abetted her in her opposition to her husband, and Edward at length felt himself obliged to declare war against him. Isabella, now meditating nothing less than an invasion of England, and reducing the power of the Spensers by force, retired to the court of the eount of Hainault, to whose daughter Philippa she affianced her son (1326). Being furnished by the count with a force of two thousand men and joined by all the English exiles, she set sail and landed (Sept. 24) at Orewell in Suffolk. In ner' train appeared the earl of Kent, brother to the king; she was

joined on landing by his other brother the earl of Norfolk, the earl of Leicester brother of Lancaster, and the bishops of Ely, Hereford and Lincoln, all at the head of their vassals. Robert de "Watteville, who was sent to oppose her, went over to her with his troops. Their march was directed to London ; their sole object, it was declared, was the liberation of the king from the tyranny of the Spensers and of the chancellor Baldock. Edward having vainly tried to induce the citizens to arm in his defence left the city ; and he was scarcely gone when the population rose, seized and beheaded the bishop of Exeter, robbed and plundered several other persons, forced the Tower, set at liberty the prisoners and declared for the queen.

The king attended by his favourites retired to Bristol, closely pursued by the earl of Kent and' John de Ilainault. Leaving the elder Spenser to defend the castle of that city, he proceeded with the younger Spenser to the marches of Wales, and rinding the people there little inclined to arm in his favour, he took shipping with his favourite for Lundy Island, at the mouth of the Bristol Channel. The queen with her forces soon reached Bristol, and Spenser finding the citizens mutinous surrendered the town and castle on the third day. He was forthwith brought to trial on the charge of having unduly influenced the royal mind, advised the execution of Lancaster, etc. Like Lancaster, he was not allowed to make any defence. The venerable old man of more than ninety years was forthwith hanged as a traitor, and emboweled while alive ; his body was cut into pieces and thrown to the dogs.

The unhappy king was prevented by adverse winds from reaching Lundy. He landed at Swansea, and proceeding to Neath sought to conceal himself in that neighbourhood. Meantime the barons of the queen's party, acting as a parliament at Bristol, declared the realm left without a ruler by his absence, and named the young prince guardian of the kingdom. Shortly after, Spenser and Baldock having been betrayed to Leicester, the king made a voluntary surrender of himself, and was con* ducted to the castle of Kenilworth.

Spenser was arraigned at Hereford before Trussler, the judge who had condemned his father. A string of the most ridiculous and improbable charges was made against him. He was of course condemned, and was hung with a wreath of nettles on his head on a gallows fifty feet high. The earl of Arundel and two others were beheaded as having consented to the dearth

of Lancaster. Baldock being a priest was confined in Newgate, where he died.

From Hereford the queen returned to London, where a parliament being assembled (Jan. *7,* 1327) the crafty bishop of Hereford, the aider of all her projects, having expatiated on the vindictive character of the king, and the danger of trusting the queen in his hands, bade the members retire and come next day, prepared to say whether it were better to restore the king or to appoint the prince to reign. In the morning the place was filled with turbulent citizens ; no one ventured to speak in favour of the king ; the prince was proclaimed by acclamation; and the peers, four prelates excepted, swore fealty to him. A few days after (13th), articles charging him with incapacity, indolence, cruelty, etc. were exhibited against the king, and he was deposed; but as the queen burst into loud lamentations and affected great scruples as to the legality of such a proceeding, to satisfy these pretended doubts a deputation was sent to Kenilworth, with directions by promises and threats to extort what should be styled a voluntary resignation from the king. It is needless to say that they succeeded, and on the day after their return (24th) the accession of the new king was proclaimed by the heralds.

The deposed monarch was still left in the custody of Leicester, who was now carl of Lancaster, but aa that nobleman treated him with attention and kindness he. was taken from him and committed to sir John Maltravers, by whom he was carried to Corfe, to Bristol, and finally to Berkeley; and it is said that gross insults and indignities were offered to him in the hope *of* finally disturbing his reason*. The cause of this last removal was that lord Berkeley had been joined in commission with Maltravers. Berkeley, however, being ill and away from home, the charge of guarding the king had devolved on two of his officers, Thomas Gournay and William Ogle. One night (Sept. 21) shrieks were heard to ring through the castle, and in the morning the neighbouring gentry and the citizens of Bristol were invited to behold the dead body of the deposed king. No marks of violence appeared, but the features were distorted, and it was reported that death had been

* It was said that one day when he was to be shaved, his keepers fetched dirty water out of the moat for the purpose. He desired it to be changed; they refused; he burst into tears, and cried that in spite of their insolence he would be shaved with clean and warm water.

caused by introducing a red-hot iron through a tube into the intestines. He was buried privately at the abbey-church of Gloucester, and no inquiry whatever was made at the time*.

Such was the fate of this most unhappy prince. Too simple and innocent for the times in which his fortune was cast, he perished the victim of his own weakness of character and of the crimes of those who should have guided and protected him.

CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD III. (OF WINDSOR).

1327-1377.

THE reversal of attainders and the confiscation of the estates of the Spensers and their adherents were the first acts of the new government. Of these estates the larger portion went to Mortimer, now earl of March, and a sum of 20,000l. a year was assigned to the queen. A council of regency was appointed, the members of which were entirely under the control of the queen and Mortimer.

Though the truce with Scotland was not expired, Bruce seized the occasion of invading England, and poured a body of twenty-four thousand men into the northern counties, where they committed fearful ravages. The young king of England having assembled forty thousand men marched to Durham, and then crossed the Tyne with the design of intercepting the Scots on their return. Having waited seven days to no purpose, he repassed the river, and at length found the Scots posted on a hill on the right bank of the Wear. The two armies remained for some days opposite each other separated by the river. At length the Scots decamped in the night, and the English army rinding pursuit hopeless returned to Durham. It was disbanded a few days after at York. The following year (1328) a peace was concluded with Scotland, whose absolute independence was acknowledged in the most

* See Appendix, I.

ample manner, and Edward's sister Jane was betrothed to David, the son and heir of Robert Bruce.

The odium of this peace, at which the people were highly displeased, fell chiefly on Mortimer. This aspiring man, heedless of thcfatc of Gaveston and Spenser, far outwent them in insolence, and the haughty barons, especially the princes of the blood, could ill brook to see him in effect the ruler of the realm. They took arms, but Lancaster being deserted by the earls of Kent and Norfolk was forced to submit and sue for pardon. Mortimer, being determined to strike terror into the princes, selected the earl of Kent as his victim. His agents persuaded this weak but well-meaning man that Ins brother the late king was still alive, and he was led to form projects for restoring him to his throne. When Mortimer thought lie had sufficient evidence against him he caused him to be seized and arraigned. The earl acknowledged his own letters which were produced ; he was found guilty, and sentenced to die as a traitor, and he was beheaded the following day (Mar. 21, 1330). His estates were given to Mortimer's youngest son Geoffrey.

Mortimer probably now deemed his power secure, but in reality he had only reached the edge of the precipice. The young king had attained his eighteenth year; his spirit was high, and he could ill bear the restraint to which he was subject. He secretly confided his thoughts to lord Montacute, who advised him to seize Mortimer at the parliament which was to be held at Nottingham. The king assented, and some persons who could be depended on were engaged in the design-

When the time for the meeting of parliament was arrived, the queen with her son and Mortimer took up their abode in the castle of Nottingham. For Mortimer's security a strong guard lay in it; the locks on the gates were changed, and the keys were placed every night under the queen's pillow. Montacute informed sir Thomas Eland, the governor, of the king's pleasure, previously swearing him to secresy ; and Eland then told him of a subterraneous passage, which was unknown to Mortimer, and through which he would admit the king's friends. Montacute rode with his friends into the eountry, and Mortimer, who had received some hints of their design, attributed their departure to their fear of discovery. Before midnight Eland admitted them through the passage ; on the stairs leading to the principal tower they were joined by the king; they ascended

in silence till they heard the sound of voices in an apartment adjoining that of the queen, where Mortimer was in consultation with the bishop of Lincoln and some other friends. They burst open the door, slaying two knights who defended it. The queen in alarm cried from her bed, " Sweet son, fair son, spare my gentle [noble] Mortimer." She then rushed into the room, but in spite of her efforts Mortimer was made a prisoner. Next morning (Oct. 20) the king announced that he had assumed the reins of government, and summoned a parliament to meet him at Westminster.

When the parliament met (Nov. 26) Mortimer was accused of having set enmity between the late king and his queen ; of having caused the death of the king and of the earl of Kent, and of various other offences, lie was condemned without hesitation, and hanged three days after (29th) at the Elms at Tyburn, with his associate sir Simon Bereford, The queen was confined to her manor of Risings near London, and her income reduced to 3000/. a year, which the king afterwards increased to 4000l. He paid her an annual visit of ceremony, but never allowed her to meddle in affairs of state. In this retirement she passed the remaining twenty-sewn years of her life.

Scotland was the first object which attracted the attention of the young king. The English and Scottish lords hud held lands in both kingdoms, and at the late peace little care appears to have been taken for their interests. As Robert Bruce was now dead, the English claimants, finding that their king would not interfere, resolved (1332) to endeavour to regain their lands by the sword. They placed at their head Edward son of John Baliol, and having collected about three thousand men embarked at Ravenspur and landed (Aug. 6) on the coast of Fife. Baliol then sent his fleet to the mouth of the Tay, and with his small army boldly marched into the interior. The earl of Mar, the regent, had assembled two armies, each of thirty thousand men, led by himself and the earl of March. Baliol came up with that of the regent at Duplin, crossed the river Earn in the night, and fell on and slaughtered the Scots in their camp. When the daylight showed the regent his enemies he rallied his men and engaged them. A total defeat was the lot of the Scots. Mar himself, several of the nobles, and it is said twelve thousand men, were slain. Baliol then sped away to Perth pursued by the earl of March, who invested the town by land and by water; but the English ships attacked

and defeated his fleet, and want of provisions obliged his army to disperse. The friends of his family now resorted to Baliol, and he was crowned at Scone (Sept. 24), having won a kingdom in less than seven weeks! His opponents then solicited a truce for assembling a parliament, to which Baliol consented; but during the truce he was suddenly attacked (Dec. 18) at Annan by the earl of Moray, and was forced to seek refuge in the English borders.

Edward, who had perhaps given Baliol private encouragement, had in the month of November formed* two secret treaties with him. By the one Baliol acknowledged the feudal superiority of England; gave up the town of Berwick, and offered to marry the princess Jane, whose marriage with David Bruce had not been consummated. By the second the two kings bound themselves to aid each other against all domestic enemies. As the Scots by their incursions gave a pretext for charging them with a breach of the treaty of peace, Edward prevailed an his parliament to consent to a renewal of the war, and Baliol (1333) laid siege to Berwick, which was gallantly defended by the earl of March. The siege had lasted two months when king Edward arrived; the operations were now carried on more vigorously, and the garrison gave hostages to surrender if not relieved by a certain day. The earl of Moray, the regent, now came with a numerous army and offered battle; but the English kept within their lines, and the regent having put some knights and provisions into the town retired and laid siege to Bamborough, where queen Philippa was residing* Edward then required the garrison to surrender; they replied that they had been relieved; he hanged one of the hostages, and they then agreed to admit the English at the end of three days unless the Scottish army should oblige them to raise the siege, or put in three hundred men-at-arms * between sunrise and sunset of the same day. On the afternoon of the third day (July 19) the Scottish army appeared and advanced to the attack in four divisions. Edward drew up his troops on Halidon-hill. The Scots had to make their way through marshy ground at its foot, and in their progress they suffered severely from the discharges of the English archers. Weary and in disorder they reached the spot where the enemy awaited them. After a brave struggle they were totally routed; the regent himself and several nobles were slain on the field ;

* The men-at-arms were the heavy feudal cavalry, consisting of the knights and their esquires.

the fugitives were slaughtered without mercy, especially by the Irish in Edward's army; and the total number of the slain is said to have been thirty thousand. Berwick surrendered; the young king and his betrothed the princess Jane, who were at Dumbarton, were conveyed to France for safety. Baliol was acknowledged as king in a Scottish parliament, the fealty to Edward was renewed, and all the country eastward of a line drawn from Dumfries to Linlithgow was ceded to him. But the Scots soon rose again against Baliol, and after a contest of some years David was enabled to return (1341) and resume his crown.

It is not unlikely that Edward would have conquered Scotland, had not his attention been diverted from it by the, prospect of a more brilliant; though less solid acquisition. He was now induced to put forth a claim to the crown of France in right of his mother. Her father Philip the Fair had left three sons and this one daughter. The eldest son Louis Hutin, who succeeded, died, leaving an only daughter; but as the queen was pregnant his brother Philip was made regent till she should be delivered. She brought forth a son, who died within a few days, and Philip was then proclaimed king; the duke of Burgundy asserted the rights of the young princess, who was his niece, but the states-general declared her and all females incapable of inheriting the crown. Philip died leaving three daughters, and his brother Charles succeeded, who also died leaving one daughter, and his widow pregnant. His cousin-german Philip of Valois was made regent, and when the queen was delivered of a daughter (1329) he was placed at once upon the throne. This regulation of the descent of the French crown was said, though improperly, to depend on a law of the Salian Franks, hence called the Salic law; but the notion had probably grown up from the circumstance of the next heir, even from the time of Clovis, having always happened to be a male; the states, therefore, when called to decide after the death of Louis Ilutin, naturally supposed such to be the law, and regulated the succession accordingly.

Edward of England was the only opponent to the claim of Philip of Valois. He fancied, at least he asserted, that though, females could not inherit themselves they could transmit a right to their male descendants, and he therefore claimed the crown of France in right of his mother. Nothing, however, could be worse-founded than this claim; for even allowing the principle, the right of the king of Navarre son of Jane,

daughter of Louis Hutin, was preferable to his. Accordingly the twelve peers and the barons of France rejected his claim at once, and he was shortly after summoned to do homage to Philip for Guienne, with which summons he deemed it expedient to comply. Still there was no cordiality between him and Philip, who kept possession of Rome fortresses in Guienne, and aided the partisans of David in Scotland, though Edward offered him a large sum of money for those fortresses, and made various proposals of marriage between their children. At length Edward began to think of reviving and asserting his claim to the crown of France, to which, it is said, he was mainly impelled by the counsels of Robert count of Artois, who being obliged to fly from France for the forgery of public documents, had found a refuge at the court of England (1337).

The first object of Edward when he had resolved on war was to form as many alliances as possible. Through his father-in-law the count of Hainault, and by means of large sums of money, he gained the duke; of Brabant and some more of the neighbouring petty princes. He also formed an alliance with the emperor of Germany. But he chiefly sought to win the Flemings, and here a phenomenon, unique to the north of the Alps, preaented itself,—application w.ari to he made not to a prince, but to a leading demagogue. For in Flanders the lower ranks had by trade and manufacture acquired a degree of opulence and influence unknown elsewhere. They therefore would not tamely submit to the oppressions and extortions of their lords ; they rose in tumults : they had driven their earl into France, and like the Grecian and Italian cities in similar circumstances they were ruled with despotic power by their leaders. The *tyrant*, as in the Greek sense we may call him, of Flanders at this time was James van Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent, and to him did Edward condescend to sue. Artaveldt readily embraced his interests, and invited him to pass over to Flanders without delay. The king having obtained a cheerful consent and a grant from his parliament, and raised more money by forced loans, by pawning the crown jewels and seizing the property of the Lombards*, sailed over to Antwerp in the summer (1338). But he found it impossible to excite his allies to action, and all he could obtain was

* When the Jews were expelled, the trade of banking and money-lending fell into the hands of the Italian traders, who were mostly Lombards. Lombard-street (named from them) and its vicinity are still the great seats of banking.

a promise to join him the following summer, when the campaign should be opened by the siege of Cambray.

At the appointed time (1339) Edward found himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, with which he appeared before the walls of Cambray. He wasted its territory and then entered France; but here the counts of Namur and Hain&ult quitted him, alleging feudal scruples. He advanced then for twelve leagues wasting and burning as he went. His other allies now refused to go any further in an enemy's country. Philip soon appeared with a more numerous host; the twc? armies were drawn up in battle-array near Laon, but no action resulted. Both then retired, and Edward having thanked and disbanded his allies returned to England, having thus to no purpose wasted so much money, and being in consequence now 300,000/. in debt. While he was in Flanders, he had, by the advice of Artaveldt, assumed the title, of king of France to satisfy the feudal scruples of the Flemings, lie had also received from the emperor the title of Vicar of the Empire to enable him to command Germans. The pojjc at this time sought in vain to mediate between him and Philip.

The next year (1340) Philip assembled in the harbour of Sluya an immense fleet in order to intercept his rival on his passage. Edward immediately collected all the ships in the southern ports and sailed to engage it. He found it moored in four lines across the passage into the harbour, the ships being fastened together with iron chains, and having turrets supplied with large stones at their heads. Edward at first put out to sea to get clear of the sun, which was in his eyes, and then bore down with wind and tide. After a stout resistance all the ships in the first line were captured. Just then lord Morley came up with a fleet from the northern ports; and the English advanced to attack the remaining lines, of which the last alone offered any opposition. The loss of the English was but two ships and about four thousand men; nearly all the vessels of the enemy were sunk or taken, and about thirty thousand men perished.

Edward landed next day; his allies crowded to his standard, and at the head of two hundred thousand men he advanced to lay siege to Tournay and St. Omer. But those sent against the latter place, fifty thousand Flemings under Robert of Artois, were seized with a sudden panic before they reached the town, and fled, leaving their arms and baggage behind them. Tournay was defended by a large garrison, and

all Edward's assaults were repelled. The king of France soon appeared with a numerous army, but as before he declined coming to an engagement. Edward, who desired a speedy issue, sent him a challenge to decide their quarrel by a single combat, by one of one hundred on each side, or by a general engagement. As he addressed him simply as Philip of Valois, the king of France replied that it did not become him to take any notice of such letters; he upbraided Edward with his breach of fValty, and assured him he would chastise him when he thought proper, At length Jane of Hainaut, sister to the one king and mother-in-law to the other, came from the convent to which she had retired, and by her entreaties engaged them to consent to an armistice for nine months, which was afterwards extended under the mediation of the pope.

Disputes with his clergy and nobility occupied Edward's thoughts for some time after his return home. He was immersed in debt; the emperor had been induced to withdraw his title of Vicar of the Empire; and he was disgusted with the lukewarmness and cupidity of the princes on whom he had lavished his money. He would therefore have probably given up all his designs on France but for a new prospect that opened to him on another side.

John duke of Brittany being without issue, had with the concurrence of the states recognised as his heir Jane, the daughter of his brother Guy, and had married her to Charles of Blois the French king's nephew. But on the death of the duke (1341), his half-brother, John earl of Montfort, though he had sworn fealty to Charles and Jane, made himself master of most of the strong places and asserted his right of succession. He then crossed over to England and offered to do homage to Edward as king of France if he would aid him against Philip ; for the peers of France had decided in favour of Charles, and the king was preparing to restore him by arms. Edward, though Montfort's claim went on the very opposite principle to that by which he himself claimed the crown of France, readily made a treaty with him. Montfort returned to Brittany and threw himself into the town of Nantes, where he was besieged by the duke of Normandy, Philip's eldest son ; the city was betrayed by the inhabitants, and Montfort was made a captive and shut up in the tower of the Louvre at Paris.

But though Montfort was a captive his cause was still maintained. His wife Jane, sister to the earl of Flanders, a woman of a most heroic spirit, when she heard of his captivity

assembled the citizens of Rennes, and presenting to them her infant son implored them to defend the last male issue of their ancient princes. Moved by her tears and eloquence, aided by a distribution of a large sum of money, they swore to live and die in her cause. A similar spirit was shown in the other towns which she visited. Having sent her son for security to England, she shut herself up in the fortress of Hennebon, where the following spring (1.342) she was closely besieged by the troops of Charles. The countess herself, cased in armour, directed the defence and inspirited her men. One day while the besiegers were busily engaged in an assault, she sallied forth by the opposite gate at the head of two hundred men, and attacked and set their camp on fire. Finding her return cut off she ordered her men to disperse and m?.ke as best they could for Brest, and soon after at the head of five hundred men she forced her way through the hostile camp and re-entered Hennebon in triumph. Fatigue and famine, however, were wearing away the garrison, and the bishop of Leon was arranging the terms of a capitulation, when the countess, who had ascended the highest turret of the castle to look out to sea, saw sails in the distance. "The English! I see the English!" she cried aloud; the soldiers grasped their arms ; the treaty was broken off, and sir Walter Manny, who had long been detained by contrary winds, entered the harbour with a large force, and sallying forth, drove off the besiegers.

The countess soon after made a voyage to England to solicit more effectual succour. She returned with a fleet of forty-five ships, carrying troops commanded by Robert of Artois. A French fleet met them ; and an action ensued, in which the countess display?d her usual heroism. They took the town of Vannes, but it was soon after recovered by some of Charles' party, and Robert of Artois died of a wound which he received. As the truce with France was now expired, Edward embarked in the autumn with twelve thousand men and landed at Morbihan near Vannes, but he unwisely made three divisions of his force, and invested at the same time Vannes, Nantes and Rennes. On the approach of the duke of Normandy with a large army he drew his forces again together, and both armies lay for some weeks of the winter opposite each other. The papal legates then interposed their good offices, and a truce was concluded (1343) for three years and eight months. The liberation of Montfort was stipulated, but Philip still de-

tained him in prison. At the end of three years he made his escape disguised as a merchant, but he died shortly after at Hemiebon.

The truce was of short continuance, mutual infractions of it were complained of, and Edward at length (1345) had the address to induce his parliament to advise him to renew the war. The king's cousin the earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, one of the bravest, most virtuous and accomplished noblemen of the age, was sent with an army to Guienne. Landing at Bayonne he advanced to Bordeaux, he then entered Perigord and reduced several places. A town named Auberoche being now in the hands of the English, the count de Lisle, the French general, secretly assembled twelve thousand men and invested it. Derby with but three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers hastened to its relief. At supper-time (Oct. 23) he burst into the enemy's camp, took or killed the general and principal officers, and dispersed the troops. lie then attacked the camp at the other side of the town ; the garrison at the same time made a sally, and of the whole twelve thousand men but a few escaped. Derby pursued his career of victory, and at length the French government found it necessary to send the duke of Normandy with an overwhelming force to oppose him.

The king of England on learning the danger of Guienne prepared to lead a large force to its relief. He had lately gone over to Sluyp to meet the deputies of the Flemish towns, wlioiu he wished to transfer their allegiance from their own count to his son prince Edward. Artavcldt gave him all the aid in his power, and gained over some of the cities ; but in his own town of Ghent the people had been turned against him, and they burst into his house (July 17) and murdered him. This tragic event, however, did not break off* the good feeling between the king and the Flemings, who engaged to invade France in concert with him.

In the month of July 1346, Edward embarked at Southampton with an army of four thousand men-at-arms, ten thousand archers, *ten* thousand Welsh and six thousand Irish light troops, attended by the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, and the principal nobility. He sailed for Guienne, but at the suggestion of Geoifrey d'Harcourt, a Norman exile, or perhaps such being his original design, he suddenly changed his course and landed at La Hogue in Normandy (12th). He destroyed all the shipping in the adjacent ports, nis troops

spread their ravages over the whole country, and Caranton, St. Lo, Caen and other towns were taken. He advanced along the left bank of the Seine in the hope of taking Rouen, intending then to march for Picardy aid join an army of forty thousand Flemings who were to invade France. But he found the bridge at Rouen broken, and king Philip lying with a numerous army on the opposite side. He went further up the river, but every bridge was broken and the French still moved parallel to him. He burned the towns, his light troops even fired St. Germain, St. Cloud, Neuilly and other places close to Paris ; but Philip, whose object was to surround and overwhelm him, would give no opportunity of fighting. Edward then had recourse to stratagem. Decamping early one morning from Poissy he inarched as if for Paris, and when he had ascertained that the French were in motion he suddenly retraced his steps, crossed by the bridge, which workmen had meantime repaired, and entered Pontoise. He then advanced rapidly, burning on his way the suburbs of Beauvais. On reaching the Sonimc be found that all the bridges were secured, and that Philip was at Amiens with 100,000 men. *By the* promise of liberty and a large reward a peasant named (robin Agaee, -who was among the prisoners, was induced to lead the Kngfish to a ford at Blanchetaque near Abbeville which might be passed at ebb-tide. They set out at midnight: the water was not sufficiently low when they reached it, and while they waited they saw Godemar de Fayc nmie with twelve thousand men and occupy the opposite bank, and every moment they expected to be overtaken by king Philip. At ten o'clock the tide was out: the men-at-arms then entered the river; the French cavalry dashed in to meet them ; the English fought with the valour inspired by despair, and drove them off with a loss of two thousand men, and all but a few stragglers were safely over when Philip came up. The rising of the tide prevented the passage of the French, and they were obliged to go round by the bridge of Abbeville.

Edward marched to Crotoi on the coast, where he gave his troops rest and refreshment, and great as was the disparity of their forces he resolved to give Philip battle. He selected for this purpose an eminence behind the village of Creci (Cressy), and disposed his troops (Aug. 26) in three divisions, each composed of men-at-arms and archers, the latter placed in front in the form of a harrow. The prince of Wales aided by the earls of Oxford and Warwick led the first; the earls of

Arundel and Northampton the second; the king himself the third or reserve. Trenches were sunk on the flanks ; the baggage was placed in a wood in the rear; the horses were all removed that the danger might be common. The king, who according to the custom of the age had at dawn heard mass and received the sacrament, rode along the lines cheering the men, and at ten o'clock they took their breakfast, each sitting down where they stood. The French, who had halted for a day at Abbeville, were now advancing. Some knights who were sent forward, when they saw the firm array of the English, advised the king not to give battle till the next day. Philip assented ; word was given to halt ; but the orders were not understood or were neglected, and the troops rolled on in confusion and disorder till they came in view of the English. Philip then, filled with rage, and departing from his usual caution, ordered the Genoese crossbow-men to. form and begin the fight. These were a body of six, or as some say fifteen thousand Genoese and other Italians, led by two of their nobles of the Grimaldi and Doria families. They were followed by the king's brother, the count of Alencon, at the head of a splendid body of cavalry; the rest of the army succeeded in four divisions under the king in person. The number of the French army is variously given at from sixty to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The combat of men was preceded by that of the element*, A partial eclipse had dimmed the sun; flights of birds Hew screaming over the two armies precursivc of a storm, and soon the thunder roared, the lightning flashed and the rain descended in torrents. At five in the afternoon the sky cleared and the sun shone bright in the eyes of the French. The Genoese then gave three shouts, levelled their ponderous crossbows and discharged their bolts. The English archers received the discharge in silence, then drawing their longbows from their cases they showered their cloth-yard arrows thick as snow on the Genoese, who, as they required time to re-charge their bows, fell into disorder. The count of Alencon calling them cowards ordered his knights to cut them down. This but increased the confusion ; many of the knights were unhorsed by the English archers, and the Welshmen ran forward and despatched them with their knives. When clear of the Genoese the cavalry pressed on ; the prince and his men-at-arms were nearly surrounded when the second line advanced ; a knight was sent to Edward, who viewed the fight from the

summit of a windmill, praying him to send more aid. "Is my son slain or wounded?" said he. "No!" replied the envoy. "Then," said he, "tell Warwick he shall have no aid. Let the boy win his spurs. He and they who have him in charge shall earn the whole glory of the clay." This reply gave fresh vigour to the English; the count of Alencon was slain and his troops routed; the king of France then advanced to the relief, but the showers of arrows fearfully thinned his ranks; his horse was killed under him; his friends in vain urged him to retire; at length when it was growing dark John of Hainault laid hold of his bridle and forced him to quit the field. They fled to Amiens, but the fight was still kept up in various parts till terminated by the increasing darkness. When the prince approached him, Edward sprang forth to meet him; "Fair son," cried he as he clasped him to his bosom, "continue your career. You have acted nobly, and shown yourself worthy of me and the crown *."

Next morning a dense mist covered the sky, under which a body of English fell in with and routed the militia of Amiens and Beauvais, and a body of knights led by the bishop of Rouen and the grand prior of France. When the sun dispelled the mist thousands of the French were seen, who had passed the night under the trees and hedges, and these unfortunates were slaughtered without mercy. At noon the lords Cobham and Stafford were went with heralds to examine the field of battle. They brought to the king eighty banners, and reported the death of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men-at-arms and thirty-thousand common men. The most illustrious of the slain was John king of Bohemia. This prince, who was blind from age, ordered four of his knights to lead him into the thick of the battle, "That I too," said he, "may have a stroke at the English." They then interlaced his and their own bridles and rushed forward, and all were speedily slain. His crest of three ostrich feathers, and his motto, "Ich dien" *(I serve)*, were adopted by the prince of Wales, and still are those of the heir apparent of England.

A few days after his victory Edward advanced and laid

* According to the Florentine annalist G. Villani, Edward was greatly tndebted for his victory to his cannon, now for the first time employed in battle. It seems strange that so remarkable a circumstance should have escaped the notice of Froissart. Villani died within two years after the battle; his testimony is therefore the stronger.

siege to the town of Calais, in order to have possession of a port on the French coast. As he resolved to trust to trie effects of blockade, he placed a numerous fleet before the harbour, and he constructed a large number of huts for the shelter of his troops during the winter. The governor, John de Vienne, bent on making an obstinate defence, drove all the useless mouths, to the number of seventeen hundred persons, out of the town; the king generously let them pass through the lines, and gave each of them two pieces of silver.

The duke of Normandy being obliged to retire from Guienne, the earl of Derby crossed the Garonne, laid waste Ance'nis, Saintoiige, and Poitou, stormed the city of Poitiers, and advanced to the Loire. In Brittany Charles was defeated and made prisoner by the countess of Montfort, but his cause was sustained by his wife, also a heroine. This WAS, in fact, the age of female heroism. At the call of his ally the king of France, David of Scotland made an inroad into Cumberland, and ravaged the country. The .English collected in Auckland-park a force of twelve hundred men-at-arms., two thousand archers, and seven thousand militia; queen Philippa rode among them encouraging them to fight bravely ; they raised a cheerful shout, and having recommended them to God and St. George the queen retired. The armies engaged at Neville's Cross near Durham (Oct. 17) ; the Scots were defeated with the loss of fifteen thousand men, and the king himself and several of his nobles were conducted prisoners to London.

Edward meantime lay patiently before Calais, expecting the sure effects of famine, which soon began to be felt. De "Vienne now turned five hundred more persons out of the town, but no passage would be given through the English lines, and they perished miserably from want of food and shelter. Though a fleet with supplies contrived to enter the port during the winter, the famine became more and more severe ; and when all the animals in the town had been eaten, and they must surrender if not relieved, Philip at length (July 1347) appeared with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. But the only roads by which he could approach the English camp were secured against him ; and though Edward accepted his challenge to a general engagement, he retired on the eve of the appointed day. The garrison immediately hoisted the ensign of England, and the governor from the walls proposed to sir Walter Manny, who was at

hand, to surrender on condition of their lives and liberties being secured. Edward, however, would accept of nothing' short of unconditional surrender; at length he agreed to be content with the lives of six of the principal burgesses.

The people met in the market to hear these terms. It seemed to them dreadful to sacrifice their fellow-citizens, hut no other means of relief appeared. While they remained in perplexity, Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the leading citizens, stepped forward and offered his life for his townsmen; another and another then appeared, and the number was soon complete. The gates were opened, and De Vienne issued forth, mounted on a palfrey on account of his wounds, and followed by fifteen knights hare-headed, with their swords pointed to the ground; then came the six voluntary victims, bare-headed, hare-footed, in tlicir shirts, with halters in their hands, such being the usage in similar cases. When they came before Edward the governor presented him his sword and the keys of the town; then falling on his knees with his companions, implored his mercy. Edward was, or affected to be, inexorable ; he heeded not the entreaties of his barons ; the executioner appeared, and orders were given for the death of the six devoted citizens, when the queen came forth, and falling on her knees with tears, interceded for their lives. "Dame," said Edward, "I wish you had been in some[1] other place; but I cannot/ deny you." She took them to her tent, clothed and entertained them, and at their departure presented each with six nobles*. The king expelled most of the inhabitants from Calais and peopled it with his own subjects, making it the staple for the chief productions of his kingdom.

The capture of Calais was succeeded by an armistice, which, under the mediation of the pope, was prolonged for six years. During this period England suffered (1348), in common with the rest of Europe, from the dreadful plague which then spread its ravages over it, and thousands of her people perished.

Edward, now conscious that he could not succeed in making his claim to the crown of France good by arms, proposed to renounce it on condition of the provinces which he held being ceded to him in sovereignty. This proposal Philip

* It is not improbable that the whole scene had been previously arranged Jjctween the king and queen.

indignantly rejected: but on his death (1350) his son and successor John seemed willing to listen to it. Envoys met at Guisnes; it was arranged that the renunciations should be made in presence of the pope; but the prelates and nobles of France declared their determination not to permit their king to part with the rights of the crown. The war therefore was resumed (1355); the Black Prince (as the prince of Wales was called from the colour of his armour) opened the campaign by marching from Bordeaux at the head of sixty thousand men toward the eastern Pyrenees, wasting and destroying the country. Under the walls of Toulouse he vainly offered battle to the French forces; he then advanced and burned parts of the cities of Carcassonne and Narbonne. He returned to Bordeaux after an absence of but seven weeks, having in that short time destroyed more than five hundred cities, towns and villages.

The king meantime at the head of a gallant army had advanced from Calais to near Amiens, but king John would give no opportunity of righting, and warit of provisions obliged him to return. Tidings of the Scots having surprised Berwick and crossed the borders recalled Edward to England. At Roxburgh he purchased from Baliol his title to the crown for 5000 marks and 2000/. a year; he then (1356) marched through the Lothians as far as Edinburgh, with the banner of Scotland displayed before him, wasting and burning the country in all directions! want of provisions at length forced him to retire. This destructive inroad was long remembered in Scotland under the name of the Burnt Candlemas.

In the autumn of this year the Black Prince, at the head of about twelve thousand men, of whom but a third were English, left Bordeaux on another plundering expedition. He crossed the Garonne at Agen, overran Querci, the Limousin, Auvergne and Berri, slaughtering the peasantry, destroying the corn, wine and provisions, and burning the farmhouses, villages and towns. Having failed in attempts on the cities of Bourges and Issoudon, he commenced his retreat through Poitou. But on coming to the village of Maupertnis within five miles of Poitiers, he suddenly fell in with the rear of a large army led by king John in person: for this monarch, on hearing of the ravages committed by the prince, had summoned his vassals to Chartres, and crossing the Loire at Blois had advanced rapidly in order to get into his rear. "God

help us!" then cried the prince, "it only remains for us to fight bravely."

The prince drew up his small army on an eminence, the sides of which were covered by vineyards intersected by hedges: a single lane, so narrow that only four horsemen could go abreast in it, led to the summit. The men-at-arms on foot, with one-half of the archers out before them in the usual form of a harrow, were posted in front of the lane ; the remaining archers lined the hedges at its sides. The French army, which was seven times as numerous and mainly composed of cavalry, was drawn up in three divisions, on a moor at the foot of the hill, all the horsemen but three hundred knights and esquires having been made to dismount. All now was ready for the attack, when the cardinal Talleyrand Perigord appeared, and with uplifted hands implored the king to spare the effusion of Christian blood; and having obtained a reluctant permission from him. he rode to the prince to propose a negotiation. "Save my honour and the honour *of my* army," said Edward, "and I will hearken to any reasonable terms." He then offered to resign all his conquests, booty and prisoners, and to bind himself not to serve against France for seven years. The surrender of himself and a hundred of his knights was the only condition on which John would grant a retreat to his army: this the prince indignantly rejected. Night came on, and each side prepared for battle in the morning.

At dawn (Sept.. 19) the trumpets sounded on 'both sides, and all hastened to their posts. The cardinal, having made a final fruitless effort on the mind of the king, rode to apprize the prince, whorreplied with calmness, "God defend the right!" The minister of peace departed. The first division of the French cavalry, led by two marshals, entered the lane unopposed; but when they were advanced some way, the word was given, and from both sides and with increasing rapidity the English arrows were showered on them. Men and horses fell in heaps, some knights dashed through the lane, others through the hedges, and emerged on different spots of the open upper ground; but still the arrows flew, and one marshal was slain and the other unhorsed and taken. The rearmost retreated to their second division, which was led by three of the king's sons: but the archers now advanced and assailed it in front, while a body of six hundred men led by the Captal de Buche came from an adjacent hill and fell on its

left flank. It wavered; the lords who had charge of the young princes sent them off the field with a large escort; the rest of the division then broke and fled. "Sir," cried sir John Chaudos to the prince, "the field is won, let us mount and charge the French king. I know him for a dauntless knight, who will never flee from an enemy: the attempt may be a bloody one, but, please God and St. George, he will be ours." Instantly they mount, and pouring down the lane emerge on the moor. The duke of Athens, the constable of France, advanced to meet them; he and most of his followers were slain in a few minutes. A body of German cavalry was next dispersed; the king urged by despair then led up his division on foot. He long fought with fruitless valour; his nobles had fallen by his side; he had received two wounds in the face, and had been beaten to the ground. Every one was anxious to seize him: a young knight advanced, and falling on his knee implored him to surrender to save his life. "Where is *my* cousin the prince of Wales?" demanded the king. "He is not hero," replied the knight. "Who then are you?" "Denis de Morbeque of Artois, one obliged to serve the king of England, being banished from France." The king gave him his sword; his son Philip also became a prisoner.

In the battle the prince of Wales had shown the valour of a hero j his conduct after the victory has gained him a fame of a higher and purer order. When the captive monarch was led to the tent which he had caused to be pitched for himself on the field of battle, he came forth to meet him with every mark of courtesy and respect; his own victory lie ascribed entirely to chance; the king, he said, had that day wont (the prize and garland' of chivalry. At table he waited on him, declaring himself, as a subject, not entitled to the honour of sitting with him. He led his royal captive to Bordeaux, and having concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin*, he embarked in the spring (1357) for England. He landed with his prisoners at Sandwich, and thence proceeded to London. As he approached the people poured forth to meet him; arches were thrown across the streets, tapestries and costly stuffs were hung from the windows. The captive monarch rode on a cream-coloured charger splendidly capari-

* The province of Dauphine had been left to the late king Philip by its last prince, on condition of the heir-apparent to the throne of France being thenceforth styled the Dauphin.

soned, the victor appeared on a small pony at his side. The cavalcade at length reached Westminster hall, where king Edward sat amidst his prelates and nobles. He arose when John entered, embraced him and led him to partake of a splendid banquet. The Savoy palace, and afterwards the castle of Windsor, was assigned as a residence for the French monarch and his son.

The king of Scotland had been now eleven years a captive, and Edward, thus master of the persons of the two monarchs his rivals, and hopeless of conquering their kingdoms, resolved to derive what advantages he could from their present situation. Negotiations had long been going on with the Scottish king and nation, and it was finally arranged (Oct. 3) that "sir David king of Scotland," as Edward now condescended to call him, should be set at liberty, on his engaging to pay 100,000 marks in twenty half-yearly instalments, and giving the heirs of his principal nobility as hostages.

The condition of France after the fatal battle of Poitiers induced Edward to make larger demands on the other captive monarch. The authority of the Dauphin was little heeded: the states-general when assembled insisted on large measures of reform; the populace of Paris, headed by Marcel, their mayor, committed great excesses, and their example was followed in the other great towns; the mercenaries who had served under Edward, left without pay or employment, divided into numerous bands, and ravaged and pillaged the towns and country in a terrific manner. To complete the misery,, the serfs or peasantry, long goaded and exasperated by the tyranny and cruelty of their lords, rose in arms, and as was to be expected from men who were brutally ignorant and maddened by oppression, committed every atrocity that the foulest imagination can conceive*.

Under these circumstances, king John (1359), after much hesitation, consented to the terms which his captor imposed, namely the restoration of the provinces which had belonged to the crown of England to be held in absolute sovereignty. A treaty to this effect was made (Mar. 24); but when it was transmitted to France, it was unanimously and indignantly rejected. Edward then, complaining of their insincerity, bade them prepare for war at the end of the truce.

* This insurrection was named the *Jacquerie* from *Jacques*, a common name among the peasants.

In the autumn (Oct. 28) king Edward passed over to Calais with a gallant army. The mercenary soldiery crowded to his standard, and at the head of a force of a hundred thousand men, arranged in three divisions, he entered the French territories. Having ravaged Picardy, he advanced to Champagne, where he laid siege to Bheims, the city where the coronations of the kings of France were held, intending to have that ceremony performed on himself; but it was gallantly defended against him by the archbishop, and he was obliged to retire. He then led his host into Burgundy, whose duke purchased a truce for 50,000 marks: then following the course of the Seine he appeared before the gates of Paris. But though it was now the spring (1360) the severity of the season was such, that, joined with the want of provisions, it forced him to retire with the precipitation of a flight toward Brittany. In the vicinity of Chartres (Apr. 13) the English army was exposed to one of the most dreadful tempests of wind, hail, thunder and lightning on record; and the king is said, in an agony of remorse, to have stretched his arms toward the cathedral, and to have vowed to God and the Virgin to refuse no terms of peace compatible with his honour.

The negotiations, which had still been pending, now went on with vigour, and at length (May 8) a treaty named the Great Peace was signed at Bretigni, by which the king of England agreed to resign all claim to the crown of France or to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and to restore all his conquests except Calais and Guisnes; but he was to retain Poitou and Guienne and their dependencies, and Ponthieu the inheritance of his mother, in full sovereignty; a ransom of three million crowns of gold was to be paid for king John in the course of six years. Edward then set out for England, and John was sent over to Calais, at which place (Oct. 24) the two kings met, and solemnly ratified the treaty, and the latter was restored to liberty. But though John was enabled to put the king of England in possession of the ceded provinces, he could not readily overcome the repugnance of his son and nobles to the renunciation of his sovereignty over them, and the poverty of the country moreover prevented him from paying up the instalments of his ransom. On these and other accounts he resolved to pay a visit to England; and when his council endeavoured to dissuade him, he nobly replied, that if honour were banished from the rest of the earth she should find an abode in the breast of princes. He was received with

the utmost affection and respect by Edward and lodged in the palace of the Savoy; but he shortly after fell sick and died, and his remains were sent for interment with those of his ancestors at St. Denis (Apr. 18, 1364).

Charles the dauphin on succeeding to the crown adhered to the peace of Bre'tigni, disadvantageous to him as some of its provisions were. He also when Charles of Blois was slain at the battle of Auray in Brittany acknowledged the title and received the homage of the young count of Montfort. The chief difficulty which he had to contend with arose from the mercenaries of king Edward, who now to the number it is said of forty thousand divided into numerous bands, calling themselves the Free Companies, and under different leaders, spread their ravages over all parts of the kingdom. They defeated the troops sent against them ; they set at nought the papal excommunications. At length a favourable occasion presented itself for getting rid of these ferocious marauders.

Peter IV. of Castile, justly named the Cruel, had from the time when he ascended the throne been guilty of numerous murders from various motives. Among his victims were his father's mistress, Leonora de Guzman, and three of her sons ; **the** two remaining sons escaped into France, and as Peter was accused of having poisoned his queen, a French princess, it was resolved to aid Henry, one of the exiles, against the tyrant. The celebrated Breton knight Bertrand du Guesclin was directed to treat with the leaders of the Companies ; many French knights crowded to his standard; and at the head of thirty thousand men he entered Spain, and without a battle placed. Henry on the throne of Castile. Peter fled to Coruiia and thence to Bayonne, whence he proceeded to Bordeaux to solicit the aid of the Black Prince, who under the title of prince of Aquitaine ruled from the Loire to the Pyrenees. The royal murderer met with a most gracious reception ; his lavish promises were gladly listened to; secret orders were sent to the Companies, twelve thousand of whom under sir Robert Calverly and sir Richard Knowles returned to Guienne. Though it was the depth of winter, Edward entered Spain at the head of thirty thousand cavalry, and on the 3rd of the following April (1367) he engaged and defeated the army of Henry on the plain of Navarrete. All Castile submitted to Peter ; but the ungrateful tyrant mocked at his engagements to his ally, and the prince returned to Bordeaux, baffled in hope **and** with a constitution materially injured. The crimes of Peter,

however, did not go unpunished; he fell the following year by the dagger of his brother Henry,

In consequence of the bad faith of Peter, the prince of Wales was now deeply in debt. To raise money he imposed a hearth-tax on his subjects, which some paid with great reluctance, while the count of Armagnac and others appealed to Charles as their superior lord, the renunciations having never been completed. After some delay this prudent monarch sent a summons to the prince, as duke of Aquitaine, to appear before his court. He replied that he would, but that it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. This, however, was but an empty boast, for his power was gone. War was declared; the French troops entered Ponthieu, Poitou and Guienne; the people were generally in their favour; Chandos the constable of Guienne was slain in one action, his successor the Captal de Buche captured in another. The state of his health obliged the prince to return to England. English armies to no purpose marched through and ravaged various parts of France; nothing finally (13/4) remained to the English but Calais, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and some places on the Dordogne

The brilliant reign of Edward closed in gloom. The Black Prince after his return finding all the powers of the state in the hands of his brother the duke of Lancaster, and being either jealous of him or really disapproving of his conduct, put himself at the head of the opposition in what was called the Good Parliament, from the. number of reforms which it endeavoured to effect. But after lingering a few years this gallant prince died (June 8, 1376), in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him the character of a skilful commander, a wise statesman, and an accomplished knight*, rivalled by no man of the time except his illustrious father. He was interred in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb may still be seen.

The Black Prince, who had espoused his cousin Joan called the Fair Maid of Kent, daughter and heiress of the earl of Kent who had been put to death by Mortimer, and widow of sir Thomas Holland (by whom she had children), left by her an only son named Richard of Bordeaux from the plaice of his birth. This young prince was declared heir to the throne.

The king himself soon followed his renowned son to the grave. He spent the closing years of his life in retirement, Jrst at Eltham and then at Shene. After the death of queen

* See Appendix, K.

Philippa, a lady of her bedchamber named Alice Perrers, a married woman, had acquired great influence over him. He gave her all the jewels of the deceased queen, and she disposed of the royal favours in such a maimer that an especial ordinance of parliament was made to restrain her. This woman was with the king through his last illness. On the morning of the day on which he died, she drew, we are told, the ring from his ringer and left him ; his servants then fell to pillaging the palace ; the dying monarch lay alone and unheeded till a benevolent priest came to his bedside, warned him of his situation, and bade him prepare to meet his Creator. Edward had just strength enough to thank him and to take a crucifix in his hands, which he kissed with tears, and then breathed his last (June 21, 1377).

Thus terminated the life and reign of Edward **I I I . ,** the most glorious (in a vulgar sense) which our history presents. The monarch had lived sixty-four and reigned fifty years. Never was there a prince more- fitted to gain the affections of a proud high-spirited people ; he was brave, chivalrous and generous; he delighted in the sports of the field, and the martial conflicts of the lists ; his domestic administration was'at once vigorous and prudent, and his victories in war cast a halo of splendour around his brows. As such he appeared to his contemporaries, to *us* he perhaps shows with still more lustre in the picturesque pages of Froissurt, where he occupies so prominent a station.

Hy his queen Philippa of Hainault, who died in 1369, Edward had seven sons and five daughters. Of these sons two died in infancy ; the Black Prince and his next brother Lionel duke of Clarence also died before their father ; this List, who had married the heiress of De Burgh earl of Ulster, left an only daughter, who married Edmund Mortimer earl of March. Edward's remaining sons were John of Gaunt (Ghent) duke of Lancaster, Edmund earl of Cambridge, and Thomas earl of Buckingham.

Though, as we have already observed, we must morally condemn the aggressions of Edward on France, and we see that with all the waste of blood and treasure no acquisition of importance was made, yet it is probable that the moral effect on the nation was good. Great victories elevate the tone of national feeling, and inspire a lofty consciousness of strength. They foster a spirit of noble daring and of generous self-reliance, and possibly Creci had no mean effect in forming **the**

military character of England. But however this may he, the constitution gained by the wars of Edward. To obtain the money which they required he was forced to convoke frequent parliaments. With each grant of supply, the commons, as was then the mode, sent a petition for the redress of some grievance, and though perhaps baffled at the time, they returned again and again to the charge, and in most cases finally succeeded. Three great principles were now fully established; namely, that money should not be raised without the consent of parliament; that no alteration of the laws should be made without the concurrence of both houses; that the commons might inquire into abuses and impeach ministers. The law of treason passed in this reign (25 Edw. III.) and which is still the law, was a measure of the greatest importance. By it treason is limited to three cases: compassing the death of the king; levying war against him; aiding his foreign enemies within his kingdom.

According to a most competent authority (sir Matthew Hale), "the law was in this reign improved to its greatest height. The judges and pleaders were very learned. The pleadings arc more polished than those in the time of Edward IL, yet they have neither uncertainty, prolixity nor obscurity: so that at the latter part of this king's reign the law seemed to be near its meridian* By a statute (.% Edw. III.) it was ordained that in pleadings and public deeds the English language should be employed in place of the French.

This great monarch may perhaps also be styled the father of English commerce. In 1331 he invited over a number of the Flemish artizans who were disgusted with the oppressive spirit evinced by their corporations. He settled them in Norfolk, and they introduced the manufacture of the finer woollen cloths, which had been hitherto unknown in England. Edward had some difficulty in protecting them against the selfish spirit of the English corporations*.

However pious Edward may have been, he was no abject slave to Rome. He withheld the tribute of 1000 marks a year extorted from John; and when the pope Urban V. threatened

* See Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 379. "The history of corporations," observes this able writer, "brings home to our minds one cardinal truth, that political institutions have very frequently but a relative and temporary usefulness, and that what forwarded improvement during one part of its course may prove to it in time a most pernicious obstacle." This observation applies still more strongly to monasteries.

the usual vengeance, lie laid the matter before his parliament, who put a final end to the matter by declaring that John had no right to bind his kingdom without its consent, adding that they would stand by the king if the pope attempted to enforce his claim. Again, the Peter pence had long since been commuted to a certain sum, but as England had now become much more populous, the pope wished to levy it in the original manner; he found, however, the resistance too strong, and he gave up the project. The rapacity of the papal court at this time exceeded all measure, and between first-fruits and other devices of its chancery, the taxes levied by it in England, it was said, far exceeded those paid to the crown; and as by what were called *provisions* the pope assumed the right of nominating to vacant benefices, which he conferred on Italians and other foreigners, the revenues of a large portion of the church were annually remitted to these pluralists, who perhaps never set their foot in the kingdom. To remedy this evil the statute of Provisors was passed (27 Edw. III.) making it penal to procure any presentation from the church of Home, and another outlawing any one who carried an appeal to Rome. Parliament even went so far as to speak of expelling the papal authority by force, and thus ridding themselves of its intolerable oppressions.

This was an age of architectural splendour. The stately castle of Windsor was built by Edward. Each county was assessed in a certain number of carpenters, masons and tilers, and thus the magnificent edifice rose by the compulsory labour of the people, like the Pyramids of ancient Egypt.

In this reign (1349) England was desolated by the great plague which then spread its ravages over the whole of Europe. It is said to have carried off a third of the population. The supply of labour not equalling the demand after it ceased, the natural result was a general rise of wages, but the commons grudging the poor this slight improvement in their condition, had a law passed limiting wages to 'what they had been before the plague. It is needless to say that this law was not and could not be observed.

The order of the Garter was instituted by Edward. The tradition is that the countess of Salisbury having dropt her garter when dancing, the king picked it up, and seeing the courtiers smile, he said *Honi soit qui rnal y pense* (' Shamed be he who thinketh ill thereof'), which became the motto of the order.

CHAPTER VIII.

RICHARD II. (OF BORDEAUX).

1377-1399.

RICHARD was only in his eleventh year when the death of his renowned grandfather placed him on the throne of England. The principle of representation was now so fully established, and the memory of his father was so dear to the nation, that the slightest opposition to his succession was not to be apprehended. He was crowned with great solemnity (July 16) at Westminster. The following day a council of regency was appointed; the duke *of* Lancaster, contrary to expectation, giving no opposition. The war with France and Castile which still continued made it necessary to convene a parliament, and its proceedings show clearly the influence which the commons were gradually acquiring.

The events of the war with France at this time offer little to interest, for Charles the Wise was too prudent a man to put anything to hazard. It however brought on expense, and the king was obliged to apply to his parliament for supplies. Instead of the old mode of granting tenths and fifteenths, it was resolved to have recourse to the new expedient of a poll-tax, of three groats a head for every person, male and female, of fifteen years and upwards; but to case the poor it was directed that (he aggregate sum in particular places should be so apportioned as to be levied at from one to sixty groats, according to *tli\i* substance of the parties. The levying of this tax, however, gave occasion to a dangerous insurrection of the people.

For centuries the condition of the inferior ranks of the people throughout the greater part of Europe had been that of villanage, or predial bondage, somewhat similar to what prevails at the present day in Russia. But knowledge had been gradually shedding its light even on the low places of society; the equal and beneficent spirit which the Gospel breathes had imperceptibly penetrated all ranks; kings and nobles had been gradually emancipating their serfs; the clergy, who were mostly men of plebeian origin themselves, as judges in the **courts**

of law and equity favoured emancipation, and as religious teachers frequently dwelt on the equality of all portions of a sinful race in the eyes of a just and beneficent Deity. The extent of commerce and the consequent wealth of the inhabitants of towns, and their importance in the eyes of monarchs and nobles, had given a kind of elevation to all parts of the commonalty ; and even the rude serfs of the country felt their natural rights, and panted beneath the oppression of their lords after ,a state of freedom for which they were not perhaps yet fully qualified. This general fermentation had in 1357 broken out in the atrocities of the *Jacquerie* in France, and it now (1381) exhibited itself though in a leas appalling form in England, where since the Norman conquest the condition of the inferior ranks had gradually deteriorated, and the descendants of the free Saxon ceorles had nearly sunk to the abject state of the serfs of the continent.

The collection of the poll-tax was first retried in Essex, where the people rose under the guidance of a priest, who assumed the name of Jack Straw. At Dartford in Kent one of the collectors demanded the tax[1] for a young girl, the daughter of a tiler. Her mother asserting tliat she was under fifteen, the brutal collector laid hold of the girl and was proceeding to give a very indecent proof of the truth of this assertion, when her father came in from his work, and raiding the implement which he happened to have in his hand struck the collector dead at a blow. His neighbours applauded and vowed to stand by him, and the surrounding villages soon joined in the common cause. The whole of Kent speedily rose. At Maidstone the people forced the archbishop's prison and liberated a priest named John Ball, who was confined in *it* for preaching against the wealth and corruption of the church. Wat the Tyler was now their acknowledged leader ; they were joined by the Essex insurgents under Jack Straw. They advanced toward London, and at Blackheath (June 10) their tumultuary bands had swollen, it is said, to the number of one hundred thousand men. Here Ball taking for his text the following rimes, then highly popular among *them*,

> Whea Adam dalf [delved] and Eve span
> Who -was then the gentleman ?

preached on the natural equality of man, and dedwed that the archbishop, the earls, barons, judges, lawyers, etc. must he all destroyed and all ranks abolished, and that then alone

all would he equally free and noble. The multitude loudly applauded, and inconsistently enough vowed that Ball himself should he archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor. The insurrection rapidly spread through the eastern counties. The insurgents pillaged the houses of the gentry, burned the court-rolls, and cut off the head of every justice, lawyer and juror that fell into their hands*.

While the insurgents lay at Blackheath (11th) the king's mother had to pass through them on her return from a pilgrimage to Canterbury. By her address and a few kisses bestowed on the leaders she passed uninjured and then proceeded to join ber son in the Tower. Next morning (12th) the king went down in his barge to receive the petitions of the insurgents, who were now at llotherhithc; but they wet up such shouts and cries when he appeared that his attendants fearing for his safety carried him back to the Tower. Tyler then led his men into Southwark, where they broke open the Marshalsea and King's Bench and liberated the prisoners ; they also destroyed the furniture and burned the records in the episcopal palace at Lambeth.

The following morning (13th) the insurgents passed London-bridge and entered the city, where they were joined by the populace. After regaling themselves at the cost of the wealthy citizens they commenced their devastations. Newgate "was speedily broken open and its inmates were set at liberty ; the duke of Lancaster's splendid palace, the Savoy, was plundered and destroyed ; the Temple with all the books and records it contained was burnt. Strict orders were given that no one should keep any part of the plunder, and one man who had concealed a silver cup in his bosom was flung with it into the Thames. The plate which they seized was cut into small pieces, the precious stones were beaten to powder. "With whom boldest thou?" was the question put to every one whom they met, and if he did not reply "With king Bichard and the commons" his head was struck off. The Flemings were the chief objects of their vengeance : they dragged them even out of the churches and beheaded them. So passed that day; the next morning (14th) their multitudes covered Tower-hill, loudly demanding the heads of the chancellor and the treasurer. A herald then made procla-

* See Appendix, L.

mation for them to retire to Mile-end, where the king would meet them and grant their demands. The ground soon was cleared ; the gates were opened; the young monarch issued with a small train and rode to Mile-end followed by sixty thousand of the multitude. Their demands were : the abolition of slavery ; liberty to buy and sell in market-towns without toll or custom ; a fixed rent of fourpence the acre for land instead of the services of yillanage • and a general pardon. These terms were at once acceded to, and thirty clerks were employed during the night in making copies of the charter which was granted. The multitude, who were mostly men of Herts and Essex, then returned to their homes bearing the royal banner.

While the king was at Mile-end Tyler had burst with four hundred of his men into the Tower and murdered the archbishop, the treasurer and some other obnoxious persons. They forced their way into the apartment of the princess, and even probed her bed with their swords to try if any one was concealed in it. She fainted and was conveyed by her attendants over the river, where she was joined soon after by her son.

The king next morning (15th) rode into the city with a train of but sixty horsemen. As he was crossing Smithfield he met Tyler at the head of twenty thousand men, who, making a sign to them to halt, rode boldly up to the king to confer with him. Tyler was observed as they spoke to play as it were with his dagger, and he then laid hold on the king's bridle. William Walworth the lord-mayor instantly drew a short sword and stabbed him in the throat; he rode back a few paces and fell, and Standish one of the king's esquires despatched him. The insurgents bent their bows to avenge him, when the king with wonderful presence of mind galloped up to them crying, " What are ye about, my lieges ? Tyler was a traitor. Come with me, I will be your leader." They followed him to Islington, whither sir Robert Knowles soon came with a body of one thousand horse to protect the king : they then fell on their knees suing for mercy; some were for falling on and slaughtering them, but the king steadily refused his consent, and directed them to return to their homes in peace.

The nobility and gentry, who in their terror had at first shut themselves up in their houses and castles, now took courage and repaired to the king, who finding himself at the head of forty thousand men, in compliance with the desires of

ti*ese lords,—whose conduct justifies the severe remark of a modern historian*, that "the masters of slaves on such occasion* seem anxious to prove that they are not of a race superior in any moral quality to the meanest of their bondmen,"—issued (July 2) a proclamation revoking all the charters he had granted. The hangman was instantly set to work ; Ball, Straw and about *fifteen* hundred others were executed. Straw it is said confessed before his execution that their intention had been to massacre all the possessionem, that is, beneficed clergy, and leave none but the mendicant friars, who would suffice for all the purposes of religion *f*.

The energy and presence of mind shown by a youth of but sixteen on this occasion gave great hopes of the king, and his marriage the Mowing year (1382) with the daughter of the king of Bohemia, a lady of such eminent goodness and virtue that she was long remembered under the name of The Good Queen Anne, helped to augment the pleasing illusion. But the defects of the king's own character and the ambition of his uncles gradually dispelled the hopes that were entertained of a prosperous reign.

In the year 1384, when the duke of Lancaster was on his return from an expedition into Scotland, the charges of disloyalty which had been more than once made against him were renewed, and a Carmelite friar put intx> the king's hand written proofs of a real or pretended conspiracy to place him on the throne. Lancaster swore it was false and offered to prove his innocence by wager of battle ; the friar was given in custody to SIR John Holland, the king's half-brother, and on the morning that he was to be produced he was found hanging dead in his chamber. Some accused his keeper of the deed, others said it was his own act. The lord Zouch, whom the friar had named as the author of the memorial, denied all knowledge of it. Lancaster went over to France, and on his return shut himself up in his castle -of Pontefract till the king's mother brought about a recondliation. This was followed by an expedition into Scotland ; for as the Scots, aided hy a body of French auxiliaries, had crossed the borders, the king entered Scotland with 80,000 men and laid it waste.

During this expedition the king made his uncles the earls

* Mackintosh, i. 329,

† We must recollect that all these details are furnished by Walsingttain and Knighton, two inveterate enemies of the insurgents.

of Cambridge and Buckingham dukes of York and Glouoes* ter, and Henry son Of *the* duke of Lancaster and Edward son *to* the duke -of York earls of Derby tad Rutland. On the other hand he created his favourite, Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, marquess of Duablin, and graated *him* the revenue* of Ireland for life on condition of his paying 5000 marks a year into the exchequer; aad Michael de la Pole, the son of a London merchant, whom he had made chancellor, was created earl of Suffolk. At the same time Roger earl of March, grandson of Lionel duke of Clarence, was declared heir presumptive to the crown. The affaire of the Spanish peninsula, where he claimed the crown of Castile in right of his wife*, calling the duke of Lancaster over to that country,, Richard willingly consented to his departure, and gave him one half of the supply foted for the year by parliament.

But the king soon had reason to regret the absence of the duke of Lanoaster; for Gloucester, a man of strong passions and great ambition, fomented the animosity of the nobility against the favourites, and when a parliament *met* (1380) on account of a menaced invasion of France, both lords and eommons united in a petition for the removal of the ministers. Richard having vainly tried to rouse the citizens .of London retired to his palace at Eltham. The parliament sent urging their petition ; he insolently replied that he would not at their desire remove the meanest Beuilion in his kitchen. He was, however, obliged to give way and dismiss his ministers, stipulating that none of them but Suffolk should be molested. This nobleman was forthwith impeached by the commons. On most of the charges he was acquitted, on others he was found guilty, and he was sentenced to pay various sums and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. It was now proposed to go a step further, and, as had been done in the times of John, his son and Edward I L , to establish a council for the reformation of the state. Richard steadily refused to part with his power, and threatened *to* dissolve the parliament; the commons to terrify him directed the act of deposition of Edward IL to be produced. At length the king was assured that if he continued obstinate the lords and commons would separate and leave him to himself. He then gave way and agreed to appoint a commission *of* fourteen prelates and peers to regulate

* The duke and his brother the duke of York had married the daughters of Peter the Cruel.

the affairs of the kingdom for twelve months. The duke of Gloucester was at the head of the commission, and nearly all the members of it were his creatures. At the end of the session (Nov. 28) Richard made a solemn and open protest against anything done in that parliament to the prejudice of the rights of the crown.

Richard, who was certainly a prince of spirit, could hardly be expected to submit tamely to this virtual deposition. Having vainly tried (1387) to induce the sheriffs of counties to influence the next elections in his favour, he assembled the principal judges at Nottingham (Aug. 25) and put several queries to them respecting the legality of the late commission. They pronounced it to be illegal, and those concerned in procuring it to be traitors. They set their seals to this answer and swore to keep it secret. The very next day, however, one of them betrayed it to the king's brother the Curl of Kent, by whom the intelligence was conveyed to the duke of Gloucester.

The commission being to terminate on the 19th of November, the king entered London on the 10th to be ready to resume his authority, and he had arranged measures for taking vengeance ou those who were obnoxious to him. But next day he learned to his consternation that Gloucester and some other lords wore near Ilighgate at the head of forty thousand men. Resistance was not to be thought of; the live leaders, Gloucester, his nephew the earl of Derby, Titzalau earl of Arundel, Mowbray earl of Nottingham, and Beauchamp earl of Warwick, came before the king in Westminster-hall (Nov. 17), and *appealed* (i.e.accused) of treason the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland as Vere now was styled, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian the chief-justice, and sir Nicholas Bramber late lord-mayor of London, and easting their gauntlets on the floor, offered to prove the charges by single combat. Richard replied that he would summon a parliament in which justice should be done, and he and the appellants parted apparently on friendly terms. The rive accused persons knowing their destruction to be inevitable sought to save themselves by flight. Suffolk got over to France, where he died soon after; the archbishop concealed himself near Newcastle, Tresilian in London; Bramber was taken. The duke of Ireland retired to Cheshire, and having by direction of the king raised a body of men, advanced toward London ; but he was met and baffled at Radcot-bridge in Oxfordshire by the

forces led by Gloucester and Derby, and he fled first to Ireland and then to the Low Countries, where he died. When Gloucester returned to London a parliament met (1388) and the impeachments were proceeded with. Tresilian, who had concealed himself in the house of an apothecary opposite the palace, was betrayed by a servant, and that very evening he was executed at Tyburn. Next day Bramber shared his fate. The judges who had answered the king's questions were then condemned to death; their lives, however, were spared at *\he* intercession of the bishops, but they were banished for life to different cities of Ireland. The same was the fate of the bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor. Sir Simon Burley," sir John Bcauchamp, sir James Berners and sir John Salisbury were next impeached as aiders of the aforesaid traitors, and all but the last were executed. Burley had been appointed by the Black Prince governor to his son, whose marriage also he had negotiated. Richard entreated Gloucester in his favour, but he was told to leave him to his fate if he wished to keep his crown. The queen fell on her knees before the tyrant and supplicated in vain; even Derby could not move his ruthless resolve. The only favour shown was the change of hanging into decapitation. The work of blood being ended, the Wonderful (or as others called it the Merciless) Parliament was dissolved (June 3).

Gloucester and his party held the reins of government for nearly twelve mouths longer; but their power was gradually crumbling away, and by a bold effort the king at once overthrew it, At a great council holden after Easter (1389) he turned suddenly to the duke of Gloucester and asked him how old he was. " Your highness*" he replied, " is in your twenty-second year." " Then," said the king, " I must surely be old enough to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under tutors than any ward in my dominions. I thank you, my lords, for your past services, but require them no longer." No opposition was attempted; he appointed a new chancellor and treasurer, and a proclamation informed the people that he had resumed the government.

During eight years the king ruled without opposition. He seemed perfectly reconciled to his uncles and their friends, and what was very remarkable in those times he remitted to his subjects some subsidies which had been granted to him. On the death of the good queen Anne (1394) he was induced to seek to divert his melancholy by visiting Ireland, where since

the weakening of the English power by the invasion of Edward Bruce the native tribes had greatly encroached on the British settlers, and many of these last had abandoned their own laws and language for those of the Irish. He landed at Waterford with four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers, a force not to be resisted, and thence marched to Dublin. All the native chiefs and degenerate English submitted and were received to favour. Grievances were redressed and oppressive officers removed. He then returned to Loudon and concluded a truce for twenty-five years with the king of France. Early in the next year (1396) he was married to Isabella the daughter of that monarch, a child only in her eighth year, and the following January (1397) the infant queen was crowned at Westminster.

This treaty and marriage were vehemently reprobated by the duke of Gloucester, who dilating on the glories of ilu: late reign, spoke sneeringly of the luxury and inactivity of the progent. He had never cordially cultivated the good-will of the king, who for his part had never forgiven his former conduct. With his two other uncles and their sons Richard was now on the best terms. York had never offended him, and age had chilled the fire of Lancaster ; the king had likewise lately obliged him by legitimating his offspring by Catheriue Swynford, the widow of a knight whom his duchess had employed to educate her children, and who during the life of the duchess had borne him three sons and a daughter*. The eldest of these children was created earl of Somerset, but it was expressly stated in the act of legitimation that they were to have no claim to the crown. Richard therefore felt himself strong enough to take his long-projected vengeance on Gloucester. He went himself in person (July 12) to the duke's castle at Pleshy in Essex; and when Gloucester and his family came out to receive him *he* directed the earl-marshal Nottingham to arrest him and convey him to the Tower. But when they had reached the Thames on their way thither, the earl hurried his prisoner on board of a vessel which lay ready, and conveyed him to Calais, of which place he was governor. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were arrested in the same treacherous manner and confined in different castles. To quiet the people proclamation was made that all had been done with the assent

* They were named Beaufort from a castle of that name in France, where they were born.

of the dukes of Lancaster and York, their sons and other nobles. At Nottingham, a few days after, the king made some of these noblemen appeal the duke and his two friends of treason; and in about three weeks sir William Rickhill, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, was called up in the middle of the night and ordered to repair instantly to Calais. On his arrival there a commission was given him to interrogate the duke of Gloucester, whom he had supposed to be dead, a report to that effect having been spread- He used the precaution of having two witnesses present at his interview with the duke, and he advised him to give his answer in writing and to keep a copy. Gloucester gave him what he called his confession and bade him return in the morning, but Rickhill was not permitted to see him any more.

Richard had meantime (Sept. 17) returned with a strong force to London. The sheriffs had taken care to have a parliament such as lie required returned. All pardons granted to the accused were revoked. They were appealed of having forced the king to assent to the commission of regency in 138/ and for their subsequent acts. Arundd pleaded Txrth a general and a special pardon ; but his defence was not admitted; and he was condemned and beheaded that very day. Warwick was also condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to exile in the Isle of Man: the primate, Arundel's brother, was banished; lord Cobham was exiled to Jersey; lord Mortimer, who had taken refuge with the native Irish, was outlawed. Orders had been sent to the earl-marshal to bring over the duke of Gloucester to answer the charges made against him. His answer came that he could not do so as the duke had died in prison. The lords-appellant demanded judgement, the commons petitioned to the same effect; the duke was then declared a traitor and his property confiscate. Next day his confession which had been taken by sir William Rickhill was read in parliament.

The very opportune death of the duke is certainly somewhat mysterious, such deaths in those times being rarely natural. It was never supposed that he destroyed himself; Froissart was told that he was strangled. Hall, a servant of the governor, made confession in the next reign that he was present when the duke was smothered between two beds ; and though doubt has been thrown on these accounts, the probability, we might perhaps say the certainty, still is that the duke was murdered by order of the king his nephew.

Having thus gratified his vengeance in violation of all **law** and justice, the king proceeded to secure himself for the future in the exercise of his power. To attach the princes he made his cousins Derby and Rutland dukes of Hereford and Albemarle (Aumale), his brothers Kent and Huntingdon dukes of Surrey and Exeter; Nottingham was created duke of Norfolk; Somerset marquess of Dorset; the lords Despenser, Neville, Percy and William Scroop earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester and Wiltshire. To give the greater security to all concerned in the late proceedings the peers and commons were made to swear at the end of the session to maintain all the acts of the present parliament. A subsidy on wool was granted to the king for life, and a standing committee of twelve peers and six commoners was then appointed, who were to exercise all the powers of the legislature. "The king now/' says Froissart, "began to rule more fiercely than before;" he maintained a force often thousand archers; none high or low dared to oppose his will; his ministers and favourites encouraged hiin in all his excesses; he passed his days in feasting and revelry, and in the enjoyment of low and trivial pleasures.

The people murmured at the proceedings of the late parliament; and many of the nobles, when they calmly reviewed the dissimulation and treachery of the king in the case of his uncle, and the contempt of law and justice which he had exhibited in that affair, felt rather uncertain of their own safety.

Of the lords-appellant in 1387 Hereford and Norfolk alone remained. In the month of December the latter overtook the former on the road from Brentford to London, and as they rode along he said to him (as reported by Hereford), "We are like to be undone." "For what? "For the affair of Radcot-bridge." "How can that be since he has pardoned us?" "Nevertheless our fate will be like that of others before us; he will annul the record." Norfolk then proceeded to declare that to his knowledge Surrey, Wiltshire and Salisbury were sworn to destroy them and some others, and added that he could not trust the king's oath. This conversation, it is easy to conceive how, reached the ears of the king. He sent for Hereford and charged him on his allegiance to repeat it before the council. On the opening of the next parliament (Jan. 30, 1398), Hereford, who had already obtained a full pardon, appeared as the prosecutor of Norfolk. This nobleman, who had not attended parliament, surrendered on proclamation, and

before the king at Oswaldstre he denied the charge and denounced the accuser as a bar and a false traitor. Richard ordered them both into custody; and as no witnesses could be produced it was determined by a court of chivalry held at Windsor that the decision should be left to the judgement of God by wager of battle at Coventry on the 16th of September. On that day the combatants appeared in the lists, in the presence of the king, the committee of parliament and a great multitude of the people. The lances were in rest, the combat was about to begin, when the king flung down his warder [truncheon] and forbade the battle. The two dukes retired to their seats while the king engaged in consultation. At length the royal pleasure was announced. To prevent future quarrels the duke of Hereford was to quit the kingdom and remain ten years in exile ; Norfolk was to remain in exile for life in Germany, Hungary, or Bohemia, and to go as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and his lands were to be taken into the king's hands to pay his debts to the crown, 1000/. a year being reserved to him. As a favour both were allowed to appoint attorneys to receive any inheritances that might fall to them during their exile. Hereford went to France, Norfolk visited the Holy Land, and on his return died of a broken heart at Venice.

Richard was now in fact an absolute monarch ; he had oppressed or terrified all his opponents; the subsidy granted for life relieved him from the necessity of meeting his parliaments, while the standing committee was ready to make any ordinances he pleased. But his brilliant position was unstable; he had irretrievably lost the affections of the people by forced loans and other acts of oppression, and circumstances soon led them to turn their thoughts to his cousin Henry the banished duke of Hereford. On the death of his father (1399) Henry at once assumed the title of duke of Lancaster; but when he claimed the estates, Richard asserting that exile, like outlawry, rendered incapable of inheriting property, seized them to his own use; and the council pronounced the patents granted to him and Norfolk illegal and void. This act of flagrant injustice was Richard's ruin ; the patience of the nation was now exhausted : the friends of Henry were active ; plans of insurrection were formed ; the great lords were sounded. As if to hasten his destruction, the infatuated monarch, while the political horizon boded a tempest, set out on another expedition to Ireland to avenge the death of the earl of March, who **had**

been slain by the native Irish. Having; made the duke of York regent,* he sailed from Milford and landed at Waterford (May 31).

Shortly after, Henry, accompanied by the exiled primate and a few attendants, sailed with three small vessels from Valines in Brittany and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire (July 4). He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to whom he declared on oath that he only sought to recover the honours and estates which had belonged to his father. The regent when lie heard of his landing summoned the vassals of the crown to St. Albans. A numerous army assembled, but rinding the leaders mostly disinclined to act against Henry, who appeared only to seek his right, he turned and moved toward Bristol, whither the earl of Wiltshire, sir John Bussv, and sir Henry Green (members of the committee), who had been left in charge of the youug queen, had already fled. Henry soon reached London at the head of sixty thousand men, and after a delay of a few days he followed the regent. An interview between the uncle and nephew took place in the church of the castle of Berkeley, which ended in their united forces of one hundred thousand men appearing before the castle of Bristol, the regent having been either intimidated or deceived. The castle surrendered ; "Wiltshire, BuHsy and Green, as was usual in such cases, were executed without even the form of a trial. The duke of York then remained at Bristol while Henry proceeded to Chester (AUG. 8).

The state of the weather had hitherto prevented intelligence from being conveyed to the king. When he heard of what had occurred he sent the earl of Salisbury over with as many men as the ships in Dublin could carry, while he himself led the rest of his forces to Waterford. Salisbury landed'at Conway, where by summoning the Welshmen to his standard he assembled a respectable force ; but as the king did not appear, they dispersed after waiting for a fortnight. Richard at length (Aug. 5) landed at Milford with several thousand men, but when he arose on the second morning and looked out of his window he saw that the greater part had already deserted. He held a council with his friends ; some advised that he should fly to Bordeaux; but the duke of Exeter strongly **objected** to this course, and proposed that they should proceed to join the army at Conway. This was agreed to, and in the **night** the **king** disguised as a priest, his brothers Exeter **and**

Surrey, the bishop of Carlisle, and some others stole away and set out for Conway; but here they found only Salisbury and a hundred men. It was then resolved (9th) that Surrey and Exeter should repair to Henry and learn what were his intentions. They met him at Chester; Surrey was instantly thrown into confinement; Exeter was induced to lay aside the hart, the royal badge, and assumed the rose, that of Henry. To secure the person of the king Northumberland was sent with a force of five hundred men-at-arms and one thousand archers ; hut these he was not to let be seen, lest Richard should put to sea.

The carl, having secured the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, and placed his men under a rock a few miles from the latter, advanced to Conway with only five attendants. When admitted to the king's presence (18th) he delivered a letter from Exeter declaring that fall credit might he given to the *off cm* he might make. These were : that Richard should promise to govern by law ; that Exeter, Surrey, Salisbury and the bishop of Carlisle should stand their trial for having ad>ised the assassination of the duke of Gloucester ; that Henry should be made grand justiciary as his ancestors had been. These terms being granted, Henry would come to Flint, ask pardon on liia knees, and accompany the king to London. Richard accepted the terms, privately assuring bis friends that he would stand by them, and take ample vengeance on his and their enemies. Mass was then performed, and Northumberland swore on the host to observe these conditions. He then departed, and after dinner the king set out for Flint. On coming to a steep declivity close to the sea he dismounted, and began to walk down. Suddenly he stopped and cried, "I am betrayed! God of Paradise, aid me! See ye not banners and pennons below in the valley?" Northumberland now joined him but affected ignorance. "If I thought you could betray me," said the king, "it is not too late to return." "You cannot," said the earl, catching the king's bridle ; "I have promised to convey you to the duke of Lancaster." By this time one hundred lancers and two hundred archers were come up : the king seeing escape impossible said, "May the God on whom you laid your hand reward you and your accomplices at the last day!" Then turning to his companions, "We are betrayed," said he, "but remember that our Lord also was sold and delivered into the hands of his enemies."

At Flint the king when left with his friends reproached himself bitterly, it is said, with his former lenity to the mau

who had now risen up against him. Three times he averred he had pardoned him, once when even his own father would have put him to death. He passed a sleepless night: in the morning (19th) he ascended the tower and beheld Henry's army of eighty thousand men advancing. He shuddered and wept. After dinner he was summoned down to the court to meet the dukts who advancing, armed all save his head, bent his knee. " Fair cousin of Lancaster," said the king, "you are welcome." " My lord," replied the duke, " 1 am come before my time. But I will show you the reason. Your people complain that for twenty or two-and-twenty years you have ruled them rigorously, but if it please God I will help you to govern better/* " Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well," replied the king. Henry then spoke to all but the earl of Salisbury. The king's horses were forthwith ordered; Richard and Salisbury were mounted on two sorry jades, and thus amid the pound of trumpets and shouts of the soldiers thev followed the duke to Chester. Here the king was made to issue a proclamation *fur* assembling a parliament. Henry then conducted him toward London. At Lichfield (24th) the captive monarch attempted to escape by Jetting himself down from his window, nut he was taken in the garden. On reaching London (31st) he was placed in the Tower*.

Henry's design on the crown was now no longer concealed. He wished to cause Richard to abdicate voluntarily, and for this purpose assailed him with both promises and threats. The day before the parliament met, a deputation waited on the king and reminded him of a promise he had made at Conway to resign the crown ; and on his expressing his willingness so to do, he was handed a paper in which he was made to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, to renounce the royal authority, and to swear that he would never act or suffer others to act in opposition to this resignation. He read it, we are told, with a cheerful countenance, and added that if he were to choose his successor it would be his cousin of Lancaster there present, to whom he then handed his ring †.

Next day (Sept. 29) the two houses met in Westminster-hall. The throne stood empty, covered with cloth of gold. Henry-sat on his seat beside it. Richard's act of resignation was read

* The preceding narrative has been given by Turner and Lingard, from the manuscript accounts of two eye-witnesses.

† Such is the account entered on the rolls of parliament, but as the entry was made in the reign of Henry, we may fairly doubt of its accuracy.

amid the shouts of the attendant multitude. The coronation oath was next read, and then followed thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard, whose deposition was voted unanimously, and eight commissioners mounting a tribunal pronounced the sentence. Then Henry rose, and making the sign of the cross ou his forehead and breast thus spoke: "In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England as I am descended by right line of blood from the good lord king Henry III.*, and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me with help of my kin and of my friends to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government, and undoing of the good laws." His claim was at once admitted; he produced the ring of Richard; the primate then took him by the hand and led him to the throne; on the steps he knelt and prayed; the two archbishops seated him on the throne. The primate briefly addressed the assembly: Henry then rose and gave thanks to all, assuring them he would disturb the rights of property of no man; and having directed the parliament to meet again in six days and appointed new officers of the crown, he retired to the palace.

Such was the mode in which the grandson of Edward III. was deprived of his throne. Far from us be the remotest thought of extenuating the baseness and treachery of Northumberland and the other lords, or of justifying the ambition of the duke of Lancaster; but truth compels us to declare that Richard was rejected of his people, who saw no refuge from tyranny but in depriving him of his power. That his deposition was the act of the nation is not to be doubted, for no one rose on his side; the means of Lancaster were feeble in themselves, and could have achieved nothing in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the people. We must therefore regard this event as similar to a much more famous one which took place about three centuries later, and to be justified on the same grounds, and therefore view in the house of Lancaster a line of rightful princes.

The deposed monarch was only in his thirty-fourth year. His features were feminine, his manners abrupt. He passionately

* Hardynge, a contemporary chronicler, says that he had often heard the earl of Northumberland assert that John of Gaunt had forged a chronicle to prove that Edmund (from whom he was descended in the female line) and not Edward I. was the eldest son of Henry III., but that he had been set aside on account of his deformity. Henry seems here to allude to that story. *•

loved show and parade, and was devoted *to* pleasure. At the same time he was arbitrary and tyrannical, and the deep dissimulation with which he for so many years nourished and concealed his projects of revenge on his uncle and others, and the tiger-ferocity with which he sprang to vengeance when he saw his time come, almost destroy all sympathy for his own unhappy fate.

In the sixteenth year of this prince was passed the important statute of *Praemunire.* By this all persons bringing into the kingdom papal bulls for translations of bishops and other purposes were to forfeit their goods and chattels and to be imprisoned for life. This act received a very large interpretation from the judges, and proved of great service in checking the papal usurpations.

A spirit of innovation or reform in religion was at work at this time in England; and John Wickliffe, the precursor of, or pioneer to, those who overthrew the dominion of the Papacy, flourished in the reigns of Edward and Richard. We will give a brief account of this extraordinary man and his labours and opinions.

WicklifTe was born in 1324. He graduated at Oxford, where from his great knowledge of Scripture he acquired the title of the Gospel-doctor; he was also perfectly skilled in the scholastic philosophy then in vogue. He first appeared as an author in 1350, when he put forth a tract in which he found the moral cause of the great plague with which Europe had just been afflicted in the vices and corruption of the church. Four years later he engaged in a controversy with those pests of society (as they have always proved), the Mendicant orders. The insolence, the rapacity, the shameless falsehood of these men had passed all bounds. They swarmed over the whole country "as thick as motes in the sonne heme"; they everywhere disparaged the secular clergy and the monks, whose revenues they frequently diverted to themselves. As the universities suffered much from their artifices, that of Oxford testified its gratitude for the exertions of Wickliffe by presenting him with a living of some value, and he shortly after was made warden of Baliol college. He was then made head of Canterbury-hall by primate Islep, its founder, but he was deprived by Langham, Islep's successor. Wickliffe appealed to the pope, who decided, as might be expected, against him; and the king, on receiving a present of two hundred marks

from the monks of Canterbury, in whose favour the decision **had** been made, confirmed it. Wickliffe appeared as the champion of the crown and parliament in the dispute with the pope about the tribute yielded by John, and triumphantly refuted the arguments of the papal advocates. In 1372 he'obtained a doctor's degree and the professorship of divinity, and in 1374 he was one of the commissioners sent to Bruges to treat with the papal ministers on the subject of provisions. On his return he was presented by the crown with a prebendary stall in the diocese of Worcester, and with the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire.

Wickliffe had returned from Bruges convinced, as he says himself, that the pope was "the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers/' and he went on fearlessly in his exposure of the papal corruptions. The heads of the church thought they could no longer safely remain silent, and he was therefore summoned to appear before the convocation at St. Paul's. Ou the appointed day (Feb. 19, 1377) be came accompanied by his patron the duke of Lancaster, and by lord Henry Percy the earl-marshal. An altercation took place between these noblemen and Courteney bishop of London, in which the advantage of temper and decorum was clearly on the side of the prelate ; and the citizens, who disliked the duke, espousing the cause of their bishop, made an uproar which caused the assembly to be broken up. Next day the mob went to the duke's palace, the Savoy, and reversed his arms, and they murdered a priest whom they took for the earl-marshal.

The pope now fulminated four bulls against Wickliffe, and the next year (1378) he hari to appear at Lambeth before the papal delegates. But the Londoners assembled in great numbers and even broke into the chapel where they were sitting, menacing them with destruction if anything befell the reformer; and a message came from the young king's mother, the Fair Maid of Kent, desiring them not to proceed in the business. Wickliffe delivered a paper explanatory of his sentiments, in which he so enveloped them in the scholastic jargon, that his judges affected to be satisfied of his orthodoxy and dismissed him. He returned to his rectory; the great schism in the papacy succeeded, and the court of Rome had no leisure to attend to him. He therefore went on exposing its errors, and at length had the hardihood to assail its palladium, the astounding doctrine of the real corporal presence.

The duke of Lancaster, in dismay at his temerity, now abandoned him. He was summoned forthwith before the convocation at Oxford (1382), where he maintained his opinions. A mandate was then obtained from the king banishing him from that university, and he retired to Lutterworth, where he died of paralysis on the last day of the year 1384. Thirty years afterwards, by a decree of the council of Constance, his remains were taken up and burnt, and cast into the adjacent stream named the Swift.

The whole system of the church of Rome is so diametrically opposed to Scripture, that it need not surprise us to find Wickliffc arriving at the truth on most points when once he had the courage to search the Scriptures for himself. His discoveries, like those of all independent inquirers, were of course gradual; hence we must expect to find in his writings, as in those of such as by patient inquiry have endeavoured to extricate themselves out of the labyrinth of error, imperfect views and even contradictions, bold assertions and unguarded expressions poured out in the first fervour of discovery, but softened and restricted on cooler consideration. This renders it difficult to state with any certainty what his real opinions on every point were, and the difficulty is increased by the circumstance of only a portion of his works having been printed*.

The two pillars of Popery are the doctrines of Merits and Transubstantiation; in opposition to the former Wickliffe held the doctrine of justification by faith only, though perhaps not in such strong terms as some subsequent reformers have done; on the latter point he seems to have agreed with the present Church of England in denying the bodilyjant acknowledging a real spiritual presence in the sacramental elements. To most of the other erroneous doctrines then inculcated, rather than shock prejudices by denying them, he tried to give a rational sense; but against pardons, indulgences and excommunications, those great implements of clerical extortion and encouragement to sin, his invectives were trumpet-toned. Viewing with the Albigenses, with Dante, Petrarca and all the opponents of the church of Rome, the pope as Anti-Christ, he ansparingly applied that and similar terms to him and his supporters ; and as his was an age of coarseness and plain-speaking,

* The Germans have printed all the works and letters of *their* great reformers. It is not to our credit that those of *our* reformer should still remain in manuscript.

his language frequently passes the limits set to controversy by the decorum of the present day *.

In opposition to the church of Rome, Wickliffe was strenuous in upholding the authority of the state over all orders of men^ Tithes he regarded as *alms* bestowed on the church, and he held that the state was justified in withholding them if the clergy neglected their duty; perhaps he went even further, and thought that in such case the individual layman might refuse tithe and dues. His own retention of a valuable living till his death is, we should suppose, a sufficient proof that he did not think that the clergy should derive their own support from voluntary offerings. Still his language on this point was ambiguous and very liable to perversion. It was equally so on another, the right of wicked men to their temporal possessions, and Wickliffe has been charged with holding the doctrine of dominion being founded in grace. Yet here again the inference is belied by his life and conduct, and his language if rightly understood is perfectly innocent and far less strong than that of even St. Augustine on the same subject. It is, however, not impossible that, as is asserted, these principles of Wickliffe, misunderstood, may have beeu used at the time of the rising of the peasantry to justify the excesses they were urged^to commit.

Following the maxim that we may learn from the enemy, Wickliffe sent his Poor Priests, as he styled them, as itinerant preachers through the kingdom, imitating in this his foes the friars. His doctrines were thus widely spread, and they were embraced by numbers of both sexes. His followers, who were remarked for the purity and even austerity of their morals, were named Lollards f.

But Wickliffe gave Rome a deeper wound than any she had yet received by translating the Bible into English, and thus enabling even the unlearned to see how repugnant to the Word of God were her doctrines and practices. This is the weapon, which as the sword of the Spirit Rome has always dreaded, and which alone suffices to overthrow her power.

* The delicacy of Dr. Lingard is shocked at Wickliffe's coarseness. Does it exceed the following, of the orthodox Walsingham ? " That old hypocrite, that angel of Satan, that emissary of Anti-Christ, the not-to-be named John Wickliffe, or rather *Wickebeleve*, the heretic," &c. &c.

† From the Low Dutch *fallen* or l*allen*, * to sing,' say some; from Lollard, a leader of the Albigenses, say others. Perhaps it is only a corruption of Lombards, one of the names of those sectaries.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY IV. (OF BOLINGBROKE).

1399-1413.

THAT Henry of Bolingbroke was the choice of the nation is an undeniable fact. The true heir of the throme was the earl of March; but he was a child only seven years old, and not a voice was raised in his favour. So little fears had Henry from his claims that he contented himself with holding him and his brother in an honourable confinement at Windsor.

When parliament met, the titles of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, Guienne, etc. were conferred on Henry's eldest son —an indirect way of acknowledging the justice of the king's title. The acts of the twenty-first year of Richard were repealed, and those of his eleventh year were affirmed. The lords appellant against the duke of Gloucester and his friends were deprived of the titles and estates bestowed on them on that account. Future appeals of treason were prohibited, as also were delegations of the powers of parliament to a committee. It was also forbidden under heavy penalties for any one bat the king to give liveries*. Toward the close of the session, the primate having previously enjoined all the lords to strict secrecy, the earl of Northumberland delivered a message from the king requiring them to say what should be done with the deposed monarch, whose life the king was resolved to preserve. They replied that he should be placed in sure ward in a place where there should be no concourse of people, under trusty officers, and that none of his friends should be admitted to him. The king then came to the house (Oct. 27) and passed this sentence on his unhappy predecessor, whose fate it was evident was now sealed.

How long that fate might have been delayed had no conspiracy been formed in his favour, it is hard to say. But five of the lords appellant had agreed among themselves to invite the king to a tournament at Oxford, and there to seize him

* By giving their liveries or badges to a number of people, the nobles sought to sustain their power. They supported by their influence, and often protected from the punishment due to their crimes, those who wore their liveries, who in return lent them the service of their arms in times of civil war or rebellion, or in their private feuds.

and to proclaim Richard. Rutland, however, who was one of them, proved a traitor. It is said indeed that his father the duke of York having insisted on seeing a letter he had received, he went of himself, finding any further concealment impossible, and revealed the whole to the king. The conspirators, who had altered their plan, seized (Jan. 4, 1400) the castle of Windsor; but Henry, warned by Rutland, had left it and gone to London where he proclaimed them as traitors, and commenced a levy of troops. They retired to the west, proclaiming Richard as they went. At Cirencester, where they lay the first night, the people rose under their mayor and attacked the quarters of the earls of Kent and Salisbury, whom they forced to surrender and beheaded them the next night; the same fate befel the lords Lumley and Despenser at Bristol; and the earl of Huntingdon falling into the hands of the late duke of Gloucester's tenants at Pleshy, was put to death by them. The death of the deposed monarch soon followed; the lords had risen in the first week of January, and before the end of the month his death at Pontefract was announced. He had refused food it was said when he heard of the fate of his "brothers Kent and Huntingdon. To this, however, few gave credit; the general opinion was that he had been starved to death by order of Henry, and that he had lingered for fifteen days. Another account says that sir Piers of Exton came from London with seven assistants to murder him. Richard, when they entered his room, aware of their design, sprang forward and snatched a battle-axe from one, with which he killed some of them; but Exton brought him to the ground by a blow on the back of the head, and then with a second blow despatched him. The body was brought to London and exposed at St. Paul's with the lower part of the face uncovered, which proved that Richard was dead, but nothing more. Henry attended the obsequies in person at St. Paul's, and the corpse was then interred at King's Langley in Herts.

To set his own spirit and activity in opposition to the inertness of his predecessor, Henry summoned the military tenants to his standard, and marching to the Tyne sent to claim the homage of the king of Scotland. On meeting with a refusal he advanced to Edinburgh, but he did not waste and destroy the country. The Scots would give no opportunity of fighting, and want of supplies forced him to retire. A border war "was kept up, the principal evcjnt of which was the battle of Homildon or Humbledown (1402). The earl of Douglas having passed the borders at the head of ten thousand men to

ravage the northern counties, the earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Percy named Hotspur, assembled their troops to intercept him on his return. When they met (Sept. 14) the Scots occupied the hill of Homildon, the English an opposite eminence. The English archers descended into the valley and won the victory while the men-at-arms stood looking on. Douglas himself and many nobles and knights were made prisoners.

The very next year (1403), strange as it may seem, Northumberland took up arms against the man whom he had aided to seize the crown. Whatever the real cause may have been the occasion was as follows. There was a gentleman in Wales named Owen Glendour, or of Glendourdy, descended from its ancient princes. He had received a legal education in England, and had been in the service of the earl of Arundel and the late king. Lord Grey de Ruthyn, a relative of Henry's, seized some of Glendour's lands which lay contiguous to his own ; the Welshman applied to parliament, but getting no redress, he took advantage of the king's absence in Scotland to right himself by the strong hand. Owen was declared an outlaw; in return he assumed the sovereignly of Wales. His countrymen who were studying or labouring in England, provided arms and flocked to him, and the belief that he was versed in magic arts augmented his influence. The king thrice led an army in person into Wales, and thrice he had to retire baffled by the weather, the country, and the skill of Glendour. Lord Grey and sir Edward Mortimer were each defeated and made captives (1402). The king, his son and the earl of Arundel invaded Wales in three different points ; but the heavens seemed to fight for the champions of independence, as tremendous rains forced the invaders to retire, and Henry actually ascribed his ill-success to the magic of Glendour. He then gave permission to the relatives of Lord Grey to ransom him, but he^fe^fused those of Mortimer when they applied for the same favour.

This, we are told, irritated Hotspur, who was married to Mortimer's sister; his father and his uncle the earl of Worcester shared in his discontent, and on their applying for advice to Scroop archbishop of York, the prelate urged them to proclaim the rightful heir and levy war on Henry as a usurper, A secret confederacy was formed with Douglas, to whom they gave his liberty, and with Owen Glendour, who is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Mortimer. Northumberland having fallen sick, Hotspur joined by Douglas led his forces toward Wales, and when his uncle came up with his

troops in Cheshire, they put forth a manifesto accusing the king of wasting the public treasure, and allowing his favourites to exclude the great lords from access to him. Henry, who was on his Way to the north, replied that the greater part of the late supplies had been paid to the Percies themselves, and offered them a safe-conduct to come and expose their griefs. At Burton-on-Trent he learned the route of the rebels, and turning westwards he entered Shrewsbury just as they came in sight of it. Hotspur halted at llartlefield, whence he sent a defiance to the king, calling him false and perjured for having violated all the engagements made on his return to England and having usurped the crown. Henry, unable to refute the charges, replied (bat he had no time for writing and that the sword should decide.

Next morning (July 21) the two armies, each about fourteen thousand men, were drawn out. The king sent the abbot of Shrewsbury with proposals of peace, but by the influence of* "Worcester they were rejected. The adverse cries of " St. George!" and " Esperance Percy ! " then rose ; the archers on both sides poured their fatal hail of arrows ; Hotspur and Douglas, each with thirty followers, plunged into the centre of the English, seeking the king; the earl of Stafford, sir Walter Blount and two others, all of whom wore the royal arms to deceive the enemy, were slain; the prince of Wales was wounded in the face. Hotspur and Douglas now attempted to force their way back, but a chance arrow pierced the. brain of the former and the latter was made a prisoner. After a conflict of three hours the insurgents fled. More than a third of the royal army was slain or wounded, but the loss of the rebels was much greater. Worcester, lord Kinderton and sir Richard Vernon, who were among the prisoners, were executed as traitors ; Douglas was treated with all courtesy. Northumberland, who was on his way to join his son when he heard of his defeat and death, disbanded his forces and shut himself up in his castle of Warkworth. He came, however, and surrendered himself to the king at York (Aug. 11), and received a pardon for all offences in the next parliament.

Though Henry was thus triumphant over his enemies, his throne was by no means secure; Glendour was still in arms ; a false Richard had been set up* ; the favourers of the rights

* According to Wintour and Fordun, a person who pretended to be Richard I I . was maintained during twenty years at the court of Scotland. Tytler, who affects to regard him as not being an impostor, is confuted briefly but fully by Mackintosh, i. 381.

of Mortimer were numerous; the young earl of March **had** even been stolen out of Windsor castle, but he was speedily-retaken. Soon too (1405) another insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, headed by the archbishop, Northumberland, and Mowbray earl-marshal, son of the late duke of Norfolk. A writing was fixed on the doors of the churches charging the king with perjury, rebelliovi, the murder of his sovereign and various other crimes ; and eight thousand men, led by the archbishop and the carl-marshal, assembled at Shipton-on-the Moor near York. Prince John (Henry's third son) and the earl of Westmoreland came against them. A conference took place between the leaders (May 29) ; the prelate and earl were induced (whether by guile or not is uncertain) to disband their forces, and they were then made prisoners and conveyed to Henry at Pontcfract, The king directed Gascoigne, the chief justice, to pass sentence on them, and when he scrupled to do so he gave the charge to a knight named Fulthorpe, who made no hesitation, and the prelate and the carl were both beheaded. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and the king reduced all his castles. Some time after (1408) the earl made an irruption into the north, but he was defeated and slain near Tadeasttr (Feb. 28) by sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff of the county. Wales was gradually reduced, but Owen Glendour Still held out in the retired fastnesses. He was living in the following reign, and seems never to have lost his liberty or his independence.

Au accident, fortunate for him, but of which he did not make the most generous use, gave Henry a control over the councils of Scotland. The duke of Albany, brother of Robert **III.,** had seized on the power of the state ; his eldest nephew, heir to the crown, had perished in the prison in which he had been confined, and Robert, to save his younger son James, a child but nine years old, was sending him to France (1405). The ship on board of which the prince was, being captured by an English cruiser, Henry, though there was a truce between the two countries at the time, refused to liberate the royal captive. Robert dying shortly after, Albany assumed the government, and Henry then was able, by the threat of setting the rightful heir at liberty, to keep the regent in a state of subserviency. He however made some amends to the prince for his loss of liberty by having him carefully educated.

The public events of the remainder of this king's reign, if we except a slight interference in the quarrels of the Frencil

princes, were of no importance. The wildness and levities of the prince of Wales are said to have caused his father some uneasiness. This prince, who had shown undoubted valour in the field, in time of peace plunged into riot and excess; but still gleams of right feeling broke through his follies which evinced that his heart was not corrupt. It is said that when, one of his riotous companions had been taken up and brought before the chief justice Gascoigne, the prince went and demanded his release, and when refused drew his sword on the judge. Gascoigne forthwith ordered him to prison for the offence, and the prince meekly submitted. " Happy the monarch," said the king when he heard it, "who has a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty and a son so willing to submit to the laws !" A suspicion wash also instilled into the mind of the king that his son aspired to the throne. "When, the prince heard of this he demanded an audience of his lather,, threw himself on his knees before him, and handing him a dagger besought him to deprive him of life since he had deprived him of his favour..

Though the king was but in his forty-sixth year the symptoms of approaching death were manifest. Violent eruptions had broken out in his face, he was subject to constant fits of epilepsy, and remorse, it is added, secretly preyed on his conscience. We are told* that one day as he lay in a fit apparently dead the prince came in, and taking the crown, which according to custom lay by him on a cushion, carried it into an adjoining room. The king on recovering sternly asked what had become of his crown ; the prince instantly brought it back. "Alas! fair son," said the king at the close of their conversation, " what right have you to the crown when you know your father had none ? " " My liege," said the prince, " with the sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." " Well," replied the king, " do as you think best: I leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my soul." As he was praying (Mar. 20, 1413) in St. Edward's chapel in Westminster abbey he was seized with his last fit, and he expired in the abbot's chamber.

Henry IV. was possessed of many estimable qualities, and had he obtained the crown in a regular way would have made an excellent sovereign. Injustice, as we have seen, drove

* Monstrelct, i. 163. Lingard thinks this was an invention of the rival *family.*

him to crime; one act led to another, till they ended in the murder of his unhappy kinsman and predecessor.

By his first wife Mary Bohun, coheiress of the earl of Hereford, Henry had four sons, Henry his successor, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, and two daughters, who were married to the duke of Bavaria and the king of Denmark. He had no issue by his second wife Jane of Navarre.

Those who had given Henry his crown resolved to derive advantage from the nature of his title. The commons strengthened most of their rights and privileges in this reign and acquired new ones : such, for instance, was freedom from arrest, a privilege at that time necessary for the cause of liberty, but which at the present day only serves to enable poor or dishonest members to baffle their creditors, and thus brings into or keeps in parliament men who should not be there.

The clergy obtained in the second year of this king the writ *De comburthdo hæretico,* and thus partially introduced into the kingdom the Inquisition with its horrible *autos-da-fe.* Instead of inquiring into such opinions of the Lollards as were really injurious to society, they made the scholastic absurdity of transubstantiation the test. Primate Arundel immediately be* gan to act on this statute, and the first victim to the metaphysical Moloch was William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osithes; a tailor named Badby was also burnt in the presence of prince Henry, who urged him in vain to recant and save himself.

CHAPTER X,

HENRY V. (OF MONMOUTH).

1413-1422.

T H E joy of the nation at the accession of Henry V. was extreme. It was indeed slightly shaded by the recollections of his youthful follies, but all apprehensions were dispelled by the conduct of the young monarch. He dismissed his former companions with suitable presents, assuring them of further favour when they should show that they were reformed. , He

continued his father's honest servants and ministers in their offices. He set the earl of March at liberty ; he restored the Percy family to their estates and honours ; and he removed the remains of Richard II. (by whom he had once been favoured) from Langley, and deposited them in Westminster abbey, himself attending as chief mourner.

One cloud alone overcast this propitious dawn. The sect of the Lollards was represented to the king as holding opinions alike subversive of church and state, and he was induced to allow the zealous primate Arundel to put the laws in force against them. Sir John Oldcastle baron of Cobham (in right of his wife), a man of distinguished military talents and high in the favour of the late king, was regarded as the head of the sect, and the primate deeming him the fittest person to commence with applied to the king for permission to indict him, Henry advised moderation and undertook himself to reason with the accused, but the zealous soldier was not to be moved by the royal arguments. The primate was then allowed to proceed ; he was aided by his suffragans of London, Winchester and St. David's. The knight was brought before them, and after a noble defence of his opinions, in which he clearly confuted his adversaries, and at the same time so explained his sentiments as to leave abundant room for conciliation if his judges desired it, he was declared guilty of heresy and was delivered over to the tender mercies of the secular arm*. He however made his escape from the Tower, in which he was confined. He and his followers are now said to have formed the atrocious design of surprising the king at Eltham, where he kept his Christmas, putting him, his brothers and the principal clergy and nobility to death, and forming the realm into a federal republic with Oldcastle for its president. This scjierqe, it is added, was frustrated by the sudden return of the king to Westminster, and the insurgents then were directed to assemble at an appointed time in St. Giles's fields ; but the night before the king occupied the ground with some troops, having previously closed the city-gates to keep in the Lollards of the city. The first parties that arrived were made prisoners, and the rest, who were coming when they heard this ill news, dispersed and fled (1414).

* Head his trial in Foxc, or in Southey's Book of the Church, i. 359—379. " His conduct," says Lingard, " was as arrogant and insulting as that of his judge was *mild* and dignified."

This account, which is given by the bitter enemies of the Lollards, has a most improbable air, yet we know not what violent projects men driven to desperation may have formed. At all events the prisons in and about London were filled, and thirty-nine persons, among whom was sir Roger Acton, a man of good property, were suspended by chains from a gallows in Ficket Field, and then burnt alive as heretics and traitors. A reward of 1000 marks was offered for lord Cobham dead or alive, but he escaped into Wales, where during four years he eluded his persecutors. At length he was discovered by lord Powis. He defended himself valiantly, and would probably not have been taken alive if a woman had not broken his legs with a blow of a stool. He was carried to London in a horse-litter, where he was hung by a chain and burnt alive as a heretic*.

It is said that the late king had when dying charged his son, if he wished for domestic quiet, never to let the nation remain long at rest; it is also said that the primate, fearing an attack on the property of the church, to which parliament was urging the king, to divert his thoughts and those of the nation to other objects, advised him to assert his claim to the crown of France. Whether these counsels were given or not the present distracted state of France offered a fair field for ambition. The king, Charles VI., after some years of the fairest promise became subject to fits of mental derangement. The conduct of affairs was disputed between his brother the duke of Orleans and his cousin the duke of Burgundy. The latter having caused the former to be assassinated, the kingdom was filled with bloodshed and ruin by the two contending parties; for the princes of the blood all sided with the young duke of Orleans, whose party was named the Armagnacs, from his father-in-law the count of that name. The late king of England had fomented the quarrel by giving alternate aid to each party ; the ardent spirit of the present young monarch urged him to renew the claim to the crown. This demand being at once rejected, Henry offered to be content with the full sovereignty of Normandy, Maine and Anjou, and the places named in the Peace of Bretigni and one half of Pro-

. * " Judgement," says Lingard, " was instantly pronounced that he should De hanged as a traitor, and burnt as a heretic. St. Giles's fields, which had been the theatre of his rebellion, witnessed also his punishment." Thia is not a fair statement, as the reader is led to think that he was first hanged and then his body burnt, instead of being roasted to death as he was.

rence; he required that the arrears of king John's ransom: should be paid, and the princes* Catherine be given in marriage to him with, a portion of two millions of gold crowns „ These terms were too extravagant to he entertained, but he was offered the whole of the ancient duchy of Aquitaine and the princess with a. dower of 600,000 crowns. Henry recalled his ambassadors and began to prepare for war,' his parliament cheerfully granting him two tenths and two fifteenths. He however sent again (1415), giving up his claim of Normandy, Maine and Anjou, offering to take the princess with one million of crowns, but insisting mi; all the other terms. The French court offered to raise the princess's portion to 800,000 crowns, but would yield on no other point. Henry forthwith prepared for war ; by pawning his jewels and by loans he raised a sum of 500,000 nobles, while his barons ancL knights were busily engaged in levying troops.

When the army had assembled at Southampton the king proceeded thither. Visions of glory floated before his imagination as he viewed the embarkation of his gallant troops; but those visions were overcast with gloom by information of a conspiracy among those of his own family and household to rob him of life and fame. The objects of the conspirators, the earl of Cambridge, brother to the duke of York, sir Thomas Grey and lord Scroop of Masham, are obscure; their plan is said to have been to conduct the earl of March to the frontiers of Wales, and there proclaim him king in case that Richard II. were really dead. They were condemned and executed as traitors. The innocence of the earl of March would seem to be proved by the circumstance of his sitting as one of their judges; yet such was the insecurity of life and honour in those days that he deemed it prudent soon after to obtain from the king a pardon for all treasons and offences.

King Henry soon embarked, and a speedy voyage carried his fleet of fifteen hundred sail to the mouth of the Seine, where (Aug. 14) he landed a gallant army of 6000 men-at-arms and 24,000 archers, and immediately invested the town of Harfleur by sea and land. After a stout resistance for nearly *live* weeks, the town capitulated; the inhabitants were expelled, being only permitted to take a part of their, clothes- and fivepence each ; the remainder of the* property was divided among the victorious army. But this army was soon sadly thinned by dysentery, and when the sick and wounded had been sent home to England and. a. garrison had been placed in

Harfleur, the king found his troops reduced to one-half their original number, and no longer adequate to any enterprise of moment. Still his chivalrous spirit would not suffer him to re-embark without giving some further proof of his knightly daring, and in spite of the remonstrances of his council he resolved (Oct. 8) to lead his diminished forces to Calais. The army marched in three divisions (the usual English mode); supplies were hardly procured from the villages on the way; the enemy hung on them and cut off the stragglers. At length they approached Blanchetaque, where Edward III. had crossed the Somme, but the ford was now secured by lines of palisades with troops stationed behind them. The king retired and moved up the river, but all the bridges were broken and all the fords secured, and the enemy moved as he moved along the opposite bank. At length, finding a ford near Bethencourt unguarded, the English crossed and established themselves on the right bank, D'Albrct, constable of France, who commanded the French army, fell back toward Calais, sending orders to all the troops that were on their march to join him without delay. Meantime in a council of war held at Rouen, at which king Charles was present, it was resolved to give battle; orders to that effect were transmitted to the constable, who communicated them by heralds to king Henry, inquiring which way he intended to march. The king replied by that which led straight to Calais, and dismissed the heralds with a present of one hundred crowns.

The English leisurely pursued their march toward Blangi. On reaching an eminence the duke of York descried the enemy making for Azincourt*. The king gave orders to form in line of battle; but as the enemy did not approach, the English after standing in their ranks till evening advanced to a village named Maisoncelles, where they obtained good provisions and remained for the night. The French, who now amounted to at least 50,000 horsemen, took a position in the fields before the village of Azincourt, through which the English, who B'Albret was resolved should be the assailants, must pass. Though the night was dark and rainy, they assembled round their banners revelling and discussing the events of the coming day, even fixing the ransoms of the English king and his barons; for of victory they had not a doubt. The English passed the night far differently : they made their wills and em-

* Called by our historians Agincourt.

ployed themselves in devotional exercises; sickness, famine, and the thoughts of the paucity of their numbers tended to deject them, but the recollection of former victories and the gallant spirit of their king raised their spirits. The king took little rest; he visited all the quarters; made his dispositions for battle next day; bands of music, by his orders, played all through the night; before sunrise he summoned all the troops to hear mass, and then led them to the field (Oct. 25).

The English were drawn up in three divisions and two wings, the archers as usual in advance of the men-at-arms. Each archer had a long stake, sharp at both ends, to stick in the ground before him as a defence against the charge of the French cavalry. The king, mounted on a grey palfrey, having his helmet of polished steel wreathed with a crown of sparkling stones, rode from rank to rank cheering his men. Hearing one officer say to another that he wished a miracle would transfer thither some of the good knights who were sitting idle at home, he declared aloud that he would not have a single man more ; as if God gave them the victory, it would be plainly due to his goodness ; if he did not, the fewer that fell the less the loss to their country ; hut of the result he had no apprehension. The French army was similarly arrayed, but its files wore thirty, while those of the English were but four deep. The distance between the armies was not more than a quarter of a mile.

As the French did not advance, the king directed refreshments to be distributed through the ranks, and he secretly sent off two detachments, the one to lie in ambush in a meadow on the enemy's left flank, the other to set fire to the houses in his rear during the action. Three French knights then came summoning them to surrender. The king ordered them off, and forthwith cried, "Banners, advance/' Sir Thomas Erpingham cast his warder into the air; the men fell on their knees, kissed the ground, then rose and with a shout ran toward the foe. When they had gone twenty paces they halted and shouted again; those in ambush repeated the shout; the archers fixed their stakes obliquely in the ground, and running beyond them discharged their arrows ; a body of eight hundred horse appointed to oppose them was slaughtered and dispersed, and in the confusion the archers slung their bows behind their backs, and grasping their swords and battle-axes, rushed on, killed the constable and his principal officers, and routed

tfoe whole of the first division. The archers formed again by the king's directions, who now came up with the men-at-arms and attacked the second division, led by the duke of Alencon. BJerc the resistance was obstinate. The duke of Clarence being wounded and on the ground, the king stood over and defended him till he was removed to a place of safety. Eighteen French knights, bound by a vow to take or slay the king, now rushed on him, and a blow from the mace of one brought him on his knees, but his guards rescued him and slew all the assailants. The duke of Alencon reached the royal standard, killed the duke of York, and cleft the crown on the king's head, but he speedily fell, and his division turned and fled. Henry now prepared to attack the third division; just then word came that a large force was falling on the rear: in the hurry of the moment the king gave orders to put the prisoners to death ; and numbers had actually perished when it was discovered that the alarm was caused by a body of six hundred peasants who had entered Maisoneellcs and were plundering the baggage. The slaughter was then stopped. Meantime the houses in the rear of the French had been set on fire; the third division began to waver, and only six hundred men could be induced to follow the counts Falconberg and Marie, in a charge on the English, where they found captivity or death.

The victory was now complete. "To whom," said the king to Mountjoy, the French king-at-arms, "to whom doth the victory belong ? "To you, sir," was the reply. "And what castle is that I see at a distance ?" "It is called the castle of Azincourt." "Then," said the king, "be this battle, known to posterity by the name of the battle of Azincourt." A fatal battle it was to France! among the slain were the dukes of Brabant, Bar and Alencon, and the constable and admiral of France, seven counts and more than one hundred bannerets and eight thousand knights and esquires, and among the prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Eu, Vendome and Richemont. The loss of the English was but sixteen hundred men, with the earl of Suffolk, the duke of York, and one or two knights and esquires. As they crossed the field of battle next morning on their way to Calais they killed such of the wounded as were still alive, and when they were gone thousands of men and women flocked from the surrounding villages and stripped the dead, leaving them totally naked.

After a short stay at Calais Henry returned to England leading his noble captives with him. He was received with enthusiasm in London, where, after the manner of the age, the Streets were hung with rich tapestry, curious pageants were exhibited, and the public conduits were made to run sweet wines. The parliament too was most liberal in its grants to the triumphant monarch.

The next year (1416), the count of Armagnac, who now governed France, as the dauphin was dead, made a vigorous attempt to recover Harflcur, which he besieged by sea and land. But the duke of Bedford, the king's brother, soon appeared with a numerous fleet, defeated that of the French, and relieved the town. Soon after king Henry and the emperor Sigismund (who had visited England, where he formed an alliance with the king,) passed over to Calais and had an interview with the duke of Burgundy, under the pretext of seeking a remedy for the schism which now existed in the church, but in reality to arrange the plan of war against France, where matters were now in the utmost confusion. Armagnac had induced the imbecile monarch to older the seizure of the treasures of the queen Isabella of Bavaria, whom he also accused of adultery and caused to be confined at Tours. Isabella, a woman of a fierce vindictive spirit, instantly proposed a league to the duke of Burgundy, whose bitterest enemy she had hitherto been. Her offer was accepted; the duke at the head of sixty thousand men marched toward Paris taking all the towns in his way. As the Armagnacs held that city he passed on to Etampes and Chartres, and the queen, as was concerted, having prevailed on her guards to accompany her to a church in the suburbs of Tours, the duke, who was lying with eight hundred men in an adjacent forest, appeared and carried her to Troyes, where she assumed the title of regent, making him her lieutenant.

Meanwhile king Henry had landed in Normandy (Aug. 1) with an army of sixteen thousand men-at-arms and an equal number of archers. Fortress after fortress and town after town submitted; Caen was taken by storm, Bayeux by composition ; the campaign closed with the reduction of Falaise. In the spring (1418), having received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, he divided his forces and speedily reduced the whole of Lower Normandy. He then (July 30) proceeded to invest Rouen, the capital of the province, which though de-

fended by a brave garrison was after an obstinate defence of nearly six months obliged to open its gates.

While the king of England was thus recovering what he regarded as the patrimony of his ancestors, the two parties into which the French wore divided thought only of opposing each other. One night (May *23)* one of the gates of Paris was secretly opened to a party of the Burgundians; they were joined by thousands of the citizens; the count of Armagnac, several ladies and bishops, and lords and members of the parliament were thrown into prison; and on the night of the 12th of June a mob of sixty thousand persons assembled, broke open the prisons, and massacred all in them without distinction of sex or rank, and then slaughtered all through the city those who were hostile to the Burgundian faction. The present dauphin, the third son of the king;, was taken out of bed by a knight named Tanncgui du Chastcl, wrapt in a sheet and conveyed away. The queen and duke entered Paris next day in triumph, where they now exercised the royal authority without opposition. The adverse party retired to Poitiers and proclaimed the young dauphin regent. Both parties made proposals to Henry, who, as was his interest to do, only sought to play them off against each other. At length the fall of Eoueu (Jan. 13, 1110) awakening them to a sense of their danger, they renewed their negotiations, the dauphin even soliciting a personal interview. But he did not keep his appointment when made. The duke then proposed an interview between the two kings, and it was arranged that Charles should come to Pontoise, Henry to Mantes. In a plain near Meulant between these towns, a plot of ground, washed on one side by the Seine and enclosed by pallisades on the other three, was marked out for the conference. At a mast which was raised in the centre stood two rich pavilions for the royal parties, and tehts were pitched on the right of the enclosure for the attendants of Henry, on the left for those of Charles.

On the appointed day (May 30), the king of France, having an attack of his disorder, could not appear; but in the morning, the queen, the princess, and the duke of Burgundy came escorted by one thousand horse, and Henry and his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester arrived followed by one thousand men-at-arms: they met in the centre; the king bowed to the queen and princess, whom he had never seen before; Catherine, who was graceful and beautiful, employed, as instructed

by her mother, all her charms on the heart of the king; and when in spite of his efforts the queen saw that they had taken effect, the princess was removed and appeared no more. Henry's demands were Normandy and the provinces ceded by the peace of Bretigni in full sovereignty ; the French ministers made no objection ; the conferences were extended on one pretext or another for au entire month j at length Henry discovered that the whole was a feint, and that Burgundy had been meantime negotiating with the dauphin through a lady of the name of De Giac. The two princes met soon after (July 11) at Melun, and vowed to forget past injuries and unite their forces against the English. Henry for the present could only avenge himself by the surprise and capture of Pontoise.

It would appear that Henry's hopes of the conquest of France were now at an end, yet ere many months were past he had gained all he could desire. The duke and dauphin, who still distrusted each other, agreed to a conference at Montereau on the Yonne. They were to meet on the bridge over that river, across which barriers were placed with gates in them. Each entered the intermediate space with ten attendants (Sept, 10); the duke bent his knee to the dauphin, and was addressing him, when lie was struck in the face with a small axe by Tannegui du Chastel, and he was despatched by several wounds: one of his followers escaped, another was slain, *th^*, rest were made prisoners. The dauphin constantly denied his previous knowledge of this foul deed, but those who perpetrated it still retained his favour. It however ruined his cause ; all France was filled with horror and indignation ; and the heir of the murdered prince, thinking only of revenge, hastened to conclude a treaty with Henry, the queen engaging that Charles should ratify whatever was arranged. Henry's terms were the hand of the princess Catherine, the regency during the king's lifetime, and the crown on his death. These terms were at once acceded to. Henry marched at the head of sixteen thousand men-at-arms to Troyes, where the court then was; the Perpetual Peace, as it was styled, was sworn to (May 21, 1420); the princess and he were affianced, and after a short interval married (June 2) ; and Henry then, accompanied by his bride, set out to conduct the siege of Sens.

In the winter the two kings returned to Paris, where the states-general met and gave their approbation to the treaty. Henry then (1421) conducted his lovely bride to England,

and she was there crowned with a magnificence hitherto unknown. While the king remained in England, his brother of Clarence, whom he had left in command in Normandy, made an irruption into Anjou, which adhered to the dauphin. The marshal La Fayette assembled what troops he could, among which were seven thousand Scots under the earl of Buchan, the regent's son. Clarence, advancing with only his men-at-arms, fell in with them (Mar. 22) at a place named Beauje, **and** being greatly outnumbered his force was utterly routed, twelve hundred being slain and three hundred made prisoners. The duke himself was wounded by sir William Swynton, and then slain by Buchan, whom the dauphin for this victory made constable of France. On the news of this disaster Henry returned without delay to France (June 20), with four thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers, and accompanied by the young king of Scotland, whose presence he hoped would operate on the allegiance of the Scots in the French service. He drove the dauphin from Chartres and forced him to take refuge in Bourges ; then returning to Paris, to gratify the citizens, he laid siege to Meaux, which he reduced after **a** siege of five months; and now (1422) all France north of the Loire except Anjou and Maine obeyed him.

To crown his happiness, his queen, who had been delivered of a son, came over with her babe to join him. The two courts met in Paris to keep their Whitsuntide, which was celebrated with the utmost magnificence. But tbis was the last of the glories of king Henry -, a fatal disease was secretly preying on him. On his march to raise the siege of Cosnc, he felt himself so unwell (July 30), that he was obliged to resign the command to the duke of Bedford and return to Yincennes. He was soon aware that recovery was hopeless. The infancy of his son gave him uneasiness, and on the day of his death (Aug. 31) he strongly recommended his queen and her child to his brother of Bedford and his other nobles. He advised them to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and to offer him the regency of France, and never to release the princes taken at Azincourt; he charged them in the worst of cases not to make peace unless Normandy was ceded to the crown of England. In a few hours after he breathed his last, with the utmost piety and resignation. He was only in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

This great prince was justly a favourite with his people*

He was handsome in person and affable in manners. His valour was undoubted* and it was united with, skill and prudence. In the pursuit of his unfounded claim to the crown of France, he is as much to be admired in the capacity of the statesman as in that of the warrior.

The queen-dowager Catherine afterwards secretly married Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales. They had three sons, Edmund, Jasper and Owen, of whom the last became a monk, and the others were created, the one earl of Richmond, the other earl of Pembroke. As we proceed we shall behold their descendants seated on the throne of England.

CHAPTER XL

HENRY VI. (OF WINDSOR).

1422-1461.

A MINORITY for the fourth time appears in the royal line of England, the new monarch being an infant only nine months old. The Euglish parliament, regardless of the wishes of the late king, refused the duke of Gloucester the title and authority of regent; a council of regency, with the duke of Bedford, and during his absence the duke of Gloucester, at its head, under the title of protector, was appointed, and the parliament was then dissolved.

The duke of Burgundy having declined the regency of France, it was conferred on the duke of Bedford by king Charles. This imbecile monarch followed his gallant son-in-law to the grave within two months, and his death seriously affected the English interest, by withdrawing from it the semblance of royal authority which it had hitherto possessed. The dauphin forthwith assumed the regal title, and was crowned and anointed at Chartres as Charles V I I. Bedford, who equalled his late brother in ability and valour, and surpassed him in manners, sought by every means to attach the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and at a conference held at Arras, the three princes bound themselves to each other by oaths, cemented by the marriage of the dukes of BedforcJ and Brittany to the sisters of the duke of Burgundy. The war in France was continued. The duke of Bedford occupied himself (1423) in reducing

such towns and castles in the north as still held out; and an army of French and Scots having formed the siege of Crevent on the Yonne, the earl of Salisbury joined the Burgundians, and led his troops to its relief. The English forced the passage of the bridge (July 31), the Burgundians followed; the enemy were totally defeated, and their two commanders, the constable of Scotland and the count of Ventadour, were made prisoners. The capture of La Charite on the Loire opened a passage into the southern provinces.

As the Scottish government had lately sent Charles a reinforcement of five thousand men under carl Douglas, and it was feared that they might invade the north of England, the English ministry now offered king James his liberty on condition of his paying 40,000/. for the expenses of his nineteen years* captivity, and forbidding his subjects to enter the service of France. These terms were agreed to, and James, having espoused an English lady of high descent to whom he had long been betrothed, returned to his native kingdom, where lie proved the ablest mid best monarch that Scotland had ever possessed.

In the next campaign (1421), the duke of Bedford, with two thousand men-at-arms and seven thousand archers, laid siege to Yvri in Normandy, where the garrison had raised the standard of Charles. The constable of France with an army of eighteen thousand men came to its relief, but despairing of success he turned aside and surprised Verneuil. The duke of Bedford advanced to attack the enemy, who did not refuse the combat (Aug. 17). The English men-at-arms formed one compact mass with the archers, protected by their stakes on the flanks; a body of two thousand archers were set to guard the horses and the baggage in the rear, and they fastened the horses together by the heads and the tails, and mixed them through the baggage so as to form an insuperable barrier. After the battle had lasted for an hour, without any advantage on either side, a body of French and Italian cavalry fell on the baggage; but unable to penetrate it they stood as marks for the arrows of the archers, who when they had slain or driven them off ran to the front and with a shout fell on the enemy. This decided the battle; the French fled, with a loss of three thousand men: sixteen hundred of the victors lay on the plain. The constable of France, his countrymen earl Douglas and his son, and other nobles were among the slain; the duke of Alen^n and two hundred gentlemen were made prisoners.

The victory of Verneuil was productive of no consequences of importance ; the blame has been laid on the ambition of the duke of Gloucester. Jacqueline, heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zealand and Friesland, having been married to John dauphin of France, was on his death married to her cousin-german the duke of Brabant, a weak-minded youth only in his sixteenth year. Jacqueline, a woman of masculine spirit, soon learned to despise her feeble helpmate, and at length (1420) she left Lim and repaired to England, where the duke of Gloucester, smitten with the charms of herself and her heritage, sought her hand ; after the death of Henry V. he vbpcnly espoused her, alleging that her marriage with her cousin was void, though the council of Constance had granted a dispensation. The duke of Burgundy, who was cousin to the duke of Brabant, was highly offended ; the duke of Bedford was in the utmost perplexity'; it was proposed to leave the matter to the pope, but Gloucester refused, and at the head of five thousand men he took possession of Hainault (1425). The duke of Burgundy sent aid to his cousin ; a challenge passed between him and Gloucester, but the duel did not take place. Gloucester returned to England, leaving Jacqueline at Mons ; she was obliged to surrender and was conducted to Ghent, whence she made her escape in man's attire and fled to Holland, where she maintained the war for two years, but at length (1428) was obliged to submit to the duke of Burgundy. Gloucester meantime seems to have given up all thoughts of her, for he married Eleanor daughter of lord Cobham, who had long lived with him as his mistress.

Gloucester also caused his brother much uneasiness by his quarrels with their uncle, Henry Beaufort the bishop of Winchester. This ambitious prelate was second son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, and lie held the high office of chancellor. Bedford was obliged to come over to England in 1426 to effect an apparent reconciliation between them. The following year the prelate received a cardinal's hat from Rome.

For three years, owing to want of means on both sides, the war had languished in France. Meantime the duke of Brittany had yielded to the instances of his brother the count of Richemont, whom Charles had made constable of France, and began to separate himself from his English alliance. Bedford immediately poured his troops into Brittany, defeated the Bretons everywhere, and soon forced the duke to renew his en-

gagements. On his return to Paris (1428) several councils were held, and it was resolved, contrary it is said to the opinion of the regent, to carry the war beyond the Loire. The campaign was to be opened by the siege of Orleans, a strong well-garrisoned city on the right bank of that river. The English army of ten thousand men under the earl of Salisbury, one of their ablest generals, crossed the Loire, and carried by assault (Oct. *23)* the Tournelles, or castle which defended the bridge on the left bank ; but the garrison had broken down one of the arches, and a few days after, as Salisbury was looking out from one of the windows of the Tournelles, he was struck in the face by a shot from the ramparts, and he died of his wound. The command then devolved on the earl of Suffolk ; reinforcements arrived; bastilles, or huts defended by intrenchments, were constructed round the city ; but the spaces between them were so great, on account of the extent of the walls, that the enemy, who had large magazines at Blois, found little difficulty in conveying in supplies.

In the beginning of the Lent (1429) sir John FalstafT set out from Paris with fifteen hundred men, and four hundred waggons laden with salt herrings and other provisions for the besiegers. At the village of lloveray (Feb. 12) he learned that the count of Clermont was advancing with from four to five thousand horse to intercept him. He halted and formed round his men a circle of the waggons, leaving but two openings, each guarded by a strong body of archers. The commander of the Scots in the French army advised that the men-at-arms should dismount; but Clermont refused, and it was filially agreed that each might do as they pleased. Before day the attack was made; the English arrows flew with their usual effect, and ere long the enemy fled leaving six hundred men slain. After this Battle of the Herrings, as it was named, FalstafT reached the camp in safety. Lines were now run from bastille to bastille, and the town was completely shut in. The besieged offered to surrender the town into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, but the regent insisted on its being given up to the English, who had won it with their blood.

The fate of Orleans now seemed decided ; a general gloom overspread the French court, and Charles even meditated flight into Spain or Scotland; but his mistress, the fair Agnes Sorel, it is said, recalled him to more manly thoughts, and at length

one of the most extraordinary appearances in history came to raise the fallen fortunes of France.

In the small hamlet of Domremy in Champagne dwelt a peasant named Jacques d'Arc, among whose children was a daughter whose name was Joan. The character of this maiden was stainless; she was remarkable for her piety and serious cast of thought. The misfortunes of her king and country made a strong impression on her imagination, and incessant solitary brooding soon produced visions ; she fancied that the saints Margaret and Catherine used to appear to her and urge her to undertake the defence of her country. She addressed herself to Baudricourt lord of the neighbouring town of Vancouleur, requiring to be sent to the dauphin, as she was appointed by Heaven to crown him. Baudricourt laughed at her pretensions, but afterwards, either believing in her mission or seeing the advantage that might be derived from it, he sent her with a small retinue to Chinon in Poitou, where the court was then residing. Joan appeared clad in man's attire. After some delay she was admitted to the presence of the king, whom she assured that she was sent by Heaven to raise the siege of Orleans and conduct him to Rheims to be crowned. It is added that, though she had never before seen the king, she recognised him at once among his courtiers ; that she told him secrets known only to himself, and described and claimed a sword in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois whose very existence had been forgotten. She was examined by a council of lawyers and divines at Poitiers, who pronounced her inspired. Mounted on a stately grey charger, which she managed with a dexterity acquired in her village, but which to those who knew not her origin appeared miraculous, and preceded by a banner, in which the Almighty, represented in the usual manner as a venerable old man, bore a globe in his hand and was surrounded by fleurs-de-lis, the Maid *(La Pucelle)* was exhibited to the people, whose joy and enthusiasm knew no bounds. Care at the same time was taken that the most exaggerated accounts of the heaven-sent deliverer should reach the English camp, where, in despite of the efforts of Suffolk and his officers, a secret terror soon began to pervade the minds of the soldiers.

As want was now felt in Orleans, a large supply of provisions was collected at Blois to be sent thither under a convoy of seven thousand men led by the able La Hire, Joan repaired thither; she ordered the soldiers to confess themselves,

and banished from the camp all the women of loose life. At the same time she wrote to Suffolk, ordering him in the divine name to raise the siege. La Hire embarked the provisions in boats; his troops, headed by the Maid bearing her sacred banner, marched along the bank to protect them; a sally from the town distracted the attention of the English, and the Maid and the stores entered Orleans unopposed. A few days after she headed a party of volunteers, and attacked and carried two of the bastilles. She then assailed the Tournelles, and after an assault of fourteen hours, during which she was wounded in the neck, that fortress was carried. The hopes of the English now completely expired, and at dawn the next day (May 8) they set fire to their line of forts and departed from before Orleans.

The earl of Suffolk was now besieged for ten days in Jargeau, whither he had retired. The Maid headed the attack and scaled the wall; a stone struck her on the head, and she fell down into the ditch. "On, on! my countrymen," cried she, as she lay; "fear nought; the Lord has delivered them into our hands." An unguarded place was discovered; the French rushed in; part of the garrison were slain, the rest made prisoners. "Are you a knight?" said Suffolk to the officer who demanded his sword: he replied in the negative. "Then/' said the earl, "I make you one," and he gave him the blow of knighthood with his sword, which he then surrendered. Mel un and other fortresses opened their gates; lord Talbot led the dispirited remains of the English army toward Paris, but at Patay he was overtaken by the French. Falstaff advised a retreat; Talbot disdained to show his back to an enemy. The English, however, made but a feeble stand; twelve hundred men were slain, and Talbot and lord Scales were made prisoners. Falstaff, who had fled in the beginning, was deprived of-the order of the garter; but on his proving to the regent that it was little short of madness to fight at Patay, his honours were restored.

The heroic Maid of Orleans, as she is named, had performed the first part of her mission; she now urged the king to set out for Rheims, that the whole might be fulfilled; and, though all the intermediate country was in the hands of the English and Burgundians, Charles and his ministers resolved to hearken to her. Attended by ten thousand horse, the king set forth; at Auxerre, the people, though they feared to open their gates, supplied him with provisions, troyes and

Chalons readily received him; the people of Rheims expelled their Burgundian garrison. The holy oil, brought, as the legend told, by a dove, from heaven to the coronation of Clovis, the founder of the monarchy, sanctified him (July 17) in the eyes of his people; and then the Maid, who held her banner at his side, fell on her knees, and declaring her mission ended, craved with tears to be dismissed. But unhappily for her, her further presence was deemed of too much importance: she was induced to remain, and a patent of nobility for herself and her family, with a pension equal to the income of a count, was conferred on her.

The duke of Bedford was now in a condition of great difficulty; he could obtain neither men nor money from home and disaffection was spreading all round him. Yet his abilities rose superior to his difficulties; he kept the duke of Burgundy steady, and having prevailed on his uncle the cardinal of Winchester to lend him five thousand men whom he was leading on a crusade against the Hussites of Bohemia, he advanced to engage king Charles. The armies came in view near Senlis; but the French, though greatly superior in number, thought on Azincourt and Verneuil, and feared to engage. Bedford withdrew to Normandy, and Charles then advanced to Paris. An attack was made on the fauxbourg of St. Honorc (Sept. 12); the Maid was wounded, and lay unnoticed in the ditch till the evening, when she was found by a party sent in quest of her. Charles then retired to Bourges for the winter.

The following spring (1430) the duke of Burgundy laid siege to Compeigne, A force led by the Maid advanced to its relief. On her way she routed a Burgundian corps; she surprised the post of Marigni (May 25), but reinforcements arriving she was forced to retire. In the retreat she repeatedly faced about on her pursuers; but at length an archer seized and dragged her off her horse. She surrendered to the bastard of Vendome, by whom she was conducted to John of Luxembourg, who commanded the army. The greatest rejoicings were made for her capture, the solemn *Te Deum* was sung at Paris, and Bedford purchased her at a large price from her captors.

The bishop of Beauvais, a creature of the English, forthwith jclaimed a right to try her for sorcery and imposture, as she was taken in his diocese; the university of Paris also demanded her trial. She was removed to Rouen, where a commission of prelates, among whom the cardinal of "Winchester alone was En*

glish, aided by the inquisitor-general, assembled to try her. She was produced before them in her male attire and laden with chains (Feb. 12, 1431), from which she prayed to be relieved. But as she had already attempted to escape, and declared she would *do* so again, her request was refused. She was brought sixteen times before the court; she answered all the questions put to her calmly and firmly; she maintained the reality of her visions and the truth of her mission; she was, however, condemned as a heretic, and sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm. The natural love of life then operated in her bosom, and she was induced to recant; she owned that her visions were illusions of the devil, and swore never again to wear man's attire. Her sentence was then commuted to perpetual imprisonment. But in her dungeon her visions returned, or, as it is said, her enemies left men's clothes in her cell, and being tempted at the sight to put them on, she was caught in them; and, as now guilty of a relapse, she was delivered over to the secular arm (May 30) in that form of mockery and insult which had been devised by the church for such occasions. She was led to the market-place, where the pile was formed. When the fire was kindled, she uttered loud exclamations; and as the flames enveloped her, she was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling on Christ for mercy.

Thus perished, in the twentieth year of her age, the heroic, the admirable Maid of Orleans, to whom, as our philosophic historian remarks, " the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars." She perished the victim of national enmity and of a sanguinary superstition. In excuse for her judges and enemies, can only be alleged the general belief in sorcery, in which they may have shared: for the heartless neglect of her by the French king and his nobles, after she had served their purpose, no excuse can be offered. It is but one instance among many of the selfishness and want of generosity which, we fear, form a part of the French national character. Posterity, however, has done justice to the noble Maid, and by none are her virtues more freely acknowledged or more warmly eulogised, and her hard fate more sincerely deplored, than by the descendants of those whom she deprived of dominion in France, and who in their ignorance and bigotry were the authors of her death *.

* Compare the Joan of Arc of Southey with the Pucelle of Voltaire.

The execution of the Maid produced none of the good effects expected from it; of as little effect was the coronation of the young king at Paris (Dec. 17); the petty warfare to which the want of means confined both parties was mostly to the disadvantage of the English. The death of the duchess ofBedford (1432) weakened the ties between the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, and the precipitate union of the latter in the following year with Jacquette of Luxembourg, a vassal of the former, greatly widened the breach. Burgundy began to listen to proposals for an accommodation with his sovereign; but as he had sworn not to make peace without the consent of the English, a congress for a general pacification, under the mediation of the pope, was proposed to be held at Arras. This congress met (1435) ; but either from the high demands of the English, or because it was not wished to conciliate them, all their proposals were rejected ; the cardinal of Winchester and the other English ministers withdrew, and peace was then made between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. To add to the ill fortune of the English, the great duke of Bedford died at Rouen while the congress was sitting at Arras (Sept. 14).

Bedford was succeeded by the duke of York, but ere he arrived the Parisians had admitted the French troops into the city; and lord Willoughby, the governor, having retired into the Bastille, was there forced to surrender. Lord Talbot sustained on various occasions the fame of the English arms, and when the duke of Burgundy was induced to declare against his former allies and laid siege to Calais (1436), the duke of Gloucester forced him to retire, and the following year the brave Talbot obliged him to raise the siege of Ootoi. A dreadful famine and pestilence then ravaged both countries during two successive years ; in 1440 the constable of France took the city of Meaux, while Talbot and the earl of Somerset recovered Harfleur, which the French had taken eight years before. The next event of importance was the capture of Pontoise by Charles in person (1441). In the two succeeding years the war was prosecuted both in the north and south, but nothing decisive occurred. Negotiations were then set on foot, and at length (1444) an armistice was concluded for two years.

Having briefly traced thus far the events of the war in France, we now return *to* the internal history of England,

As the young king advanced in years he developed a character the very opposite to that of his illustrious father. He was mild and pious, but of so slender a capacity and so feeble a temper, that it was evident he would never be able to govern himself, much less to rule a great kingdom, and that he would be nothing more than a mere puppet in the hands of Others. The court and parliament were divided into the factions of the cardinal and his nephew; the former ambitious, avaricious, and intriguing ; the latter generous, open, and impetuous. The great wealth which the cardinal had amassed enabled him to gain the favour of the needy king by making him loans of money, and his influence visibly predominated over that of Gloucester, lie was the advocate of peace with France, which Gloucester, filled with ideas of the glory acquired in the late reign, strenuously opposed. The question of the liberation of the duke of Orleaus, one of the princes taken at Azincourt, tried the strength of the two parties (1439), but the arguments and the opposition of Gloucester proved unavailing; he then stated his reasons in a detailed protest on the rolls of chancery ; and he entered his barge, to avoid being present when that prince was taking the oaths not to act against England.

About two years after (1441) the duchess of Gloucester was accused of treason and sorcery. The charge was, that with the aid of Roger Bolingbroke, one of the duke's chaplains, who was said to deal in the black art, and Margery Jourdemain the witch of Eye, she had made a waxen image of the king, to whom the duke was next heir, which was exposed to a gentle heat; for according to the rules of magic, as it melted away the king's health and strength would decline. She owned to having applied to the witch for love-potions to secure the affections of her husband, and to having directed Bolingbroke to calculate the duration of the king's life. The result was that Bolingbroke and Southwell, a canon of St. Paul's, were found guilty of treason; the latter died in prison, the former was executed; the witch was burnt by the church as a relapsed heretic; the duchess, after being made to walk three several times through the city without a hood and bearing a lighted taper, was consigned for life to the custody of sir John Stanley in the Isle of Man. It is probable enough that the charges made against the duchess were true. We have no direct **proof** that the cardinal had any coucern in the business, **but**

it is scarcely credible that any but the powerful faction of which he was the head would have ventured to offer so dire an insult to the first prince of the blood.

The marriage of the young king, who was now three-and-twenty, next came under consideration. It had been proposed to match him with a daughter of the count of Armagnac, whose territories bordered on Guienne; but this project, which had the full approval of Gloucester, was counteracted, and Charles on hearing of it made the count and his family prisoners. The cardinal and his party then cast their eyes on Margaret, daughter of Rene titular king of Jerusalem and Sicily, and duke of Anjou, Maine and Bar, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments and who gave promise of masculine energy of mind. That she would absolutely rule the feeble king waa not to be doubted ; and as she was nearly related to Charles, who had always shown much regard for her, it was perhaps hoped that she would be the means of procuring an honourable peace. Suffolk was sent over to negotiate the match, and of his own authority he not merely consented that the princess should be taken without dower, a thing of course to be expected, as Rene was but a royal pauper; but actually agreed that Anjou and Maine, which the English still held, should be restored to him, that is in effect be given up to the king of France. On Suffolk's return the majority of the council sanctioned what he had done; he was created a marquess, and sent back to espouse the princess as his royal master's proxy and conduct her to England. Henry met and married her at Titchfield in Sussex, and she was crowned with great magnificence at Westminster (May 30, 1445).

The absolute power of Margaret over her husband was soon apparent. Suffolk naturally stood high in her favour, and, united with the cardinal and his nephew, now duke of Somerset, they overbore all opposition and ruled the kingdom. We are in ignorance of the details of affairs for nearly two years; but on the 10th of February, 1447, a parliament met by summons at Bury St. Edmund's, to which the knights, of the shire were directed to repair in arms; guards were placed round the king's residence, and the men of Suffolk were arrayed. Gloucester came thither from his castle at Devizes; on the second day (11th) he was arrested on a charge of high treason; and on the eighteenth (28th) he was found dead in his bed. His death was ascribed to apoplexy or chagrin by those who maintained that it was natural; others, however, asserted that

he had been murdered. His body, like those of Edward II., Richard II., and Thomas of Gloucester, was exposed to public view, but these we know had all been murdered, Certain it is, that at the present day, and in free countries, state-prisoners do not die thus suddenly and opportunely. It is remarkable that a great part of his estates went to Suffolk and his relatives and friends, and that even before his death his county of Pembroke had been granted to that nobleman in case of his dying without issue. If he was murdered, Suffolk beyond doubt was guilty; his death, as the chronicler says, may have been "not unprocured" by the cardinal, and not unapproved by the young queen. The unhappy duchess was refused her dower. Five gentlemen of the duke's household were sentenced to death as sharers in his treasons. They were hung up, but immediately cut down and marked for quartering; when Suffolk, who was present, announced the king's pardon, and their lives were preserved.

The (hike of Gloucester was generally lamented, and the memory of the Good Duke Humphrey, as he was called, was long cherished. This prince had been honourably distinguished by his patronage of letters : his death, as we shall see, proved the ruin of the house of Lancaster, by opening a field to the ambition of a rival family.

The cardinal, whether guilty or innocent, followed his nephew to the grave within six weeks, lamenting, we are told, that money could not purchase life, and that he should be thus cut off, when, Gloucester being removed, he had hopes of the papal crown. It seems no doubt strange that such a notion should be entertained by a man eighty years old and with a mortal disease on him, but both public and private life yield abundant instances of similar fatuity. It is curious that, somewhat like the emperor Charles V., he caused his obsequies to be celebrated in his presence a short time before he died. The character of this prelate is thus drawn by the chronicler Hall: "More noble of blood than notable in learning, haut of stomach and high in countenance, rich above measure of all men and to few liberal, disdainful to his kin and dreadful to his lovers, preferring money before friendship, many things beginning and nothing performing."

The surrender of Maine and Anjou, the keys of Normandy, was speedily followed by the loss of that great province: town after town and castle after castle opened their gates or were taken by assault* The French troops were then led into

Guienne; no resistance was offered, and at length (1451) Calais alone remained of all the English conquests and possessions iu Franco.

The popular indignation in England was high, and was chiefly directed against the favourite Suffolk (now a duke). Moleyns the hishop of Chichester, who had had the inglorious task of delivering up Maine to the French, was slain in a popular commotion at Portsmouth; and it was said that before his death he declared that Suffolk was a traitor who had sold Maine to the French, and boasted of having as much influence in their council as in that of the English. Suffolk resolved to anticipate the stroke that he saw was aimed at him. When parliament met (Jan. 22), he rose, and addressing the king, said, that his father and his four brothers had lost their lives in the royal service in France ; that lie himself had served the king thirty-four years in arms ; that he hud been fifteen year;; of the king's council j that he had been born in England, where all his inheritance lay; and that therefore it was absurd to suppose he could be a traitor. He. then required that any one who would make a charge against him should- come forward and do so openly.

A *few* days after (28th), the commons having charged him with supplying his castle of Wallingford with provisions and stores for the purpose of aiding the king of France, he was committed to the Tower. Ten days later eight articles of impeachment were exhibited against him, of which the first and chief was that of having a design to set the crown, with the aid of the French king, on the head of his own son, whom he intended to marry to the heiress of the late John duke of Somerset, "presuming her to be the next inheritable to the crown." After a month's delay (March 7) the commons, probably aware of the futility of these articles, sent up sixteen new ones* charging him with embezzling the public money, advising the king to make improvident grants, giving office *to* improper persons, procuring pardons for traitors, etc. In his defence he treated the first article as ridiculous, since, as many peers then present well knew, he had intended to marry his son to a daughter of the earl of Warwick; as to the cession of Maine and Anjou, he was no more guilty (if it was a crime) than the other lords of the council or of parliament. The other charges he, said were frivolous and vexatious; of the second set of articles he took no notice*

As the commons seemed bent on his ruin, the following expedient was adopted to save him. The king, on his own authority, pronouncing him neither guilty nor innocent of treason, commanded him on the second impeachment to quit the kingdom for the space of five years. The parliament was then prorogued. The life of the duke was now openly threatened, and two thousand people met in St. Giles's fields to intercept him ; he however escaped down to his estates in Suffolk, and on the appointed day (April 30) he sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels. He sent a boat into Calais to know if he might land there; but the boat was detained, and the Nicholas of the Tower, a large vessel of the state carrying a hundred and fifty men, came alongside his bark and ordered him on board. "Welcome, traitor, as men say," cried the captain as he came on deck. He remained two nights in the Nicholas, his confessor being with him. He was put to a mock trial before the sailors and condemned to death ; and on the second morning a small boat with a block, a rusty sword and an executioner, came alongside. The duke was lowered into it ; and his head was severed from his body at the sixth blow. His body was placed on the sands at Dover, where it was watched by the sheriff of Kent till it was delivered to his widow by the king's order. No inquiry was instituted into this murder, as the parties who had planned and executed it were probably too powerful to be brought to justice.

The popular discontent, caused by the feebleness and corruption of the government and the disasters in France, and perhaps secretly excited by the partisans of the house of York, had already broken out in several places. But immediately after the murder of Suffolk a body of twenty thousand Kentishmen, led by a person of uncertain rank and origin* who was named John Cade, but assumed the name of Mortimer* appeared in arms at Blackheath (June 17). Two papers* named The Complaints of the Commons of Kent, and The Requests of the Captain of the great Assembly in Kent, were forwarded to the king. These contained sundry complaints of oppressive government, and concluded by requiring that the relatives of Suffolk should be banished from the court, and the dukes of York and Exeter, and some others who were named, be called to the king's councils; that those who had

* He was said to have been an Irishman. In a letter written at this time he is called Mr. John Aylmere, physician.

caused the deaths of the duke of Gloucester, cardinal Beaufort and the dukes of Exeter and Warwick, and occasioned the loss of the dominions in France, should be punished ; that all extortions should be abolished, and the great extortioners be brought to justice.

The king having collected a force the insurgents retired; but when sir Humphrey Stafford came up with them at Sevenoaks (24th), with a part of the royal forces, they turned and defeated and slew him. Cade then arrayed himself in the fallen knight's armour and led his men back to Blackheath. The king, rinding his men not inclined to fight, disbanded them and retired to Kenilworth, lord Scales with one thousand men undertaking the defence of the Tower. Cade then advanced to Southwark (July 1), and as the citizens had resolved to make no resistance he entered the city in triumph (3rd), giving strict orders to his men not to pillage, and in the evening he led them back to Southwark. Next day (1th) he returned, and having obliged the mayor and judges to sit at Guildhall, arraigned before them lord Say, the royal chamberlain, who, having vainly pleaded his privilege as a peer, was beheaded at the Standard in Cheapside, and his son-in-law Cromer, the sheriff of Kent, shared his fate.

Some pillage having been committed on the third day (5th), the citizens grew apprehensive, and they agreed to join lord Scales in defending the bridge. A conflict ensued during the night; the bridge was taken and retaken several times, but finally remained in the hands of the citizens. A short truce ensued (6th), during which the two archbishops, who were in the Tower, sent the bishop of Winchester over the river with pardons for those who would return to their homes. The pardons were gladly accepted and the insurgents dispersed. But Cade soon repented, and collected more men ; as their numbers, however, were not great, they retired from Southwark, and quarrelling on the way, their leader left them and fled toward Lewes, pursued by Iden, the sheriff of Kent, who slew him in a garden after an obstinate defence (9th). Iden received a reward of 1000 marks; several of the insurgents were afterwards executed as traitors ; some of whom, it is said, confessed that it had been their intention to place the duke of York on the throne.

The duke of York was now in Ireland, the government of which country had been given to him when he was deprived of that of Normandy, which he had held for some years, in

order to gratify Beaufort duke of Somerset, who coveted it. But the measures of this nobleman had been uniformly unfortunate; and his surrender of Caen, which belonged to the duke of York, had exasperated the mind of that prince against him. The queen's party being resolved to oppose Somerset to the duke of York, the latter, aware of their machinations, suddenly left Ireland and proceeded to his castle at Ludlow in Shropshire on the marches of Wales; and having assembled his retainers, set out for London, which he reached at the head of four thousand men, though a force under lord Lisle was sent to intercept him. He went to Westminster, knelt before the king, complained of the state of the kingdom, and implored him to summon a parliament. The king promised to do so, and the duke then retired to his castle of Fotheringay (Sept. 30). Somerset returned to England the following month at the desire of the queen and her party.

When parliament met (Nov. 6) York and Somerset mutually accused each other; a bill at the same time passed the commons to attaint the memory of the late duke of Suffolk, and to remove from court the duchess of Suffolk, the duke of Somerset, and some other lords. The king, as instructed, refused his assent, and the duchegs and some others having demanded a trial were tried and acquitted. For some months altercations in parliament and acts of violence out of it succeeded. At length the duke of York repaired to his castle of Ludlow and raised the tenants of the house of Mortimer. He then (1452) marched toward London, demanding a reformation of the government and the removal of Somerset. Finding the gates of the city closed against him he turned into Kent; the king followed at the head of a superior force; the duke encamped at Dartford, the king at Blackheath. A parley ensued, Somerset was placed under arrest, and York dismissed his army and visited the king in his tent unarmed (Mar. 1). Here, as he renewed his charges against Somerset, that nobleman stepped out from behind a curtain and offered to maintain his innocence, and York as he retired was arrested and carried to London. Somerset advised an instant trial and execution; but the king was averse from blood, and the news of the approach of York's son, the earl of March, with an army, intimidated the council. The duke was dismissed on renewing his oath of fealty, and he retired to his castle of Wigmore, in Herefordshire.

In the autumn of this year, the Gascons, weary of their new

masters, and finding the demand for their wines in England ou the decline, sent over a deputation offering to return to their allegiance. The venerable Talbot, now earl of Shrewsbury, was sent with a force of 4000 men; his son lord Lisle followed with an equal number. The whole Bordelais with Chatillon in Perigord submitted before the winter. The next year (1453) the count of Penthievre invested Chatillon with twenty-five thousand men; Talbot hastened to its relief; the French retired to an entrenched camp, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon. Talbot ordered an assault (July 20); in the action his horse was killed under him and his leg was broken, and as he lay he was slain with a bayonet; his son lost Ins life in attempting to rescue him, and the army dispersed and fled. Bordeaux, defended by six thousand citizens and four thousand English, held out till famine compelled it to surrender. The English were permitted to depart with their property, the citizens were received to favour, and Guienne was lost for ever to England.

Though this loss was a real gain, it was not so considered by the nation, and it augmented the odium under which the queen and her party lay. The birth of a prince, however (Oct. 13), extinguished the hopes which the duke of York entertained of a peaceable succession, and, instead *of* lightening, only darkened the political hemisphere. It was openly said by the people, that he was not the king's son ; " his noble mother/' says the chronicler, " sustained not a little disclaunder of the common people." The duke, however, was too moderate to take any direct advantage of such rumours, and had his enemies been equally so the subsequent disasters might perhaps have been averted. Unfortunately for the queen's party, the king a little before the birth of the prince had fallen into such a state of bodily as well as mental debility that he could no longer be made to enact the royal pageant with any propriety. This caused the return of the duke of York to the cabinet, and Somerset was speedily committed to the Tower. Early in the following year (1454), a committee of the peers having ascertained the total incapacity of the king, York was appointed Protector of the church and kingdom till the king should re~ cover or the prince be of age.

The following Christmas, however, the king having shown some glimpse of reason, advantage was taken of it to make him resume his authority ; and he forthwith deprived York of the protectorate, and released Somerset and restored him to favour (1455). York retired to his estates, and soon after

being joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Salisbury, and his son the earl of Warwick, he advanced toward London at the head of three thousand men. The royal phantom moved to meet them with a force of about two thousand men, and had only proceeded as far as St. Albans when the banners of the Yorkists were seen (May 22). The duke of Buckingham being sent to demand the cause of their appearance in arms, they replied by professions of the utmost loyalty, but required that Somerset and his associates should be given up to them as prisoners. Henry was made to return a stern reply, commanding them to disperse, and declaring his resolution to die rather than surrender any lord who was faithful to him. York forthwith assaulted the barriers, which were gallantly defended by lord Clifford. Warwick meantime forced his way through the gardens into the town, the harriers were soon burst, and the royalists turned and fled. This scufHe, which is dignified with the name of the battle of St. Albans, cost the king's party the lives of Somerset, Northumberland, Clifford, and about six score others *. Buckingham and his son were wounded, as also was the king himself in the neck ; he took refuge in the house of a tanner, where he was waited on by York with all humility and conducted to the abbey.

Writs were immediately issued in the king's name for a parliament, and when it met (July 9) the royal idiot appeared seated on his throne, and pronounced York and his friends guiltless of the slaughter of St. Albans, as their letters explaining their views and motives had been kept back by the arts of the late duke of Somerset. The parliament was then prorogued. When it met again (Nov. 12), the duke of York at the instance of the commons was once more declared protector in nearly the same terms as before. But this protectorate was also of brief duration, for on the re-assembling of parliament (Jan. 14, 1456) Henry was so well that the queen and her party had a sufficient pretext for asserting his sanity, and he went in person to the house (Feb. 25) and revoked the duke's commission. This prince made no opposition, and the royal puppet and his authority were henceforth wielded by the queen and her party.

During two years the ill-blood continued to ferment on

* We have here a glaring instance of how little the numbers given by late chroniclers are to be relied on. The number of the slain in the text is from the letter of one of the Pastons who had been in the battle, while Hall gives it at 8000, and Stowe at 5000.

both sides ; the nation gradually divided into the two parties of Yorkists and Lancastrians, and a civil war was evidently on the eve of breaking out. Still the primate Bourchier and Bome other moderate men thought that the evil might be averted, and the king at their suggestion directed (1458) that the heads of both parties should meet in London to compose the feuds caused by the affray at St. Albans. They therefore repaired thither with their retainers; the Yorkists were quartered within, the Lancastrians without the city ; sir Godfrey Bolcyn the lord-mayor, with five thousand armed citizens, was to keep the peace. York and his friends met every morning at the Blackfriars, the other party at the Whitefriars; the primate and other prelates went between them; and the proceedings were communicated to the king and the judges at Berkhampstead in the evening. An award was finally made, to which both agreed, and next day (Mar. 25) Henry went to St. Paul's with his whole court, the queen being led by the duke of York, the lords of each party walking arm-in-arm to exhibit the reconciliation to the eyes of the people.

Small, however, is the force of reconciliations when ambition, revenge, and other strong passions are at work. Not long after (Nov. 9), as Warwick was attending the court one day, a quarrel arose between one of his and one of the king's servants; the latter being wounded, his fellows armed themselves with gwords, spits, and forks, and assailed Warwick on his way from the council to his barge, and he escaped with difficulty out of their hands. Thinking that his life was no longer safe, and strongly suspecting the queen, he retired to his castle of Warwick, and thence went to Calais, of which place he was governor. All confidence was now at au end; both parties prepared for arms; and a civil war, which was to fill England with blood and misery, was no longer to be averted.

As the duke of York now first advanced his claim to the crown, we will pause in our narrative to examine the state of the case between him and the king.

The king derived his title from Henry IV., who was undoubtedly raised to the throne by the choice of the nation. His house had now exercised dominion for sixty years, and had received repeated and voluntary oaths of allegiance from the whole nation, and, from the successive heads of the house of York j it had therefore everything on its side but hereditary right; but if sixty years' undisturbed possession did not suffice to efface any claims to the contrary, what length of time

would suffice? And how therefore could any descendant of Edward III. have a better or so good a claim as the king of Scots, for instance, who was the representative of the Saxon Une? Nay, Wales, as it has been said, might send forth descendants of British princes to assert a right of still more remote antiquity, of which force alone had deprived them. To reasoning of this kind the Yorkists had only to oppose the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right; but their chief reliance was on the amiable and popular character of their chief, and on the odium which the queen and her party had drawn on themselves by their arbitrary and oppressive government; for the innocent king was to the last an object of popular favour. The strength of the Yorkists lay in London and the adjoining counties, and in general among the middle and lower orders; the duke's main supporters among the nobility were his brother-in-law, Neville earl of Salisbury and his son the earl of Warwick, and Mowbray earl of Norfolk, but the far larger portion of the nobility were faithful to the king, and [li] the rose of Lancaster blushed upon the banners of the Staffords, the Percies, the Veres, the Hollands, the Courtneys*," the Cliffords, the Talbots, and other illustrious names. As the red rose was the cognisance of the house of Lancaster and the white of that of York, the war is named that of the Roses.

» To return to the narrative. A plan for a simultaneous rising was arranged between York, Salisbury and Warwick. The court, aware of the coming contest, distributed in profusion collars of white swans, the badge of the young prince, and invited the king's friends to meet him in arms at Leicester. The winter was spent in preparations on both sides; the-ensuing spring and summer (1459) passed away in inactivity. At length Salisbury set out from his castle of Middleham in Yorkshire to join the duke of York at Ludlow. Lord Audley lay with ten thousand men at Bloreheath in Staffordshire to intercept him. Salisbury, whose force was small, feigned a flight; Audley pursued; Salisbury crossed a rapid stream in a valley, and when one half of the pursuers were over it he turned and completely defeated them (Sept. 23). Audley and two thousand men were slain, lord Dudley and several others were taken.

* Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 293. This author's judicious remarks on this point should be read, and also those of Mackintosh. See also a valuable note in Turner's History of England (vol. iii. 171, 8vo edit.), showing how almost every dynasty since the Conquest has reigned by parliamentary in opposition to hereditary right.

Salisbury met the duke at Ludlow, where they were soon joined by Warwick with a large body of veterans from Calais under sir John Blount and sir Andrew Trollop. The royal army of sixty thousand men meantime was advancing from Worcester. Offers of pardon if they submitted were sent to the Yorkists, who replied that they had only taken up arms in their own defence and were loyal to the king. Both sides prepared for action; but in the night (Oct. 13) Trollop went over to the king with his veterans, and his defection caused such distrust and dismay in the Yorkists that they separated without striking a blow. York retired to Ireland ; his son the earl of March, Salisbury and Warwick fled to Devon, and thence to Calais.

A parliament was held shortly after at Coventry, and an act of attainder was passed against York, Salisbury, their wives and children, and Warwick, Lord Clinton and some others. Their party, however, did not remit in its activity ; and the following June (1460), when Warwick landed in Kent with a small force of fifteen hundred men, he was joined by the primate, by lord Cobham, and most of the gentry of the county. By the time he reached London he found himself at the head of twenty-five thousand men ; the city gladly received him ; he then set out to engage the royal forces which lay at Northampton. Lord Grey de Ruthyn having betrayed his post to the Yorkists, they obtained (July 10) an easy victory ; the duke of Buckingham, the carl of Shrewsbury, lord Beaumont, and about three hundred knights and gentlemen were slain on the royal side. Ilenry, who was found in his tent, was treated with every mark of respect by the victors; the queen and the prince escaped into Wales, and thence sailed to Scotland.

Henry was conveyed to London, where he was made to issue writs for a new parliament. But it had hardly met and reversed the acts of that of Coventry, when the duke of York, who had returned from Ireland, reached London at the head of five hundred horsemen, and going straight to Westminster and passing through the hall entered the upper house, and there stood with his hand on the throne. The primate asked him if he would not visit the king; he replied, " I know no one in this realm who ought not rather to visit me. " He then went and occupied the royal apartments. Six days after (Oct. 16) the duke sent to the chancellor a statement of his claim to the crown, as representative of Lionel duke of Clarence, requesting a speedy answer. The chancellor asked if this paper should be read; the peers replied that it should, but not be

answered without the king's command. Next day they went in a body to the king, who, having briefly and strongly stated the foundations of his rights, directed them to search for proofs against the claim of the duke. The lords then sent for the judges, but they declined to interfere, as by their office they were not to act as counsel between party and party. The king's Serjeants and attorney also sought to excuse themselves; but their excuses were not admitted, and they were ordered to draw up an answer. In this were urged the oaths of fealty taken to the present family, and the various acts of parliament and entails of the crown. The duke's counsel replied that unlawful oaths are not binding, and that acts of parliament and entails are of no force against the rightful heir. The lords finally proposed a compromise, that the duke's claim should be acknowledged, but that Henry should retain the crown for his life, and at his death it should pass to the duke and his heirs. To this both agreed; the royal assent was given to a bill to this effect, and the king then wearing the crown went in state to St. Paul's, the duke attending as heir-apparent.

The high-spirited queen, however, would not thus tamely surrender the rights of her son; she was now in the north, where the earl of Northumberland and the lords Clifford, Dacres, and Neville had armed their followers in her cause; and at York they were joined by the duke of Somerset* and earl of Devon, with their tenants from the west. The duke of York set out with about five thousand men to oppose them, and a few days before Christmas he arrived at Sandal Castle, near Wakefield. Here Salisbury and his other friends advised him to wait till the earl of March should arrive with succours; but whether urged by his chivalrous spirit or from some other cause, he accepted the challenge of the enemy, and marched into Wakefield Green (Dec. 30), where he was instantly assailed on all sides. The rout of the Yorkists was speedy and complete; upwards of two thousand men lay on the Green, the duke himself was taken prisoner: his captors, we are told, led him to an ant-hill, and placing him on it as on a throne set a crown of twisted grass on his head, and bending the knee to him in derision, cried, "Hail, king without a kingdom! Hail, prince without a people!" They then struck off his head, which Clifford presented on a pole to the queen, saying, "Madam, your war is done; here is the ransom of your king.'* She burst into laughter, and, when she had glutted her eyes

* Son of him who was slain at St. Albans.

with the sight, sent it to be fixed on the walls of York. Salisbury and twelve other leaders who were captured were beheaded the next day at Pontefract. In the pursuit lord Clifford had overtaken on the bridge the earl of Rutland, a youth of about seventeen years of age, whom his tutor a venerable priest was conveying to a place of safety: struck by his appearance and attire, he loudly demanded who he was; the terrified boy fell on his knees to sue for mercy. "Save him," cried the tutor; "he is the son of a prince, and mayhap may do you good hereafter." "The son of York!" shouted the ruthless savage; "as thy father slew mine, so will I slay thee and all of thy kin," and plunged his dagger into the bosom of the helpless suppliant.

The earl of March was at Gloucester when he heard of the defeat and death of his father. As he had with him a force of twenty-three thousand men, he was preparing to march against the queen, but the carls of Pembroke and Ormond hung *on* his rear with a body of Welsh and Irish. He therefore turned and gave them battle, and a total defeat (Feb. 1, 1461) at Mortimer's Cross near Hereford. Ormond and Pembroke escaped, but Owen Tudor, the father of the latter, was taken, and with some other leaders beheaded next day at Hereford, in retaliation for the executions at Wakefield. The queen meantime advanced toward London with her borderers, to whom their leaders had promised the pillage of the country south of the Trent. Warwick and the duke of Norfolk taking the king with them, placed themselves at St. Albans to oppose her. An engagement ensued (17th), which ended in the defeat of the Yorkists, who lost two thousand men. Henry was left in his tent with lord Bonville and sir Thomas Kyriel, to whom he had promised his protection; but Margaret little heeded *his* promises, and they were beheaded the next day. Her troops pillaged the country round; but London and the adjacent counties remained steady to the cause of York. Edward soon advanced and united his forces with those of Warwick; the queen found it necessary to return with all speed to the north, and Edward entered London (25th) in triumph. A few days after (Mar. 3) the lord Falconbridge* and the bishop of Exeter harangued the people assembled in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, on the bad title of Henry and the good one of Edward to the crown. Falconbridge then asked them if they would have Henry of Lancaster for their king; loud cries of "No, no!" arose: he then asked if they would love and obey Ed-

* Brother to salishury and uncle to Warwick.

ward, earl of March, as their sovereign lord; "Yea, yea!" cried they, "King Edward!" and shouted and clapped their hands. • Next day (4th), in a great council it was resolved that Henry, by joining the queen's forces, had violated the award, and therefore forfeited the crown, and Edward was forthwith proclaimed king.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD IV.

1461-1483.

THE new monarch found it necessary to take the field again in a few days. The Lancastrians, to the number of sixty thousand men, having taken their station at York, Edward and Warwick left London to engage them ; and when they reached Pontefract their forces amounted to forty-nine thousand men. As it was of importance to secure the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge, lord Fitzwaltor was sent forward for that purpose ; he effected his object, but shortly after lie was attacked and slain by lord Clifford, who in his turn was within a few hours slain by lord Faleonbridge, and the passage recovered. The Yorkists then crossed the river, and next morning (Mar. 29) in the plain between the villages of Tow ton and Saxton a general engagement commenced, under a henvy fall of snow, which drove in the faces of the Lancastrians. Both sides fought with obstinacy till toward evening, when the Lancastrians gave way* ; tiny retired in good order till they reached the river Cock, where they broke and fled in all directions. Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, and nearly one half of the Lancastrians perishedf. The earl of Northumberland and six barons were slain ; the earls of Devon and Wiltshire were taken in the pursuit; the dukes of Somerset and Exeter reached York, whence they conveyed the king and queen to the borders.

* According to the fragment published by Hcarne, the action began at 4 o'clock in the evening of Saturday (Mar. 29), was continued through the night, and was decided next day (Palm Sunday) at noon by the arrival of the duke of Norfolk, with a reinforcement to Edward.

f The number of the slain on both sides was stated variously at from 30,000 to 37,000.

The morning after this decisive victory Edward entered York. The heads of his father and friends were taken down from the gates by his orders, and replaced by those of Devon and Wiltshire. Thence he proceeded to Newcastle, and then returned to London, where he was crowned with great magnificence (June 29). On this occasion he created his younger brothers George and Richard dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. A parliament met immediately; the last three kings were declared usurpers; their grants, with a few exceptions, were revoked, but their judicial acts and the honours conferred by them were ratified. A bill of attainder was then passed against Henry, his wife and son, Somerset, Exeter, Northumberland, Devon, Wiltshire, and other nobles, knights, esquires and priests, to the number of one hundred and fifty. The avowed object was the annihilation of the Lancastrian party; it may also have been intended to provide rewards for the victors.

Meantime Margaret was making every effort to renew the contest. By the surrender of Berwick the aid of the Scots was obtained, ami the queen then sailed (1462) to the continent to try to raise men and money. From the duke of Brittany she obtained a present of twelve thousand crowns, and Louis XI. of Prance lent her twenty thousand on the security of Calais, and gave Breze the seneschal of Normandy permission to aid her with two thousand men. After an absence of live months she landed with her French auxiliaries in Northumberland. Both English and Seottish borderers repaired to her standard; the castles of Alnwick, Bamborough and Dunstauhurgh were taken, and fortune seemed to sinile. But when Warwick appeared with twenty thousand men, and rumour told of the approach of Edward with ft larger force, her troops lost courage and dispersed to garrison these three fortresses. The queen embarked With the French; a Storm scattered her fleet; and she and Breze, after witnessing the loss of her treasure in the tempest, escaped in a fishing-boat to Berwick. Edward advanced to Newcastle, and then returned to London, leaving Warwick to besiege the fortresses. After an obstinate resistance they were surrendered, on condition of the duke of Somerset, sir Richard Percy and some others being pardoned and restored to their estates and honours, and the garrisons being conducted to Scotland.

During this winter-campaign, as Margaret, her son, and Braze were riding through a forest, they were *seized* and

robbed by a party of bandits. While the robbers were quarrelling about the booty, the queen contrived to steal away with the prince, and plunged into the depths of the wood. As she was wandering about she encountered a single robber : escape being hopeless, she boldly went up to him and said, " Friend, I commit to thy care the son of thy king." The outlaw was not without feelings of generosity j he accepted the charge, and conducted them in safety to their friends. In the spring (1463), the queen, the duke of Exeter, Breze and two hundred others sailed to Flanders. She thence proceeded to her father's duchy of Bar, where she remained watching-the progress of events. Henry meantime was protected by a Welsh knight in his castle.

Still the spirit of the Lancastrians was unbroken, and the next year (1464) Henry was summoned from his retreat to put himself at the head of a body of exiles and Scots. Somerset and Percy, heedless of their oaths, resumed their arms; and sir Ralph *Grey,* a Yorkist, thinking himself ill-used by Edward, seized the castle of Alnwick. But lord Montague, Warwick's brother, warden of the east marches, defeated and killed Percy at lledgeley-moor (Apr. 25), and then at the head of four thousand men advanced against Somerset, who was encamped with a small force of not more it is said than five hundred men, on the banks of the Dilswater near Hexham (May 15). The defeat of the Lancastrians was immediate ; Somerset was taken and beheaded the same day; a similar fate befell the lords Roos and Hungerford and others. Grey was taken at Bamborough, and was executed as a traitor at Doncaster.

The unfortunate Henry, who had been at Hexham, had fled before the arrival of Montague. He was closely pursued; three of his servants were taken in their gowns of blue velvet, one of them bearing his cap of estate, which was embroidered with two crowns and adorned with pearls. He however escaped into Lancashire, where he was concealed by his friends for more, than a year. At length a treacherous monk gave information to sir James Harrington, who seized him as he was sitting at dinner at Waddington-hall. He was forwarded to London. At Islington he was met by Warwick; orders were given that no respect should be shown him; his legs were tied under the belly of the horse on which he was placed; he was led thrice round the pillory, and then consigned to the

Tower, where, however, he was treated with humanity. The services of Montague were rewarded by the earldom of Northumberland. Fresh attainders were passed against the Lancastrians, whose estates went to reward the victors; but these were followed by an act of amnesty ; treaties of alliance were formed with most foreign princes ; and Edward, deeming himself secure on the throne, launched into pleasure, leaving the charge of affairs to the Nevilles, namely Warwick, Northumberland, and their brother George archbishop of York and chancellor.

The Nevilles were urgent with the king to marry some foreign princess, but it was not now in his power to comply. As he was one day hunting in Northamptonshire he called to visit Jacquette duchess-dowager of Bedford, who had given ber hand to a knight named sir Richard Woodvillc of Grafton in that county. While he was there, the duchess's daughter Elizabeth, the widow of sir John Gray of Groby, who had fallen on the Lancastrian side in the second battle of St. Albans, came and threw herself at his feet, imploring him to reverse her husband's attainder in favour of her innocent children. Edward was moved to pity; though the countenance of the fair suitor was not beautiful, her manners were graceful and winning, her form elegant, and her language and sentiments distinguished by wit and propriety. Her suit was listened to with favour. Love soon took the place of pity : the virtue, the prudence, or the ambition of Elizabeth was proof against temptation; the wishes of the monarch could only be gratified under the sanction of marriage, and to this he resolved to stoop. About the end of April he repaired to Stony Stratford, and early in the morning of May day he stole over to Grafton, where a priest united him to the fair relict in the presence of his clerk, the duchess, and two of her female attendants, Edward stayed an hour or two and then returned to Stratford, and went to bed pretending to be fatigued with hunting. Two days after he invited himself and his train to Grafton, where he remained four days, never entering the chamber of his bride till the duchess had ascertained that all were retired to rest. He then set out for the north, but the days of Hedgeley-moor tad Hexham had occurred before he arrived.

On his return Edward resolved to acknowledge his wife as queen. A general council of the peers having met on his summons at Reading-abbey the following Michaelmas, Elizabeth

was led in by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, and was by all saluted as queen. In the May of the following year (1465) her uncle James of Luxembourg, having been invited over to give her dignity in the eyes of those who objected to the humbleness of her birth, the ceremony of her coronation was performed. Her influence over the king was soon apparent in the advancement of her family: her father was created earl Rivers, and made first treasurer, and then lord high constable; her five sisters were married to young noblemen of the highest rank ; her brother Anthony to the heiress of Lord Scales ; and her brother John, a youth of twenty, to the wealthy dowager duchess of Norfolk now in her eightieth year ! To the queen's own son Thomas was given the king's niece the heiress of Exeter, and he was created marquess of Dorset.

These promotions of the upstart Woodvilles naturally excited the jealousy of the Nevilles, who had expected to have a monopoly of power under the prince whom they had placed on the throne ; and the king on his side, urged by the Woodvilles, became gradually estranged from them. The change was first manifested on the occasion of the marriage of the king's sister Margaret (1467). It was proposed to give her to the son and heir of the duke of Burgundy. Warwick, who was the avowed enemy of that prince, was for an alliance with one of the French princes. He was let to go over to Rouen to treat with Louis X I . for the purpose ; but during his absence negotiations were carried on with the court of Burgundy, which ended in the marriage of Margaret into that house. Warwick on his return retired in discontent to his castle of Middleham ; a reconciliation, however, was effected between the king and him, and when the princess was conducted by her brother to the coast, she rode, according to the fashion of the time, behind the earl of Warwick.

The next transaction of importance which we meet is the marriage of the duke of Clarence with the daughter of Warwick, in spite of the efforts of the king to prevent it (1469). The marriage took place at Calais (July 11), and it is singular' that at this very time an insurrection of the peasantry broke out in Yorkshire, the country in which the influence of the Nevilles chiefly lay. By a law of king Athelstan the hospital of St. Leonard's near York had a right to a thrave of corn off each ploughland in the county. The peasantry com* plained of abuse of these funds, and at length refused payment;

the officers distrained and imprisoned them; they flew to arms, and, to the number of fifteen thousand, under one Robert Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Redesdale, marched against York. They were there, however, attacked and routed by the earl of Northumberland, and their leader was taken and executed. But the insurrection now changed its character; the sons of the lords Fitz-Hugh and Latimer the nephew and cousin of Warwick, aided by the advice of sir John Conyers, an experienced officer, placed themselves at the head of it. The removal of the Woodvilles, the fancied authors of all the taxes and oppressions of which the people complained, was the ostensive object. The name of Warwick was freely used, and in a few days the insurgents amounted to 60,000 men.

The king was in great perplexity; he wrote to Clarence and Warwick to hasten from Calais to him; lord Herbert advanced from Wales with eight thousand men, and lord Stafford joined him at Banbury with five thousand; but a dispute arising about their quarters at an inn, Stafford retired to some distance, and the rebels next day (July 26) fell at Edgecote on Herbert and killed him and five thousand of his men. In the pursuit the victors found lord Rivers and his son John in their house at Grafton and brought them to Northampton, where they were executed by a real or pretended order from Clarence and Warwick.

These two noblemen were now arrived; they met the king at Olney, and they actually placed him in confinement at Middleham under the custody of the archbishop of York. But a rising of the Lancastrians on the borders* obliged them to come to terms with him and set him at liberty. This was followed by a general pardon, and by the promise of the king's eldest daughter to George son of Northumberland, and presumptive heir to the three Nevilles, who was created duke of Bedford to raise him nearer in rank to the young princess. Yet it would seem that the reconciliation was anything but sincere; for not long after (1470), when the king went to an entertainment given by the archbishop at his seat the Moor in Herts, as he was washing his hands before supper, it was whispered to him that one hundred men were lying in ambush to seize and carry him off. Without any inquiry he stole to

. * It was headed by sir Humphrey Neville. Alter the battle of Hexham this knight had remained for five years concealed in a cavern opening into the river Derwent.

the door, mounted his horse and rode to Windsor. Under the mediation of the king's mother, however, a new reconciliation Was effected.

Just at this time occurred a rising in Lincolnshire, headed by sir Robert Welles. The extortion of the royal purveyors was the ostensible, probably the real ground j whether Warwick had anything to do with it cannot be said with certainty ; the king, however, gave him and Clarence a commission to raise troops. Lord Welles, the father of sir Robert, fled to Sanctuary when summoned to the royal presence; he and sir Thomas Dymock his companion, however, came forth on the promise of a pardon ; but, as sir Robert did not lay down his arms, the king in violation of his word beheaded them both. He gave the insurgents a defeat at Erpingham in Rutlandghire* (Mar. 12), and their leaders Welles and sir Charles Delalaunde were taken and beheaded.

On the defeat of the rebels, Clarence and Warwick moved toward Manchester, in hopes that lord Stanley who was married to Warwick's sister would join them. Ou his refusal they turned southwards, and, being proclaimed traitors and pursued by the royal forces, they embarked at Dartmouth (Apr. 15) and made sail for Calais. But Vauclerc, a Gascon whom Warwick had left in command there, had resolved to play a double game ; and while he turned the guns on them, and even refused to allow the duchess of Clarence who was ill to land, he sent secretly to assure Warwick of his own fidelity, but declared to him that the garrison could not be depended on ; at the same time he sent protestations of his loyalty to the king. Warwick, feigning to be satisfied, sailed for Normandy, capturing what Flemish vessels he met; and landing at Harfleur, he and Clarence proceeded by invitation to the French court at Amboise, whither king Louis X I . also invited queen Margaret; and though she and Warwick hated one another mortally, and had most abundant reason so to do, the able monarch at length effected a reconciliation between them. Prince Edward married Warwick's second daughter Anne; it was agreed that all should unite to restore Henry to the throne, and if the prince should die without issue the crown was to go to Clarence. This prince, however, who had hoped

* This was popularly called the battle of Lose-coat Field, because the fugitives threw away their coats-of-mail to escape.

to wrest the sceptre from his brother, was by no means pleased with this new arrangement; and he listened readily to the secret proposals made to him by king Edward through a lady of his duchess' train who had been left behind in England, and engaged to prove a loyal subject on due occasion.

Preparations were now made for the invasion of England, where Edward was passing his time in thoughtless gaiety. His more active brother-in-law of Burgundy sent a fleet to blockade the mouth of the Seine; but a storm dispersed it, and the exiles effected their landing at Plymouth (Sept. 13). "Warwick proclaimed king Henry, and summoned in his name all men from sixteen to sixty to his standard. He inarched in a direct lino for Nottingham (his forces increasing at every step), as Edward had been drawn to the north by a pretended rising of Warwick's brother-in-law the lord Fitz-IIugh. Edward had summoned his friends *to* Doncaster ; few came, and many of these soon went away again. One night, while lie was in bed, intelligence came that Warwick was at hand; this was followed by tidings of six thousand of his troops having at the instigation of the marquess of Montague flung away the white rose, and, tossing their bonnets into the air, shouted " God bless king Harry ! " No time was to be lost. He mounted his horse and rode to the town of Lynn, where -finding three ships, he embarked with about eight hundred followers, and making the mariners set sail for Holland (Oct. 3), landed near Alkmaar, whence he proceeded to the Hague.

Warwick and Clarence hastened to London; king Henry was taken from the Tower, and walked in procession with the crown on his head to St. Paul's (Oct. 13). A parliament was summoned, which among other acts confirmed the treaty of Amboise, and restored the Lancastrian lords who had lost their lands and honours. The Nevilles of course were reinstated in their former posts and offices, but their triumph, *to* their credit, was not sanguinary. No blood was shed but that of Tiptoft earl of Worcester, whose cruelty in his office of constable had earned him the title of *butcher* : he was taken on the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, and was tried before the earl of Oxford, condemned and executed. This nobleman was distinguished by his cultivation and patronage of literature, but letters did not produce on his mind the humanising effect perhaps too indiscriminately ascribed to them.

It was not long, however, till Edward was again in arms (1471). The duke of Burgundy, afraid to assist him openly,

sent him in secret 50,000 florins, and hired ships in which he and his followers embarked for England. Repulsed on the coast of Suffolk he steered for the Humber, and landed like Henry IV. at Ravenspur (Mar. 14). Imitating that prince, he pretended that he came only to claim the estates of the house of York, and his followers shouted "Long live king Henry!" as they passed through the towns and -villages. At York he swore on the altar that he had no cfesign on the crown. He passed near Pontefract, where Montague lay with a large force. Messages passed between them, and he went on unimpeded: his partizans flocked to him, and at Nottingham he saw himself at the head of a respectable force. He now flung off the mask; Clarence did the same; he ordered the men whom he had raised in the name of Henry to place the white rose on their gorgets, and joined his brother. Warwick, who had advanced to Coventry, having declined the combat which was proffered, Edward pushed on for London where his party was strong; for most of the wealthy citizens were his creditors; the city dames too were all in the interest of the gay and gallant monarch, and there were about two thousand of his partizans in sanctuary ready to break out when necessary. The archbishop of York, who had charge of the city, false as usual, caused him to be admitted, and swore allegiance to him. Edward, taking Henry with him, advanced to Barnet to meet Warwick, who was now approaching. Clarence sent to his father-in-law offering to mediate: "Go tell your master, that Warwick, true to his word, is a better man than the false and perjured Clarence," was the indignant reply. Next morning (Easter day, Apr. 14) before sunrise both armies were drawn out. The battle lasted six hours; at one time the Yorkists had the worst of it, and tidings of their defeat were conveyed to the city, but a mistake is said to have decided the fortune of the day. Edward's men wore on back and breast his badge, a sun; the earl of Oxford's men wore *his*, a star with rays, and Warwick's men taking them for enemies charged and drove them off the field. Warwick and Montague were both slain, Exeter was left for dead, Somerset and Oxford alone of the Lancastrian leaders escaped. Important as was this victory, we are told by an eye-witness that the whole number of the slain did not exceed eleven hundred. Edward returned to London in triumph; Henry was once more consigned to his prison in the Tower; the bodies of Warwick **and** Montague, after being exposed to public view for three

days at St. Paul's, were buried at Bilsam abbey. Thus at length perished in battle the renowned earl of Warwick, the King-maker as he was called, it being the popular belief that the crown would always fall to the side which he espoused. It has been truly said of him that "he was distinguished by all the good and bad qualities which shine with most lustre in a barbarous age."

But another contest awaited Edward. The very day of the battle of Barnet queen Margaret landed at Plymouth. When she heard of that fatal event her firm spirit gave way, she sank to the ground in despair, and then took sanctuary with her son at the abbey of Beaulieu, in the New Forest; but the earl of Devon, the lords Wcnlock and St. John and others recalled her to energy. She advanced to Bath, where many resorted to her standard, and it was resolved to try to effect a junction with the earl of Pembroke, who had a large force in Wales. But the people of Gloucester had secured the only bridge over the Severn, and when she came to Tewkesbury she learned that Edward was at hand with a more numerous army. The Lancastrians took their post in a strong enclosure without the town (May 4). Edward on coming up ordered his brother the duke of Gloucester who led the van to attack them; they gallantly repelled the assaults of the Yorkists. But the duke of Somerset sallying forth with a part of the troops, while lord Wenlock kept back the remainder, his men were driven back and cut to pieces; and the Yorkists then rushed in; Somerset in his rage rode up to Wenlock and clove his skull with his battle-axe. The queen and prince were made prisoners: the latter, it is said, being led before Edward in his tent, the victor demanded what had brought him to England. "To recover my father's kingdom and heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him to me lineally descended," replied the undaunted youth. Edward struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and Clarence, Gloucester, Hastings and Dorset instantly despatched him with their swords *. The queen remained a prisoner.

The earl of Devon, sir Edmund Hampden, and about three thousand soldiers, fell on the side of the Lancastrians. Somerset, St. John, and some others sought refuge in the church of

* In the Harleian MS., followed by Mr. Turner, it is said that he was taken *' fleinge to the towne wards and slayne in the fielde." Another MS. says that he fell in battle *(ceciderat belligerens)*. We do not think, however, with Mr. Turner that these are positive contradictions of the common story.

the abbey; and when Edward entered it to return thanks for his victory, he granted a free pardon to all who were in it. Two days after, however, he repented of his mercy; they were dragged out, tried before a military tribunal and beheaded.

Edward re-entered London on the morning of Ascension-eve (May 22), and that evening the life of Henry was terminated by grief, as it was given out, but more probably (nay, we might say certainly) by order of Edward, who wished to put a complete end to the hopes of the Lancastrians. The reason why he had not done so before is plain,—it would have been a useless crime as long as prince Edward lived. The actual guilt of the murder lias been charged on the duke of Gloucester, but without sufficient evidence. The body, having been exposed like those of other murdered princes, was interred at Chertsey, and it soon was given out that miracles were performed at the tomb of that pious innocent monarch, who was revered as a martyr by his party.

Victorious over the Lancastrians, Edward now resolved on a war with France, and a league for this purpose was formed with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. Parliament was always liberal on occasion of these unjust and ridiculous claims to the crown of France; but their liberality not sufficing, Edward had recourse to a novel expedient; he summonedthemostwealthy citizens before him, and pretending to be very poor begged that they would supply his wants. None of course dared to refuse, and the king facetiously named these compulsory gifts *benevolences*. In 14/5 he passed over to Calais with fifteen hundred men-at-arms and fifteen thousand archers, and summoned the duke of Burgundy to join him ; but that prince had already exhausted his resources, and Louis, who had no desire for a war, learning that lords Howard and Stanley and others were as little inclined to it, and Edward himself not extremely anxious for it, sent proposals of peace, and a truce was concluded for seven years. Edward was to be paid 75,000 crowns down and 50,000 crowns a-year; the dauphin was to marry the princess Elizabeth, his eldest daughter ; queen Margaret was to be liberated, on the payment of 50,000 crowns by Louis*. The two monarchs then had a personal interview on the bridge of Pecquigny near Amiens. A grating of wood was placed across it to prevent any treachery, and they conversed familiarly for some time. To keep up his influence in the English councils and avert future wars, Louis settled pensions on lord Has-

* Margaret died a few years after at the chateau of Dampierre near Sauruur.

tings, lord Dorset and others of the king's ministers and favourites.

The duke of Clarence had perhaps never recovered the place which he had held in the king's mind previous to his union with Warwick, and he had now also a powerful enemy in his younger brother Richard; for this ambitious youth, in order to gain a share of the immense possessions of Warwick, had formed a plan to marry the young widow of the late prince of Wales; while Clarence, who grasped at the whole inheritance, strove as much as he could to conceal his sister-in-law, who after a search of some months was found disguised as a cook-maid in London. Richard then espoused her, and arbitrators appointed by the king divided the property between them; but hatred still rankled in the bosoms of the brothers. After the end of the French war, the king, *to* avoid the odium of taxation, resumed most of the grants made of late years. Clarence by this regulation lost several estates, and he withdrew in anger from court. Some time after his duchess died (1476) ; and as the duke of Burgundy had been slain at Nanci, and his daughter Mary by his first marriage became the heiress of his dominions, Clarence, aided by his sister the dowager-duchess, sought the hand of the princess; but the king, from dislike and jealousy of him, gave every opposition in his power. It is also said that the queen was hostile to him on this account, as her own brother lord Rivers had presumed to aspire to the hand of the heiress of Burgundy. He thus had powerful enemies and few friends.

It happened one day, it is said, that as the king was hunting at Harrow in Warwickshire, the spat of a gentleman named Thomas Burdett who was in the service of Clarence, he killed a white stag, the favourite of the owner. Burdett, on hearing of the death of his stag, in his grief and anger wished that its horns were in the belly of him who killed it. It is not clear whether he knew that the king was the person; he was however thrown into prison, tried, and executed for treason*. About this time too, one Stacey, a clergyman and chaplain to Clarence, was accused of magic and executed for this offence. Clarence loudly asserted the innocence of his friends; his words were repeated with exaggeration to the

* Such is the common story as told by More, Hollingshed and others. The indictment against Burdett says nothing of it; it charges him with conspiring with Stacey and another to calculate the nativities of the kiug and his son, to know when they should die, and with distributing seditious verses in Holborn.

king, who committed him to the Tower, and then summoning a parliament (1478) accused him before it of high-treason. He was found guilty, sentence of death was passed on him, and he was re-committed to the Tower. His death was announced about ten days after; the manner of it is uncertain; the common report was that he was given his choice, and selected drowning in a hutt of malmsey. His brother, it is said, afterwards regretted his severity to him. As the chief gainers by the death of Clarence were the queen's family, it is not unlikely that they had stimulated the cruelty of the king.

The remaining events of Edward's reign were of little importance. While, enraged at the, perfidious conduct of Louis respecting the marriage of the dauphin to his daughter, he was meditating war against him, he was seized with a disease which proved fatal. He died (Apr. *6,* 1483) in the forty-second year of his age and twenty-third of his reign. On his death-bed he directed that restitution out of his treasures should be made to those whom he had wronged or from whom he had extorted benevolences.

Edward was remarkably handsome in person, though toward the close of his life he became extremely corpulent. He was addicted to pleasure and indulgence of every kind. In his family he WHS kind and affectionate, and though notoriously faithless to his queen, he was lavish in his grants to her and her relations. Like Mark Antony, whom he resembled in many points, he united with his love of pleasure a great capacity for business, a dauntless valour, and much skill in the field ; but his conduct after victory was generally tarnished by cruelty. His manners were showy and popular, and he retained to the last the affections of the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD V.

1483.

THE new king was a boy only in his thirteenth year, and therefore unable to assume the government. The court was split into two parties; the one composed of the family of tike

queen, of whom the principal were the accomplished earl Rivers her brother, and the marquess of Dorset her son; the other party consisted of the lords Hastings, Howard, Stanley, and other members of the ancient nobility, who, though sincerely attached to the person and cause of the king, could il[1] brook the favour of the upstart Woodvilles. While Ldwaru lived he kept both within bounds, but he feared lest the scenes of the minority of Henry VI. might be renewed j and when he found himself dying, he summoned both parties to his chamber, and made them embrace in his presence, fondly deeming thus to extinguish their long-cherished enmity.

The young king was proclaimed in the usual manner (Apr. 9). He was now residing at Ludlow with his uncle Rivers and his uterine brother lord Gray, under the pretext that his presence would restrain the turbulent Welsh, but in reality that he might become attached to his mother's family. The queen proposed that directions should be sent to lord Rivers to raise an army and conduct his nephew to London ; but Hastings and his friends taking alarm strenuously opposed this course, and the queen in an evil hour consented that her son should travel with an escort of only two thousand horse.

The two first princes of the blood were Richard duke of Gloucester and Henry duke of Buckingham, who was descended from the youngest son of Edward III. The former (who was at this time commanding an army on the borders of Scotland), when he heard of his brother's death, repaired to York, and summoned the gentry of the county to swear allegiance to his nephew, himself setting them the example. He wrote in terms of the utmost friendship to the queen and her family, and then moved toward London to be present at the coronation, which was fixed for the 4th of May. Meantime secret messages, of the exact import of which we are uninformed, passed between him, Hastings and Buckingham.

On the same day (Apr. 29) that the young king reached Stony Stratford, Gloucester arrived at Northampton, distant about ten miles. When Rivers and Gray heard he was there they turned back to salute him in the name of the king. He received them with the greatest cordiality, and invited them to dinner. In the evening Buckingham arrived with three hundred horsemen. Rivers and Gray stopped for the night, and in the morning rode with the two dukes to wait on the king; but just as they were entering Stony Stratford, Gloucester turned and charged them with alienating from him the

affections of his nephew; they denied the charge, hut were arrested and conveyed to the rear. The two dukes then waited on the king, and with bended knee professed their loyalty, assuring him that the marquess his brother, and Rivers his uncle, had compassed to rule the realm, and to destroy its noble blood. "What my lord marquess," replied he, "may have done in London I cannot say, but I dare answer for my uncle Rivers, and my brother here, that they be innocent of any such matter." The dukes then arrested sir Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Hawse, two of his principal attendants, and commanded the rest of his retinue to disperse. They led the king back to Northampton, and sent the four prisoners northwards.

When intelligence of what had occurred at Stratford reached London, the queen, in alarm and terror, took sanctuary at Westminster, with her five daughters and her sons, the marquess of Dorset and the duke of York. On the 4th of May, Gloucester led the young king to London, where he was lodged in the bishop's palace, and received the homage of all present. A few days after, on the motion of Buckingham, he was removed to the Tower, preparatory to his coronation, which was -fixed for the 22nd of June: Gloucester was named Protector, and many of the great officers of state were displaced to make room for his creatures.

So far the conduct of Gloucester is at least suspicious; as we proceed it gradually darkens. Finding Hastings, Stanley and others, though hostile to the Woodvilles, firmly attached to the young king, he divided the council, letting them and their friends sit at the Tower, while he. and his partisans met at Crosby-place*, his own residence. When his secret plans were matured, he went one day (June 13) to the Tower, and took his seat at the council-board. He assumed a gay and cheerful humour, and praising the strawberries winch grew in the bishop of Ely's garden at Holborn, requested to have a dish of them for dinner. The bishop sent a servant to fetch them; the protector withdrew, as if on business ; in about an hour after he returned, with an altered countenance, and sat down in silence. At length he cried, "Of what are they worthy who have compassed the death of me, the king's protector by nature as well as by law?" "To be punished," said Hastings, "as heinous traitors." "And that," replied

* In Bishopsgate-street; a portion of it still exists.

he, "hath that sorceress, my brother's wife, with others, her accomplices, endeavoured to do." "See," continued he, "in what a miserable manner that sorceress, and Shore's wife, with others their associates, have by their sorcery and witchcraft miserably destroyed my body." He then unbuttoned his sleeve, and showed them his left arm shrunk and withered. As those present knew that his arm "had always been so, they saw that he wanted to quarrel with them. Hastings, however, whose mistress Shore then was, replied, "Certainly, my lord, if they have indeed done any such thing, they deserve to be both severely punished." "Do you answer me with *ifs* and *ands*, as if I charged them falsely?" cried the protector in a rage: "I tell you they have done it, and thou hast joined with them in this villany." He struck the table with his fist; a man without shouted Treason! armed men rushed in. "I arrest thee, traitor," cried Richard to Hastings; Stanley and the bishops of York and Ely were also arrested and sent to separate cells; to Hastings he said, "Shrive thyself apace, for by St. Paul I will not dine till I see thy head off." He took a priest at a venture, and having made short shrift, was then led down to the green before; the chapel, and his head was struck off on a piece of timber that was lying there. After his dinner Richard summoned the principal citizens to attend him. He and Buckingham came forth in rusty armour (suddenly taken as it were in the Tower for their defence), and he told them that Hastings had intended murdering him and the duke, that he had not discovered this design till ten o'clock this morning, and had thus been obliged to provide for his defence. He requested them to inform their fellow-citizens of the truth of the case. A proclamation to the same effect was also issued, which was SO neatly composed and fairly written, that it was plain to most people it could not have been drawn up after the death of Hastings.

On the very same day on which Hastings was thus murdered, Ratclifre, one of Richard's principal confidants, came to Pontefract, where Rivers and his three friends now were. A court, presided over by the earl of Northumberland, was formed for their trial, and they were found guilty of conspiring the death of Richard. Their heads were struck off forthwith. The aged sir Thomas Vaughan appealing when on the scaffold to the tribunal of God against this murder, Ratcliffe said with a sneer, "You have made a goodly appeal, —lay down your head!" "I die in the right," replied he,

" take heed you die not in the wrong!"—words proved by the event to be prophetic*.

The ultimate object of Richard must have been now apparent to every one, and each day added confirmation to suspicion. On the 16th he entered his barge with several nobles and prelates, and followed by a large body of armed men, and proceeded to Westminster in order to obtain the duke of York by force if not by fair means. He first sent a deputation of nobles, headed by the primate, to demand him from the queen, and Elizabeth knowing the inutility of resistance affected to acquiesce cheerfully. She called for her son, gave him a last embrace, and then turning round burst into tears. The child was conveyed in great pomp to the Tower, and the two innocent destined victims naturally received much delight at meeting again, little suspecting the fate that awaited them.

The protector now appeared in a new character, that of the rigid censor of morals. Among the mistresses of the late king was a woman named Jane Shore, the wife of a young and opulent citizen, whose virtue however had not been proof against the assaults of a king. " Proper she was and fair," says sir Thomas More, "yet delighted not men so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behaviour ; for a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write ; ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor babbling. Many mistresses the king had, but her he loved; whose favour, to say the truth (for sin it were to belie the devil), she never abused to any man's hurt, but often employed to many a man's relief." After the death of the king she had become the mistress of Hastings, and she was now arrested as a participator in his conspiracy. The protector committed her to prison, seized her goods to the value of 3000 marks to his own use, and then had her tried in the spiritual court for lewdness and adultery. She was sentenced to perforin public penance ; and stript to her kirtle, with her feet bare, carrying a lighted taper, and preceded by the cross, she was made to walk to St. Paul's through the crowded streets*)*.

* More. Rivers however could not have been there, as we have his will, dated on the 23rd (the day before), at Sheriff Hutton ; but as at the end of it are the following words, " My will is *now* to be buried before an image of our blessed Lady Mary with my lord Richard (Gray), etc.," it is likely that he was executed at Pontefract, but some days after the others. See Lingard and Turner.

† Jane afterwards lived with the marquess of Dorset. Lynom the solicitor-general was then about to marry her, and there is a letter extant from

Having thus revived the memory of the licentious habits of his brother, Richard next proceeded to arraign the legitimacy of his children. On the 22nd of June, Dr. Shaw, an Augustinian friar, brother to the lord-mayor, preached at St. Paul's Cross*. His text was, "Bastard slips shall not strike deep roots" (Wisdom, iv. 3); and taking occasion to notice, the profligate habits of the late king, who made no scruple of promising marriage to seduce a woman, he proceeded to say that hi this manner he had actually at one time caused a marriage to be celebrated between himself and Eleanor, the widow of lord Boteler of Sudely, by Stillington, now bishop of Bati, who had since declared the same, and that consequently liia marriage with Elizabeth Gray was illegal, and the issue illegitimate. It was even, he hinted, doubtful if Edward himself and the duke of Clarence (who however had been attainted) were the children of the duke of York, to whom they bore no resemblance. "But," cried the preacher, "my lord the protector, that very noble prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds, is the perfect image of his father; his features are the same, and the very express likeness of that noble duke.'[1] It had been arranged that the protector should have made his appearance at these words, and it was hoped that the people would lie thus induced to cry "Cod save King Richard!" but it was badly managed; Shaw was too quick, or the duke too slow. He did not enter till after the words had been uttered; the mal-adroit preacher repeated them; the people easily saw through the device and remained silent. The protector gave a look of anger, and the baifled divine slunk away to his own house, which it is said he never again left, dying shortly after of pure chagrin.

This plan having failed it was resolved to employ a nobler advocate. On the following Tuesday (24th) Buckingham harangued the people at guildhall, and, having alluded to the topics handled in the sermon on the last Sunday, maintained that the right to the crown lay with Richard. Still the people

Rielfard to the chancellor on the subject, which is rather creditable to his feelings. The marriage, however, does not seem to have taken place. Jane lived to a great age in poverty and neglect, for she died in 1527. The popular tale of Richard's forbidding any one to relieve her, etc. *is* a popular tale and nothing more.

* This cross, which we shall find so often mentioned, was a large ornamented cross in front of St. Paul's cathedral. It was the great preaching place on public occasions.

were silent; he then demanded an answer one way or the other; and a few hired voices from the end of the hall cried "King Richard!" He gave them his thanks, and requested them to accompany him next day to the protector.

Next morning, Buckingham, the mayor, and several lords and principal citizens repaired to Baynard castle, where Richard resided, and demanded an audience. Richard affecting terror would only show himself from a window; Buckingham then read an address, as from the estates of the realm, embodying the charges made against the late king and his marriage, and calling on the duke of Gloucester to assume the crown, to which he was lawful heir. Richard pretended great reluctance, spoke of his affection for his nephews and of his aversion to royalty. "Sir," said Buckingham, "the free people of England will never submit to the rule of a bastard, and if the lawful heir refuses the sceptre they know where to find one who will gladly accept it." Richard paused at this bold language, and then declared that he felt it to be his duty to obey the voice of his people. The farce thus terminated: on the following day (26th) he took possession of the throne.

CHAPTER XIV.

RICHARD III.

1483-1485.

RICHARD lost no time in giving the sanction of a coronation to his title, He and his wife the lady Anne Neville were crowned (July 6) with great magnificence. He then proceeded to reward his adherents, and to seek to gain by clemency his opponents. Lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household; his wife the countess of Richmond bore the queen's train at the coronation; the archbishop of York also was set free, and the bishop of Ely was committed to the charge of Buckingham. The king then-set forth on a progress through the kingdom; he visited Oxford, Gloucester and Worcester, whence he went to Warwick where he remained a week, and thence proceeded through Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham and Pontefract to York, where, to

gratify the people of the north, his most faithful adherents, he caused himself and his queen to be crowned over again with the* same pomp as in London.

It was while he was in this progress that he filled up the measure of his guilt. He sent orders from Warwick to sir Richard Brackenbury lieutenant of the Tower to put the two princes to death. Brackenbury however refused; sir James Tyrrel master of the horse was then sent with orders to receive the keys and custody of the Tower for one night. Brackenbury dared not refuse, and that very night Tyrrel went with Dighton one of his grooms and Forest "a noted ruffian" to the chamber where the princes lay; he himself remained outside, while his agents went in and smothered the sleeping children with the bedclothes. They then called in Tyrrel to view the dead bodies, and by his command buried them at the foot of the staircase. All concerned were amply rewarded by the king; Brackenbury got manors and pensions, Tyrrel was made steward of the duchy of Cornwall and governor of Glamorganshire, Forest keeper of the wardrobe at Baynard Castle, and Dighton was appointed bailiff of Aiton in Staffordshire*.

At this very time there was an extensive conspiracy on foot to dethrone the usurper, and to set the rightful prince in his place; and, what may excite surprise, the duke of Buckingham was at the head of it. What his motives for so sudden a change could have been it is difficult to say. He had been Richard's chief supporter all through, but he had been most amply rewarded, and he had no ingratitude to complain of. He may have grown auspicious and fearful of the king whom he had set up : he may have been urged by mortified vanity, or, as it is said, the eloquence of his prisoner Morton bishop of Ely may have wrought u cliungc in him; he was moreover married to a sister of the queen Elizabeth, and we know not what the influence of his wife may have been; at all events he resolved to restore the young prince. Richard, however, when he discovered the plot, caused the death of the princes to be made public. This somewhat disconcerted the conspirators ; but as they could not now recede, they gave ear to the proposal of the bishop of Ely on the part of the Lancastrians that they should offer the crown to Henry earl of Richmond, the head of that party, on condition of his espousing the princess Elizabeth, now the heiress of the house of York,

* See Appendix, M.

and thus uniting the rival claims. All being agreed on, a messenger was sent to the earl who was in Brittany to hasten his return to England, and the 18th of October was appointed as the day for a general rising.

On the appointed day the marquess of Dorset proclaimed Henry at Exeter, the bishop of Salisbury did the same in Wiltshire, the gentry of Kent met at Maidstone, those of Berks at Newbury, and Buckingham assembled his Welshmen at Brecknock. Richard, who had already proclaimed the duke a traitor, joined his troops at Leicester (Oct. 28), where he issued another proclamation, vaunting his zeal for morality, calling his enemies "traitors, adulterers and bawds," whose chief object was "the letting [hindering] of virtue and the damnable maintainance of vice," and offering pardon to those who should leave and rewards to those who should take them. Fortune moreover stood his friend: Henry, who had sailed with forty ships from St. Malo, was driven back by tempests; and Buckingham, when he had led his men through the forest of Dean to the Severn, found the bridges broken, and the river so swollen by the rains as to be nowhere fordable. His followers lost spirit and dispersed: he himself and Morton took refuge at Webly, the seat of lord Ferrers, whence the latter proceeded in disguise to the isle of Ely and thence escaped to Flanders ; the duke also made his way in disguise to the house of one Ralph Bannister his servant near Shrewsbury, but he was discovered through the perfidy of his host, or the imprudence of those who knew of his retreat. He was taken and led to Richard, who was now at Salisbury; his solicitations for an audience were rejected*, and his head was struck off instantly in the market (Nov. 2). Dorset and the bishop of Exeter made their escape to Brittany, most of the others concealed themselves, and very few executions took place.

Richard thought he might now venture to summon a parliament. Whether, as is said, fear was the motive or not, no more obsequious assembly could be than that which met (Nov. 11). His title was fully recognised, and the succession settled on his son Edward prince of Wales. An act of attainder and forfeiture was then passed against the heads of the late insurrection.

* Buckingham's son declared that it had been his father's intention, had he been admitted into Richard's presence, to rush on him and stab him with a knife which he had concealed about him,

Though Richard had caused the marriage of his brother to he declared null, and had deprived his widow of her dower as queen, he knew that the validity of that marriage was generally acknowledged, and that the Yorkists now regarded her eldest daughter as the rightful heir to the crown. He had also learned that at the festival of Christmas five hundred of the Yorkist exiles had sworn fealty to Henry in Brittany, on his pledging himself to make her his queen in case of his defeating the usurper. To counteract this plan he addressed himself to the queen-dowager, and having pledged himself by a solemn oath that they should be treated with all due respect as his kinswomen, he induced her and her daughters to quit the sanctuary and come to court (Mar. 1, 1484). It would seem to have been his intention to have married the princess Elizabeth, whom he treated with marked attention, to his son Edward* ; but the very next month this young prince died suddenly, to the extreme grief of both his parents. The king's favour to Elizabeth, however, continued unchanged, and she was attached to the person of the queen. John de la Pole earl of Lincoln, son to the king's sister the duchess of Suffolk, was declared heir presumptive to the crown.

At Christmas the king held his court at Westminster with extraordinary magnificence, and it was remarked that his niece always appeared attired like the queen. Soon after the latter fell sick (1485), and Richard immediately offered his hand to Elizabeth, assuring her that the queen would die in February, and that he would then procure a dispensation from Rome for their marriage. To the disgrace of the queen-dowager she gave a ready consent to the union of her daughter with the murderer of her brother and her three sons, and the princess herself is said to have written a letter which showed the indecent impatience she felt for this unnatural marriage †. Queen Anne did in effect die ere long (Mar. 16), and there are grounds for suspecting that he who foretold her death took means to cause his prediction to be fulfilled. But now an unexpected difficulty arose; when he communicated his project to Ratcliffe and

* Elizabeth was now eighteen years of age, while the young prince could not have been more than ten.

† Buck says he saw in the cabinet of lord Arundel a letter of hers to the duke of Norfolk, in which she desired him " to be a mediator for her to the king in the behalf of the marriage propounded between them, who was her only joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought, withal insinuating that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the queen would never die."

Catesby, his chief advisers and confidants*, they opposed it in the strongest manner, representing how the moral feeling of the nation would be shocked by this incestuous union, which would convert to certainty the suspicion people had of his having removed his queen by poison; and this might deprive him of the support of the men of the north, who were attached to him chiefly on her account as the daughter of Warwick. It is said that their secret motive was fear lest Elizabeth should take vengeance for the murder of her family; their arguments, however, prevailed, and in the hall of the Temple Richard solemnly declared before the mayor, aldermen and commoners that he never had thought of such a marriage. He wrote to the same effect to the citizens of York.

The mind of the king is now said to have become a prey to terror and anxiety, and he was haunted, we are told, by Tearful dreams caused by his crimes. His money too was all expended; he could not venture to apply to parliament, and he was therefore obliged to levy benevolences (which had been abolished in his preceding parliament) on the citizens under another name, which lost him their favour. Many now deserted to Henry; the lord Stanley, whose influence was great and who was married to Henry's mother, caused the king great uneasiness, though he had lavished favours on him, and Stanley had never given him the slightest ground for suspicion. To secure the fidelity of that nobleman he retained his son lord Strange at court by way of a hostage.

At length, being assured that the king of France had given Henry permission to hire troops and that a fleet lay ready at the mouth of the Seine, Richard put forth a proclamation (June 23), calling the exiles "murderers, adulterers, and extortioners," and asserting that Henry meditated unheard-of slaughters and confiscations, etc., he called on all true Englishmen to aid him in the defence of their wives and properties. He then fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham (July 24), and ere long he received intelligence of the landing of Henry at Milford Haven in Wales (Aug. 7).

Henry marched through North Wales, where though none opposed few joined him, and when he reached Shrewsbury he had but four thousand men. Urged by the secret assurances

* " The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our dog,
Rule all England under the hog,"
(the " bristled boar " was Richard's cognisance,) was a popular distich at this time. It cost its author his life.

of many who could not yet declare themselves, he still pressed on toward Leicester, where Richard now lay with a numerous army, having been joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland, lord Lovel and Brackenbury, with their levies. Lord Stanley had excused himself under the pretext of illness, but his son being detected in an attempt to escape he was obliged in order to save him to hasten to join the royal standard.

On the 21st of August Richard moved from Leicester, and encamped about two miles from the town of Bosworth.. Henry having been joined by the Stanleys moved from Tarnworth to Atherstone, and next morning both armies advanced to Redmorc. Henry had now six thousand men, his rival double the number. Richard was dismayed when he saw the Stanleys opposed to him, but he roused his wonted courage; the vanguards under the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford engaged for some time; Richard then seeing Northumberland inactive and the rest of his troops wavering, spurred his horse and rushed, crying, "Treason, treason!" to where he espied Henry ; he killed sir William Brandon the standard-bearer, unhorsed sir John Cheney, and had made a furious blow at Henry himself, which was warded off by sir William Stanley, when he was thrown from his horse and slain. Lord Stanley taking up the crown which he wore placed it on the head of Henry, and shouts of " Long live king Henry !" were instantly raised. The duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrers, Ratcliffe and Brackenbury, with about three thousand men, were slain; the victors lost but one hundred men. The body of Richard was stript, thrown across a horse, and carried to Leicester, where it was interred in the church of the nunnery of the Grey Friars. The blood of Catesby and two others alone were shed after the victory.

Richard was only two-and-thirty years old when he thus perished, the victim of his ambition. In his person he was small, and the defect in his left arm and an elevation of one shoulder deformed him in some measure, but his face was handsome and like his father's. There is no foundation for the common tale of his being born with teeth, and only what we have stated for that of his being humpbacked. He was brave, loved magnificence, and justice also when it did not interfere with his ambition, but in the gratification of this passion we have seen that he would stop at no crime. Had he come honestly by his crown he would probably have worn it to his own honour and to the advantage of his people.

"With Richard ended the Plantagenet dynasty, which had ruled England nearly three centuries and a half; and the battle of Bosworth terminated the Civil Wars of the Roses, which with intermissions had lasted for a space of thirty years. It was a remarkable feature in these wars, that the evils of them fell chiefly ou the nobility ; for with one exception, the slaughter in the field was not considerable, and there was none of that petty warfare in different parts of the country by which in civil wars which interest the feelings and passions of the middle and lower orders so much more blood is shed than in regular battles. Successive generations of the houses of Neville, Pole and Clifford were cut off on the field or scaffold; and many were reduced to the most abject state of poverty*. "I myself," says Comines, " saw the duke of Exeter, the king of England's brotherrin-law, walking barefoot after the duke of Burgundy's train, and earning his bread from door to door." " In my remembrance," says the same writer, " eighty princes of the blood royal of England perished in these convulsions; seven or eight battles were fought in the course of thirty years; their own country was desolated by the English as cruelly as the former generation had wasted France." In this, however, there seems to be some exaggeration ; there certainly did not fall that number of princes of the blood; neither could the desolation have been so extensive.

We have thus brought our history to the end of the Plantagenet dynasty, a race of princes not excelled in intellectual vigour by any line of sovereigns. As with them the feudal and papal period of England may be said to terminate, the next period being one of transition to the present altered condition of society, we will conclude it by a sketch of the political and religious state of the country at. this time.

The constitution of England under the Plautagenets was a monarchy limited by law, which law the king could not alter at his will. " A king of England," says sir John Fortescue writing to the son of Henry VI., " cannot at his pleasure make any alterations in the law of the land, for the nature of his government is not only regal but political." Yet the king was not merely an hereditary executive magistrate ; he had extensive prerogatives annexed to his dignity, and the great object of the patriots of this period was to limit these rights and

* The story of the shepherd lord Clifford, to which Wordsworth's poetry has lent additional attractions, strongly resembles that of Feridoon in the romantic annals of Persia.

restrain their abuse. Some of the principal prerogatives of the crown have been already enumerated, and the modes of restraining them described. Such were the feudal rights and the power of arbitrary taxation. The principal remaining grievances were the abuse of the rights of purveyance and of pardon. Purveyance was the right of taking, without the consent of the owner, but at a fair price, provisions and whatever else were necessary for the use of the royal household, also that of impressing horses arid carriages for the king's journeys. This invested the purveyors with a very high degree of arbitrary power, and it **was** a subject of constant complaint. The royal privilege of pardon, too, was frequently found to operate against the best interests of society, as pardons were sold or granted to interest; and the criminal when convicted often eluded justice! by producing the royal pardon, which had been bought or procured beforehand. The redress of these and other abuses was usually a matter of bargain between the king and the parliament, *they* giving a subsidy, and *he* engaging to correct what was complained of. Still the kings would, when they had the power, go on in their old course ; but the parliament by perseverance, and by taking advantage of foreign wars, disputed successions and other circumstances, gradually set limits to prerogative ; and an able writer of the present day has with reason thus expressed himself: "I know not whether there arc any essential privileges of our countrymen, any fundamental securities against arbitrary power, so far as they depend upon positive institution, which may not be traced to the time when the house of Plantagenet filled the English throne."

The great cause of this rational limitation of power and establishment of the principles of true liberty seems to have been the peculiar .situation of the English aristocracy. The nobles were not, like those of the continent, the lords of extensive continuous territories, who might singly set the crown at defiance. Their manors lay scattered through various counties; the power of the sovereign could at once crush any refractory vassal; it was only therefore by union among themselves, and by gaining the people to their side, that they could maintain their rights and limit the royal prerogative. In this manner the interests of the nobility became identified with those of the people, and hence their names are associated with every struggle for liberty throughout our history. This **was** further increased by the remarkable circumstance that the

English was the only nobility which did not form a peculiar class, or caste. In England the actual holder of the title alone was noble; his sons and brothers were simple commoners, and ranked with the people. Hence arose that melting into one another of the various grades of society only to be found in this country; and as the English nobles never claimed any exemption from taxes and other burdens, their privileges have never excited jealousy or hatred. For all these advantages we are mainly indebted to the high power of the crown established by the Anglo-Norman monarchs, combined with the free principles of government transmitted by our Saxon forefathers.

The mode of raising troops underwent some alteration during this period. As the feudal system was only adapted for defensive warfare, the kings in their wars with France and Scotland chiefly employed mercenary forces, not merely the soldiers of fortune who were then so plentiful, but their own barons and knights, with whom they contracted for the service of themselves and their military followers for stated periods, at certain, often extremely high, rates. The crown besides frequently stretched its power and forced the counties to send men-at-arms and other soldiers to serve in the royal army. They were to receive pay from the king, but the expense of equipping the inferior men and sending them to tlie army (known by the name of coat-and-conduct money), mostly fell on the counties and was the subject of constant complaint. With regard to sea-forces, the royal navy consisted of only a few vessels, but the Cinque Ports were obliged by their charter to furnish a fleet of fifty-seven sail; and as cannon was not yet used at sea, merchantmen, which the crown had the prerogative of pressing, could be at any time converted into ships of war. The sailors, like the soldiers, were paid by the crown.

The religious aspect of England at this time is of a darker hue than that of its civil state. The mighty tree of papal supremacy had spread its capacious shade over the whole of Europe, excluding the brightest beams of the Sun of Righteousness, and beneath it flourished a rank crop of baleful superstitions. We are far, however, from viewing popery as a system purely pernicious; on the contrary, we deem that it was productive of much good, and was perhaps that which was **best** suited to the times in which it nourished. But since it **has** of late years, by audaciously perverting history, sought to

represent itself as without stain or blemish, and the Reformation as in every sense a misfortune to the world, we will briefly state what the religion of England really *was* in the fifteenth century.

At the head of the doctrines taught by the clergy stood the portent of *transubstantiation*, which, for the sake of understanding literally one of the simplest of metaphors, sets reason, and the testimony of all the senses at defiance, and establishes an absurdity hardly to be paralleled in the Braliminism of India or the Lamaism of Tibet. By this the creature creates the Creator, and the same body is actually and entirely present in the most distant regions at the very same instant of time! Gregory VII. either rejected this doctrine or shrank from establishing it by the papal authority; but the intrepid Innocent III., in the fourth council of Lateran (1215), declared it to be the doctrine of the church, and it still remains the badge of Rome, a standing proof that she sets reason and sense at nought. Our fathers were further taught to believe that the priest who could thus create his Maker, and offer him up in sacrifice on the altar, possessed the power of removing or mitigating the penalties of sin in the future world. There was a place, they were told, on the confines of hell, and so situated as to receive a moderate portion of its flames. It was named Purgatory from its nature, and thither after death were sent the souls of all but the innocent baptized babes, the perfect saints, or the incorrigibly wicked, to purge away by fire the stains of sin. The period of their sufferings might, however, be shortened by prayers and masses; and the dying sinner if wealthy could, by leaving money to the church, obtain a relaxation or remission of his generally well-merited torments. He might also at any time during his life, by paying money, or by visiting some place of devotion, obtain an *indulyence* to exempt him from the punishment due to one or more of his transgressions; for one drop of Christ's blood, it was said^ sufficing to redeem the whole world, all the rest of His merits, which were infinite, together with all that the saints had done beyond what was necessary for their own salvation, went to compose a great magazine of *merits* for the benefit of sinful men. The custody of this was committed to the pope, and money was the key that usually opened the holy treasure-house.

The church had adopted most of the practices and principles of the ancient heathenism. A system equally tasteless as false of accounting for the origin of the elegant polytheism

of Greece, by supposing its gods to have been merely deified men, had been devised, and this the Fathers of the church adopted. But soon it became the belief that what was fabled of Jupiter and Apollo was true of Peter and Paul and the other apostles, martyrs, and confessors. A new Olympus speedily appeared*. The courts of heaven were thronged with the beatified saints, who saw in God all that took place on earth, and heard the prayers addressed to them by their votaries below for the exercise of their power or their mediation in their favour. High above all in rank and power stood the Queen of Heaven of the new mythology, the Virgin, born without sin, dead without pain, and translated bodily, like her divine son, to heaven, where she still exercises over him the mild authority of a mother. Such were the Virgin and the saints in heaven; on earth churches and festivals were dedicated, and prayers were offered to them; their relies, that is, their bones, their hair, the very parings of their nails and the fragments of their garments, or the implements of their torture, were inclosed in costly shrines, adorned with precious gems and worshiped by the people. Their images, especially those of the Virgin, were also the objects of adoration ; pilgrimages were made to them, and rich offerings deposited on their altars. Thus, while the ancient heathens directed their worship to beings whom they regarded as superior to man in nature, the Christians of the middle; ages adored their fellow-mortals; their idolatry was as gross as that of the ancient world; the legends of their saints were frequently of a far more immoral tone than the mythes of Greece, mid, what these properly understood were not, often highly impious †.

Tin's system of polytheism and idolatry was, however, not without its bright spots. The aspect of the court of heaven presented in the Romish books of devotion is very magnificent and attractive. But by far the most seductive portion of the

* The Romish saints are always termed *Dim*; thus Divus Thomas is the style of Thomas a Becket. " *Deos,"* says a heathen (Scrvius on *Æn.* xii. 139), " scternos diciraus, *divos* vero qui ex hominibus Hunt." In another place *(Æn.* v. 45) he adds, " unde *divos* etiam imperatores vocamus." How closely papal Rome imitated heathen Rome!

† Hallam (Middle Ages, iii. 349), after relating some of the impious legends of the Virgin circulated by the monks, thus expresses himself: " Whether the superstition of these dark ages had actually passed that point when it becomes more injurious to public morals and the welfare of society than the entire absence of all religious notions, is a very complex question, upon which I would by no means pronounce an affirmative decision."

system is the worship of the Virgin, the most beautiful piece of superstition ever devised! The idea of the "pure god," Phoebus Apollo, in the Grecian system was certainly beautiful, and, we may add, elevating; hut who could think of comparing it with that of the Virgin? The Crishna of Hindoo, the Balder of Scandinavian polytheism, fall still more short of it. A woman lovely, gentle, pure and stainless, whose heart wells forth streams of holy love and benevolence, exalted to supreme power in heaven and earth, must in the eyes of the pious votary have been invested with a radiance of mild, tempered divinity, not to be conceived by those who arc not themselves believers. Unfortunately the beautiful conception was but too often spoiled by the vulgar and impious legend which made the divine object partial, revengeful, vain and venal. Among the attractions of this system must also be enumerated the sensible ones of the splendid habits of the clergy; the well-marshalled processions, bearing crosses and banners ; the magnificence of architecture; and the noble strains of music that pealed through the aisles of the stately cathedral and adorned the service of even the most humble chapel.

The clergy (hemseives, it is probable, believed implicitly in the popular religion; but their belief stood not in the way of their inventing the most monstrous and atrocious fables of the miracles performed by the saints or their relics, and thus extorting money or lands from the credulous votaries. By means of these, and of the doctrines of purgatory and merits, the church had gradually contrived to gain possession of one fifth of the lands of the kingdom. The morals of the clergy were in general profligate, though beyond question there were among them in all ages shining models of goodness and piety. In the year 1449 the clergy had a petition presented in parliament, stating that many priests, secular as well as religious, had been grievously vexed and troubled wrongfully by divers indictments of felony, and praying that every priest might be pardoned for all manner of felonies of rape done before the 1st of June next coming, and from all forfeitures of taking excessive salaries, provided a noble *(6s. 8d.)* for every priest in the kingdom were paid to the king*. What, we may ask, must have been the morality of the clergy who could present such a petition?

Ignorance and immorality are usual, though not necessary

* Rolls Pari., vol. v. p. 153 ; Turner, Hist, of England, iii. 140.

companions. We may therefore not be surprised to find that the great bulk of the clergy were grossly ignorant. But few of them knew the meaning of the prayers they muttered daily in an unknown tongue; and to read and study the Scriptures even in the Latin version was regarded as needless to those whose religion was almost totally made up of forms and ceremonies. ' The ignorance of the laity was of course greater if possible than that of their spiritual guides.

We are not, however, to suppose that the mind of Europe was totally enthralled to superstition in these times. It was far otherwise, as the dreadful crusade against the Albigenses, and the persecution of the Lollards and other heretics, as they were styled by the church, too clearly prove. Though the clergy exerted themselves to the utmost, though they filled the prisons with those who dared to think, and kindled the piles for those who refused to recant, the truth still continued to spread, and more and more was sown every day of the seed which was to yield such an abundant harvest of mental liberty. We have now strong grounds for believing that Dante, Petrarca, and their fellows, whose genius sheds such a lustre on the middle ages, were but the organs of an extensive sect or party, whose bond of union was hostility to the papacy, its claims, its doctrines, and its practices*. The middle ages thus rise in moral dignity, while we view in them the struggle of man's intellectual nature against superstition, upheld by fraud and cruelty; and we learn to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to the men whose unremitting efforts achieved the victory of which we now enjoy the benefits.

* The writer here alludes to what he regards as the extraordinary discoveries of his most valued friend Gabriele Rossetti, in his Comento Anaiitico on Dante, his Spirito Antipapale de'Classici Italiani, and his Mistero dell' Amor Platonico; at the same time he does not pledge himself for the correctness of all the theories and opinions in these important works, as on many points he differs from the profound and sagacious author. And here he must protest most strongly against the injustice with which he has been treated by such critics as M. Panizzi, who, not venturing to grapple with the strong parts of his theory, assail his errors and failings with obloquy or ridicule.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF TUDOR.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VII.

1485-1509.

I HE first act of the new king was to direct that the princess Elizabeth and her cousin, the earl of Warwick*, whom the late usurper had placed at Sheriff-Hutt on in Yorkshire, should be conveyed to London, the former to be restored to her mother, the latter to be immured in the Tower. He then proceeded by easy journeys to the capital. The lord-mayor and aldermen met him without the city (Aug. 28); he passed through the streets in aclose litter to St. Paul's, where a *Te Drum* was chanted, and he then took up his abode at the house of the bishop. While there he solemnly renewed his engagement to marry the princess Elizabeth, but declined espousing her till after he should have been crowned and have held a parliament.

The coronation would have taken place immediately but for the prevalence of the disease named the Sweating Sickness from its nature. It was a rapid fever, carrying people off in four-and-twenty hours, which time if they got through they were almost sure of recovery. It lasted but a month, and was regarded as being in the atmosphere, and not an epidemic or contagious malady.

The king was crowned on the 30th of October by the primate. He was frugal of his honours on this occasion, only

* Son of the duke of Clarence by the daughter of the great earl of Warwick.

making twelve bannerets, and raising his uncle, Jasper Tudor earl of Pembroke, to the dignity of duke of Bedford, lord Stanley to that of carl of Derby, and sir Edward Courtenay to that of earl of Devon. He appointed a body of archers to attend him in future, under pretext of imitating the state of foreign princes. They were named Yeomen of the Guard.

When parliament met (Nov. 11) the matter of most importance that occupied it was the settlement of the crown. Henry's title rested on three grounds: his..pledged marriage with Elizabeth; his descent from the house of Lancasfer; the right of conquest. The last was"too odious to be"put forward prominently; the first was disagreeable to his own prejudices and those of his Lancastrian adherents, and would only secure the succession to his issue by Elizabeth. "He therefore," says Bacon, "rested on the title of Lancaster in the main*, using the marriage and the victory as supporters :" and in the act of settlement it was merely enacted, that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord king Henry VII., and the heirs of his body lawfully coming." As all mention of the princess seemed studiously avoided, those of both parties who had looked forward to the termination of the differences between the white and the red rose grew alarmed. Shortly after (Dec. 10) the commons took occasion to petition the king to take the princess to wife; the peers readily expressed their concurrence ; Henry gave a gracious promise, and during the recess he espoused Elizabeth (Jan. 18, 1486).

In this parliament an act of attainder was passed against Richard HI., tbe duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovel, Zouch, Ferrers, and about two dozen of others; all grants made by the crown since the 34th of Henry VI. were resumed; and a general pardon was issued in the king's name to all the adherents of the late usurper.

After the dissolution, the king set out on a progress through the kingdom, and as the North had been most attached to Richard, he proceeded thither first, hoping to gain the people by spending the summer among them. While he was keeping his Easter at Lincoln he heard that lord Lovel had left the

* No title could be weaker than this. Henry claimed through his mother (who was still alive), the sole heiress of the duke of Somerset, descended from one of the children whom Catherine Swynford bore to John of Gaunt before marriage, and who when legitimated were expressly excluded from all claim to the crown.

sanctuary at Colchester, and when he reached Pontcfract he learned that Lovel had raised a force and intended surprising him on his entry into York. But this lord finding the royal train too numerous gave up his project, and having permitted his followers to disperse, made his own escape to Flanders. The king remained three weeks in York, and he then returned to London by way of Worcester, Gloucester and Bristol. During his absence the queen held her court at Winchester, with her mother and sisters, and her mother-in-law the countess of Richmond. Here, in her eighth month (Sept. 20), she was delivered of her first child, a son, who was named Arthur, after the famous British hero, from whose lineage the king affected to be sprung on the fathers side.

The evident favour shown by the king to the Lancastrian party gave great offence to the Yorkists; they were also displeased at the want of respect to the queen in deferring her coronation ; the manners of the king too were cold and repulsive, totally different from those of the former kings of England. This state, of discontent was taken advantage of for introducing the most extraordinary imposture recorded in history; for though many have personated dead or missing princes, who has ever heard of an impostor pretending to be a prince who was known to be alive and could be produced at any time?

There was a priest at Oxford named Richard Simons, or Symonds, a man of a subtle, enterprising temper. He had a pupil about the age of fifteen years named Lambert Simnell, the son of a baker, or, as others said, of an organ-maker. This youth was of a handsome, engaging countenance; and the priest, whether actuated by hopes of great advantages to himself if the imposture should succeed, or, as is more probable, acting merely as the agent of higher persons, instructed him . to assume the character of Richard duke of York, who, it was rumoured, had escaped from the Tower in the late reign. But on a report of the escape of the young earl of Warwick, Simons, or his directors, changed the plan, and it was agreed that Simnell should personate this prince. As during the abode of the duke of York in Ireland as chief governor in the time of Henry VI. the Anglo-Irish had become strongly attached to his person, family and cause, it was resolved that the drama should open in that country. Accordingly Simons and his pupil landed in Dublin, where the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, without hesitation or inquiry, at once acknowledged the pretended Plantagenet. His example was followed by the

nobility and people in general. The Butlers of Ormond, a few of the prelates, and the citizens of Waterford alone adhered to the cause of king Henry.

When these events reached the ears of Henry he Summoned a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice published a full pardon to all his former opponents, for the preceding one had been so clogged with conditions, and had been violated in so many points, as to have failed of its great object. He then had the carl of Warwick led from the Tower to St. Paul's, and thence brought to the palace of Shene, where the nobility and all others had daily opportunities of conversing with him. The king next (and this is a measure that has never been accounted for at all satisfactorily) seized the goods of the queen-dowager, and confined her in the convent of Bermondsey. The pretext assigned is, that she had put her daughters into the power of the late usurper; but surely if she did so to make her daughter a queen, it was not to be thence inferred that she would now engage in a plot to dethrone her!

The earl of Lincoln, whom Richard had declared heir to the throne, and whom Henry had treated with favour, now took the side of the pretender, and having established a correspondence with sir Thomas Broughton of Lancashire, went privately to the court of Margaret the duchess-dowager of Burgundy, who, as Bacon observes, " having the spirit of a man and the malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house ; and she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as that she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece as the means of the king's ascent to the crown and assurance therein." This may account for Margaret's readily engaging in the project; as for Lincoln, he may have hoped if the present king were overthrown to make good his title against the pretender, the real Warwick, and the daughters of king Edward.

Margaret having furnished Lincoln and lord Lovel with a body of two-thousand German veterans, commanded by an able officer named Martin Schwartz, they sailed for Ireland (1487) and landed at Dublin. By the advice of Lincoln the impostor was crowned in the cathedral of Christ-church

(May 24) as Edward VI. by the bishop of Meath, a crown for the occasion being taken from the statue of the Virgin: the new king was then borne from the cathedral to the castle on the shoulders of a gigantic chieftain of English blood named Barcy. A parliament was summoned and immediate preparations were made for invading England; and but ten days after his coronation (June 4) the troops of the pretender effected a lauding at Furness in Lancashire, where being joined by the tenantry of sir Thomas Broughton, they pushed on for Yorkshire. The king meantime had assembled his troops at Kenilworth, whence he advanced to Nottingham; every day he was joined by additional troops, while Lincoln found all his efforts vain to rouse the partisans of the house of York. He resolved to make himself, if possible, master of the town of Newark, but the king got between him and that place, and at Stoke the two armies came in sight (16th). Urged by despair, though his troops did not exceed eight thousand men, Lincoln accepted the proffered combat. The battle lasted but three hours, and ended in the destruction of the rebels, one half of whom were slain. Most of their leaders perished; Lincoln, Schwartz, sir Thomas Broughton, the earl of Kildare, and his brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, remained dead on the field. Lord Lovel was seen to escape, but he was never seen or heard of after*. Simons and his pupil were taken prisoners ; the former being made to confess the imposture was thrown into prison, where he died; the latter was made a turnspit in the royal kitchen, and he was afterwards raised to the more important office of one of the king's falconers. Thus ended this strange insurrection.

The king, who always felt or affected great devotion, caused a *Te Deum* to be sung at Lincoln, whither he proceeded after the battle; and he sent his banner to be offered to Our Lady of Walsingham, to whom he had made his vows. He then made a progress, or rather a judicial circuit, through the North, where he punished the aiders and abettors of the rebels, in a few cases

* "Toward the close of the 17th century at his seat at Minster-Lovel in Oxfordshire, was discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair with his head reclined on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect." Lingard, from West's Furness, p. 210. This incident has acquired additional interest from the use made of it in a romance, of which the scene is in the same neighbourhood.

with death, in most by fines and ransoms, which mode was more congenial to his feelings, as it brought money into his coffers. On his return to London, aware of the impolicy of having so long deferred the queen's coronation, he caused that ceremony to be performed with great magnificence. For this purpose, having been lodged according to custom in the Tower, she was conveyed on Saturday, November the 24th, to Westminster in a litter, over which four knights held a canopy of cloth of gold. She was attired in white cloth of gold damask, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine. "Her faire yelow haire," says our authority, "hung downe pleyne byhynd her bak with a Calle of pipes over it." Several other litters, and four baronesses mounted on gray palfreys, followed. On Sunday she was crowned, and she then dined in state in the hall, the lady Catherine Grey and mistress Ditton went and sat at her feet under the table, and the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt at each side of her, holding a kerchief at times before her. The king viewed the whole from behind a lattice.

Henry was now able to turn his attention to foreign affairs; and as the Scots were the people who could give him greatest annoyance, he took advantage of the friendly feeling which their king, James III., had toward him to establish a truce for seven years between their respective kingdoms; to strengthen their amity, it was arranged that James, who was now a widower, should marry the queen-dowager, and his two sons two of her daughters*. This project, however, was frustrated, as the king of Scots was murdered the following year by his turbulent subjects. Henry renewed the truce with his son and successor.

The affairs of Brittany were at this time in a very ticklish condition. It was the only one of the great fiefs except Burgundy which had not been reunited to the crown of France; its duke was far advanced in years, and his only children were two daughters. The eldest, Anne, who was now in her thirteenth year, was sought in marriage by Maximilian king of the Romans, by the duke of Orleans, and by the lord d'Albret of Beam. But the young king of France, Charles VIII., who, as being contracted to the daughter of Maximilian, could not seek the hand of Anne, was resolved to assert some ancient feudal claim and take possession of the duchy, and some time after the French troops entered Brittany. Both sides applied to Henry;

* Rymer, xii. 329. This fact, first adverted to by Lingard, seems to disprove completely the common notion that Henry treated his mother-in-law with great and unnecessary harshness.

to whom his parliament gave the needful funds and urged him to aid the duke, but though he took their money he heeded not their advice. The French arms still advanced (1488), and the duke was obliged to sign a treaty allowing Charles to retain his conquests, and binding himself not to marry either of his daughters without the consent of his superior lord. A few weeks after the duke and his youngest daughter both died; Charles then claimed the succession, and renewed the war, and he soon made himself master of one half of the duchy.

The English nation was eager to take the part of the persecuted princess. The parliament when summoned again freely granted supplies; "yet," says Bacon, "the subsidy granted bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn, but it was after a storm," The people of Durham and Yorkshire refused to pay it; the collectors appealed to the earl of Northumberland, who wrote to court for instructions; the king wrote back that he would not abate a penny; the earl assembled the freeholders and delivered the harsh mandate in a harsh manner ; the people became irritated, and attacking the earl's house slew himself and some of his servants. An insurrection now broke out, headed by sir John Egremont and a low fellow named John a Chamber. The king sent troops against them under the earl of Surrey, whom he had pardoned and released from the Tower, and the insurgents were speedily routed. Egremont escaped to the duchess of Burgundy ; Chamber was taken and executed at York.

A body of six thousand men, however, under lord Willoughby de Brook, was sent to Brittany; but as they were forbidden to act on the offensive they proved of little use, and as soon as the six months of their service were expired, they returned home. The duchess afterwards (1491) married Max* imilian by proxy, but the king of France having gained over her counsellors, and supporting their arguments by the terror of his arms, forced her to rescind that contract and become his queen.

Henry'seeing Brittany thus lost, resolved, since he could do nothing else, to make money of the affair. He summoned a parliament (Oct. 17), and pretending great indignation, declared his determination to make war on France; the parliament, always liberal on these occasions, readily granted two tenths and two fifteenths, and the king himself renewed the practice of extorting money under the title of benevolence*

We are told of a dilemma used by the chancellor Morton on this occasion, and which some called his fork, others his crutch. He directed the commissioners, that "if they met with any that were sparing they should tell them that they must needs have because they laid up; and if they were spenders they must needs have because it was seen in their port and manner of living." So, as the historian says, neither kind came amiss, and the king having thus gotten plenty of money at length landed at Calais (Oct. 2, 1492) with a force of sixteen hundred men-at-arms and twenty-five thousand foot, whence he advanced in a few days and laid siege to Boulogne. But this was all mere sham and pretence, for negotiations for peace were going on all the time; a treaty of peace and amity was finally concluded (Nov. 3), Charles engaging to pay, at the rate of 25,000 francs a year, the sum of 149,000/. in satisfaction of all claims on his queen, and of the arrears of the annuity due to Edward IV. Henry then returned to England; his counsellors, who had all gotten presents and pensions from Charles, praised his wisdom and policy; but his nobles, many of whom had sold or pledged their estates to furnish them for the war, were discontented, and said that "the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself."

The duchess of Burgundy was by the classic fancy of the age or of Bacon styled the king's Juno, as being to him what that goddess was to the 'pious Æneas.' She was unremitting in her hostility, and "at this time," says Bacon, "the king began again to be haunted with spirits by her magic and curious arts." For just as he had declared war against France a vessel from Portugal arrived at Cork in Ireland (May 5), on board of which was a young man of engaging mien and aged about twenty years. A rumour soon spread that he was Richard duke of York, who had escaped from the Tower. The answers he made when questioned satisfied his credulous auditors. The citizens, induced by O'Water, their late mayor, declared for him; the earl of Desmond, the great southern chief, did the same; but the earl of Kildare, when applied to, returned an ambiguous answer. Ere the pretender advanced any further he received an invitation from Charles to repair to France, which he accepted, and on his arrival he was treated as the true heir to the English crown; a guard of honour was assigned him, and the exiles, to the number of one hundred, offered him their services. Henry hurried on the peace, and Charles then ordered the pretender to quit his dominions, having now made

the use of him he had proposed. He sought refuge with Margaret of Burgundy, by whom he was received with open arms ; she styled him the White Rose of England, and gave him a guard of thirty halberdiers. The English Yorkists, anxious to ascertain the truth, sent over sir Robert Clifford as their secret agent, and he reported that he was the real duke of York. The king also despatched his emissaries (1493) in order to find out who he really was, and the result of their inquiries is said to have been that his name was Peterkin or Perkin (i. e. Little Peter) Osbeck or Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew of Tournay ; that by frequenting the society of the English merchants in Flanders, he had acquired their language and manners ; that the lady Margaret had fixed upon him as a proper person to personate her nephew ; and that fearing he would be suspected if he came direct from Flanders, she had sent him to Lisbon in the service of lady Brompton, the wife of one of the exiles. The king now required of the archduke Philip, the sovereign of Burgundy, to banish or surrender Warbeck ; but he replied that he could not control the duchess in the lands of her dower. Henry in revenge withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp, and forbade all intercourse between the two countries.

The gifts and promises of the king had gained Clifford, who communicated to him the names of the leading English Yorkists who were in correspondence with the partizans of the pretender ; and on the same clay (1494) the lord Fitzwalter and several others were arrested on a charge of treason. Sentence of death was passed on them. Sir Simon Mountfort, sir Thomas Thwaites, and Robert Radcliffe were executed at once; Fitzwalter was imprisoned at Calais; the rest were pardoned. But a greater victim was to fall. After celebrating his Christmas Henry removed his court to the Tower (Jan. 7, 1495), where Clifford was brought before him and received his pardon on his knees. Being required to reveal all he knew of the conspiracy, he named the lord chamberlain sir William Stanley, who had saved the king's life at Bosworth. The king affected great horror, and refused to believe him ; but Clifford persisted, and Stanley when examined the next day actually confessed the charge. He was tried, condemned, and some time after beheaded; and as his personal property, much exceeding 40,000 marks, and his lands, yielding 3000l. a year " of old rent," says Bacon, " a great matter in those times," fell to the king, they were thought to have stood in'the way of his pardon. It is however probable that he was really guilty of some

words or acts inconsistent with perfect loyalty. The chief charge against him seems to have been his having said, " If I were sure that that young man were king Edward's son, I would never bear arms against him."

The pretender had now lain idle for three years, and the Flemings and the archduke were complaining of the losses which he caused them. He therefore found it necessary to make an effort, and while Henry was spending some time with his mother at Latham in Lancashire, he landed (July 3) a few hundred adventurers at Deal in Kent. But the people of the country rose and killed several of them, took one hundred and fifty prisoners, and drove the rest to their boats. The prisoners were led to London, " all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in cart," and by the king's order they were hanged there or on different parts of the coast. Perkin returned to the Netherlands, but the great treaty of commerce which was signed the next year between them and England having deprived him of his asylum there, he put to sea once more. He now (149b*) sailed to Cork, but he found no countenance there, as Henry had secured the obedience of the Irish. He therefore departed, and directed his course to Scotland, where having, it is said, presented to king James letters from the king of Prance and the lady Margaret, he was received with all due honour, and the king gave him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and a near relation of his own. In the winter (1497) the king assembled an army of borderers and invaded Northumberland,; the adventurer, who had a body of about fourteen hundred English and other Outlaws with him, issued a proclamation calling on his loyal subjects to arm in his cause> and enumerating the crimes of Henry Tudor, as he styled the king. But the English took no heed; the king of Scots .then began to burn and waste the country, at which Perkin, it is said, was, or affected to be, greatly moved, declaring " that no crown was so dear to his mind as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country;" James, half in jest, made answer, " that he doubted much he **was** careful for that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy to save the country to his use."

The king used the pretext "of this inroad to call a parliament and obtain a subsidy. The tax was paid in most places, but in Cornwall the people, excited by the harangues of one Michael Joseph, a blacksmith **or farrier** of **Bodmin,** and one Thomas **Flammock,** a prating **lawyer,** assembled in arms to the number

of sixteen thousand men, and marched for London to petition the king to punish the primate Morton and sir Reginald Grey, whom they regarded as the authors of this impost. At Wells they were joined by the lord Audley, whom they made their leader ; they then advanced into Kent, and encamped on Blackheath, within view of London. The[1] king, who had his troops assembled, prepared to give them battle. He divided hid army into three parts, of which one, under the earl of Oxford, was to get hi the rear of the hill on which the rebels were posted ; the second, under d'Aubigny the lord chamberlain, was to attack them in front; while the third, under himself in person, was to remain as a reserve in St. George's Fields. On Saturday, June 22nd (the king's lucky day as he esteemed it), the attack was made. The advance guard of the rebels defended Deptford-bridge at first stoutly, but they were driven back to their main body ; D'Aubigny then gained the hill, and they scattered and fled in all directions. About two thousand of them were slain, and fifteen hundred taken, ainmig which lust were their three leaders. Lord Audley was beheaded; Flammock and Joseph were hanged at Tyburn; all the rest were pardoned.

Meantime the king of Scots again poured his light troops over the borders, and scoured the country as far as the Tecs. But on the approach of the earl of Surrey he retired, and soon after, under the mediation of the Spanish ambassador, a truce for seven years was concluded. The pretender then left Scotland, and having made another ineffectual attempt at Cork, sailed over to Whitsand bay, hi Cornwall, whence he advanced to Bodmin and raised the banner of Richard IV. The Cornishmen, to the number of three thousand, repaired to him, and his army was doubled by the time he reached Exeter, to which town lie laid siege. But the citizens defending themselves valiantly, and the nobility and gentry of the county coming to their aid, he retired, and led his men toward Taunton, at which place the royal army had now arrived. During the day (Sept. 20) he made all ready for battle with great alacrity; but about midnight he secretly departed with about sixty horse and took sanctuary at Bewdley, or Beaulieu, in the New Forest. The rebels next day finding themselves abandoned submitted, and were all pardoned except a few of the ringleaders. Some horsemen were sent to St. Michael's Mount to take the lady Catherine Gordon, who had been left there by her husband, "whom," says the historian, "in all fortunes she entirely loved, adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex." When she was brought to the king he treated her with

great kindness ; he afterwards placed her about the queen, and assigned her an honourable pension. The name of the White Rose, originally " given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty*."

A guard was placed round the sanctuary to prevent the escape of Perkin, and seeing that he had no hopes remaining, he consented to leave it on promise of a pardon (Oct. 5). The king did not admit him into his presence, but he had his liberty, and on the return to London he rode in the royal suite. On the way multitudes flocked to gaze on him. When they came to London he was led on horseback through the city to the Tower and back to Westminster. He was ordered not to quit *the* precincts of the palace, and he was repeatedly examined about his history, and a portion of his confession was made public. After six months, being weary of restraint, he contrived to escape and made for the coast, but he was so closely pursued that he took sanctuary once more at the priory of Bethlehem at Shene. At the request of the prior the king granted him his life ; but he was made to stand an entire day in the stocks at Westminster-hall, and the next day in Cheapside, and read aloud the confession which he had made and signed. He was then committed to the Tower (1498).

In the Tower Warbeek soon contrived to form an intimacy with the unhappy earl of Warwick. This ill-fated youth had spent nearly his whole life in prison, merely because he happened to be a real Plantagenet. Being secluded from all society, his faculties were never developed, and his ignorance was such that, as the chronicler says, " he could not discern a goose from a capon." He gave into the projects of the pretender for their escape; and four servants of the lieutenant, it is said, were gained, who were to murder their master and then convey the prisoners to a place of safety. But the plot was discovered in time; Perkin was then tried and convicted of treasons committed by him after his landing in the kingdom, and he was executed at Tyburn (Nov. 16), where he once more read his confession and averred its truth †. Warwick was arraigned before the house of peers for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition and to destroy the king ; the poor innocent youth pleaded guilty and was beheaded on Tower-hill (Nov. 28).

Such was the end of the last male of the Plantagenets. His

* Bacon. She afterwards married a Welsh knight named sir Matthew Craddock (Caradoc), and lies buried in the church at Swansea,

† See Appendix, N.

fate was lamented by the whole nation, and people did not hesitate to say that the late plot had been only a device of the king's to have a pretext for destroying him; for he felt that as long as Warwick lived he had no chance of peace. Even this very year a young man of Suffolk named Ralph Wilford, aided by one Patrick, a friar, had personated the young earl in Kent, and though they had no success, and the former was executed and the latter imprisoned for life, the attempt might be renewed. Those odious reasons of state which are held to justify every crime might therefore have induced the king to seize, if not make, the pretext for freeing himself from apprehension by shedding guiltless blood. But we arc assured that it was not so much anxiety for his own safety as the desire of procuring a high alliance for his son that actuated Henry. He had been for some time in treaty with Ferdinand king of Aragon for a match between his eldest son and the infanta Catherine, and he caused, it is said, letters out of Spain to be shown at this time, in which Ferdinand had written to him "that he saw no hopes of his succession as long as the earl of Warwick lived ; and that he was loath to send his daughter to troubles and dangers;" and many years after that princess on a sad occasion declared " that *she* had not offended, but it was a judgement of God for that her former marriage was made in blood*.'*

The king now had rest for the remainder of his reign. The state of almost constant hostility with Scotland was terminated in 1503 by a marriage between the king of Scots and Henry's eldest daughter Margaret. When some of his council expressed their fears that in case of the failure of the male line England might fall to the king of Scotland, the more sagacious monarch replied, *i(* that if that should be Scotland would be but an accession to Englaud, for that the greater would draw the less." Time has verified the prediction.

The long-projected marriage between prince Arthur and the Spanish infanta took place (Nov. 14, 1501) as soon as the prince had passed his fifteenth year. There were splendid festivities on the occasion, and Ludlow in Shropshire was fixed

* " Lord Bacon," says Mackintosh, " a witness against Henry above exception, positively affirms that the flagitious correspondence had been seen in England, and that it was shown by the king to excuse his assent to a deed of blood." Lingard, who would not willingly hear anything bad of Ferdinand the Catholic, speaks of it as a mere " report to remove the odium from the king." Cardinal Pole, however, Warwick's nephew, seems to have believed it, for his biographers Beccatelh and Dudith both assert it, and evidently ou his authority.

on as the abode of the young couple. But their connubial felicity was destined to an early blight, for the amiable and accomplished prince fell sick and died in the spring of the following year (Apr. 2, 1502). The king, as soon as he overcame his grief, which was great, began to think how he still might retain the Spanish connexion, and get the princess's portion, which was 200,000 crowns; and for this purpose, when it had become apparent that the late marriage had been fruitless *, it was arranged that his second son, Henry, who was now twelve years old, should espouse his brother's widow when he attained the age of fifteen. The primate Warham strongly objected to this course as contrary to the divine law, but his scruples were not regarded, and the necessary bull of dispensation was easily procured from pope Julius II.

The following year (1503) Henry lost his queen, who died in childbed in the Tower. As the dowager queen of Naples had been left an immense property by her husband, he had •thoughIK of seeking her hand ; but when he learned that the reigning king refused to let the devise be executed, he laid his plan aside*.

On the death of Isabel, queen of Castile, her crown devolved to her daughter Joanna, who was married to the archduke Philip. As the new king and queen were sailing from the Netherlands to Spain (1506) stress of weather drove them into Weymouth. As soon as Henry heard of their arrival he sent to invite them to his court at Windsor, where he detained them for three months; in which time he made Philip consent to a treaty of commerce more to the advantage of England than the former one, and also to his marriage with his sister the dowager duchess of Savoy, He, moreover, took advantage of the captivity, as we may term it, of the archduke to get into his power a man of whom he had his apprehensions. This was Edmund de la Pole, younger brother of the earl of Lincoln who was slain at Stoke. On the death 6f his father, the duke of Suffolk, Edmund claimed the title and estates, but Henry would only give him (and that as a boon) the title of earl and a small part of the property. When he afterwards had the misfortune to kill a man, in a fit of auger, the king granted him a pardon, but commanded him to plead it openly in the court of King's Bench. Suffolk's pride was wounded, and he retired to his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy. Henry, however, induced him to return, and he was present

* Henry was not given the title of Prince of Wales for some month* after Arthur's death.

at the marriage of prince Arthur; on which occasion the splendour of his equipages and other expenses involved him deeply in debt. Soon after he ran away again, and the king then suspecting a conspiracy, directed sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle of Hammes, near Calais, to pretend to desert to him, and if possible to learn his secrets. On the information sent by Curson, the king arrested his own brother-in-law, the earl of Devon, Suifolk's brother William, sir James Tyrrel, sir William Windham, and some others. The first two, against whom there was no charge but their kindred to Suffolk, were detained in prison ; the last two were executed for having aided the king's enemy* (1502). This crushed the conspiracy, if there was one, and Suffolk was now living in penury in the archduke's dominions.

One day Henry drew the archduke into a private room, and laying his hand on his arm, said, " Sir, you have been saved upon my coast; I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours." Philip asked what he meant. "I mean it," said he, " by that same harebruin wild fallow, *my* subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it." "I had thought, sir," replied Philip, "your felicity had been above these thoughts, but if 'it trouble you I will banish him." " These hornets," said the king, " are best in their nests, and worst when they do fly abroad; my desire is to have him delivered to me." Philip mused, and said, "That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours ; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." "Then," cried Henry, "the matter is at an end; for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved." It was finally agreed that Suffolk should be induced to surrender, the king pledging himself not to touch his life. He came, therefore, and was committed to the Tower, and Philip then departed.

The king's avarice naturally increased with his years, and he scrupled at no means of extorting money from his subjects. His chief agents were two able, but unprincipled lawyers, Edmund Dudley and Richard Ernpson; the former a man of good family, the latter the son of a sieve-maker. These men (whom he made barons of the Exchequer), by reviving dormant claims of the crown, by taking advantage of various ancient and nearly obsolete statutes, which had

* It was on this occasion that Tyrrel confessed the murder of the two .princes in the Tower,

created numberless offences punishable by fine, etc., and other modes, and by encouraging a host of informers, drew large sums into the royal coffers, and at the same time enriched themselves enormously, while they shared with the king in being objects of the maledictions of all classes of the people.

If we may credit the following story, the king himself equalled his agents in the art of taking advantage of the letter of the law, without regard to good feeling or justice. He was one time entertained by the earl of Oxford, a man who had always been active and zealous in his cause. As he was departing from the castle, the earl's servants and retainers, dressed in his liveries, stood drawn up in two rows to do the monarch honour. "My lord," said the king "I have heard much of your hospitality, but it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen that I see on each side of me are surely your menial servants." "That, may it please your grace," replied the earl, "were not for mine ease: they are most of them my retainers, come to do me service at a time like this, and chiefly to see your grace." Henry gave a start. "By my faith, my lord," said he, "I thank you for your good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." An act had been passed against this practice in the beginning of his reign, and the earl had to pay a fine of 10,000£. for having thus honoured his king.

Henry had been for some time subject *to* the gout; every year the attacks became more severe, and he was finally carried off by one of them (April 22, 1509), in the fifty-third year of his age.. On his death-bed he desired his son to put the earl of Suffolk to death; he also, it is said, charged him not to marry his brother's widow. He forgave all offences against the crown except murder and felony, and directed that reparation should be made to all who had suffered by the injustice of his ministers. His remains were deposited in the splendid chapel founded by himself at Westminster Abbey, which still remains, a noble monument of the king's munificence, and of the taste and skill of our forefathers in the art of architecture.

Henry VII. was personally brave, but he was a lover of peace. He was sagacious and circumspect, could conceal his own designs and fathom those of others. He was by nature distrustful; he appears to have been nearly incapable of friendship or any strong attachment. His clemency to rebels

on various occasions shows him not to have been of a cruel or sanguinary temper ; while his murder of the earl of Warwick proves that he could even shed innocent blood out of policy. But the great blemish of his character was avarice ; this low and groveling passion tinged all his acts, led him to commit numerous deeds of oppression, and caused him to leave the world laden with the maledictions of his people. From the charge of studied neglect of his queen we think he has been cleared ; he seems to have treated her with as much affection as it was in his nature to show to any woman, perhaps with as much as she deserved, when we consider her indecent haste to marry her uncle, the murderer of her brothers.

The court of Star Chamber, which afterwards became such an instrument of oppression, was invested by parliament in this reign with authority for suppressing the dangerous practice of *maintenance* or giving[1] of liveries. Its members, like those of the old Curia Regis, were the principal officers of state, with a power of adding two to their number; their powers were discretionary.

The New World was discovered by Columbus while Henry **VII.** occupied the throne. The British monarch, anxious to share in the gain, commissioned Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian who was settled at Bristol, to fit out vessels for discovery and conquest in the lands beyond the western ocean. Cabot discovered (1497) the coast of North America, from Labrador to the gulf of Florida.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII.

1509-1526.

THE new monarch was just eighteen years of age, handsome in person and popular in manners. The claims of the White and Red Roses were united in him, so that all chances of a disputed title were removed. The unpopularity of the late king, through his avarice, made men look with joyful anticipation to the reign of a young and gallant prince; and the treasures amassed by that avarice enabled him to fulfil these expectations.

Acting under the advice of his grandmother, the venerable

countess of Richmond, Henry retained all his father's faithful and experienced ministers. His next care was to celebrate his marriage with the princess Catherine, which the crafty, interested policy of their fathers had hitherto held in suspense. The ceremony was performed two months after his accession (June 24); the joint coronation immediately succeeded, and for two years pleasure and amusement formed the sole occupation of the court of England. The king, who excelled in martial exercises, loved to display his address and vigour before his consort, ber ladies, the nobility, and the foreign ambassadors; and he frequently fought at barriers, and gained the prize in their presence.

On the very day of his accession, to gratify the people, Henry had ordered Empson, Dudley, and their chief agents or *promoters,* as they were termed, to be arrested. The latter were pilloried, and then led on horseback through the city, with their faces to the horses' tails, and finally imprisoned for different terms; the former were charged before the council with having usurped the authority of the courts of law, kept heirs out of their lands, etc. Empson made an ingenious and eloquent defence; and these charges not proving tenable, and it being resolved not to let them escape, an absurd one of a design to secure the person of the young king on the death of his father, and make themselves masters of the government, was brought against them. On this, which every one must have known to be false, juries readily found them guilty. They were respited, however, and might perhaps have been suffered to linger out their lives in prison, but that the king was so harassed with complaints against them in his progress the following summer (1510), that he signed the wnrraut for their execution, and they Buffered *on* Tower-hill.

Our restricted limits will *un* this, and on future occasions, prevent our entering into details on the affairs of the continent, in which England now began for the first time to take a part. A very slight sketch of them must therefore suffice at present. The great scene of political contention at this period was Italy, where the republics, with the exception of Venice and Genoa, had, after their brilliant but unquiet career, sunk under the despotism of petty princes. These little potentates, by their marriages and alliances with the transalpine royal houses, had caused them to have claims on various parts of Italy; thus Charles VIII. of France and Ferdinand of Aragon had had a pretext for making the conquest of Naples, from which the latter afterwards expelled the former; and Louis

XII. of France had lately, in right of his mother, made himself master of the duchy of Milan. The emperor of Germany had a claim of feudal superiority over the different Italian states; while the valiant and turbulent, yet perhaps patriotic, pontiff, Julius II., sought only to extend the papal dominions, to humble the pride of the Venetians, and then to drive the *Barbarians* (as the Italians styled the transalpine nations) out of Italy. The League of Cambray (1508), in which the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain united against the Venetians, sufficed to humble their haughty aristocracy before the pontiff; but it gave occasion to hostilities between him and the king of France. Ferdinand, and at his desire, his son-in-law of England, took the side of the pontiff, which party was also, after some hesitation, embraced by the emperor Maximilian.

Ferdinand, who never knew a generous sentiment, and thought only on his own interests, proposed to his son-in-law a joint invasion of Guienne, to which Henry now asserted his right. The Spanish monarch's real object, however, as will appear, was the acquisition of the little kingdom of Navarre, which was held in right of his wife by John d'Albret, lord of Beam, a vassal of the crown of France. It was agreed that Henry should send a force of six thousand five hundred men, Ferdinand one of nine thousand; while a fleet, to be furnished in equal proportions, should keep the sea. Accordingly in the month of June (1512) the marquess of Dorset landed with the English army in Guipuscoa; while a fleet under the lord admiral sir Edward Howard, cruized all the summer in the Bay of Biscay. Dorset proposed marching at once against Bayonne, but, Ferdinand pretended that it was not safe to leave Nnvarre' in the rear. A. joint embassy was then sent to the king of Navarre to demand his neutrality; to this he agreed, but Ferdinand, affecting to distrust him, required the surrender of his fortresses. This being refused, the duke of Alva entered Navarre, and laid siege to Pampeluna, its capital, which was speedily reduced. The whole kingdom then submitted, and the king was obliged to seek a refuge in France. The Spanish general then called on Dorset to join in the invasion of Guienne; but the latter was now grown mistrustful; his troops were suffering from disease, a spirit of mutiny had spread among them, and they demanded to he sent home; and though, at the desire of the Spanish envoy, Windsor herald was sent out with orders for them to remain,

they obliged their leaders to embark, and they landed at Portsmouth in December. Henry was at first greatly displeased, but he was at length satisfied with the explanations of the marquess.

While the army was lying thus inactive in Spain, sir Edward Howard made frequent descents on the coast of Brittany. At length (Aug. 12) he fell in with the French fleet of twenty sail, commanded by admiral Primauget. Sir Charles Brandon, without waiting for orders, bore down on the admiral's ship, the Cordelier of Brest. As this last was of great size, carrying a crew of sixteen hundred men, her fire quickly dismasted the English vessel, to whose aid sir Thomas Knyvett hastened with the Regent, the largest ship in the English navy. The combat had lasted more than an hour, when another vessel came to the aid of Knyvett; Primauget then, to save the honour of his flag, set fire to the Cordelier; the flames spread to the Regent, and both were consumed, and all on board of them perished. The rest of the French fleet escaped into Brest. Sir Edward Howard then made a vow never to see the face of the king till he had avenged the death of sir Thomas Knyvett. A still larger ship, named the Henry Grace Dieu, was built to replace the Regent. The following year (Apr. 25, 1513) sir Edward Howard, (whose maxim was* that a seaman should be brave even to madness, to be good for anything) while blockading Brest, attempted, with two galleys and four boats, to cut out a squadron of six galleys, moored in a bay between rocks planted with cannon. Followed by no more than eighteen men, he leaped aboard the largest vessel; but his own galley chancing to fall astern, he and his companions were left alone, and the crew with their pikes pushed them overboard, where they were drowned. The English fleet retired, and the French in return insulted the coast of Sussex, till Sir Thomas Howard, who succeeded his brother, chased them into Brest.

The king had now assembled a gallant army of twenty-five thousand men for the invasion of France. Two divisions sailed under the earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Herbert; Henry himself followed (June 30) with the third, leaving the queen "rectrix and governor of the realm," and having previously given orders for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who lay in the Tower. We have seen that the late king had enjoined him to rid himself of him if he would be safe; and as Suffolk's brother had been so imprudent as to take a com-

mand in the French army, and had assumed the title of the White Rose, the wrath of the king may have been thus excited against the unhappy prisoner. The envoys at foreign courts were instructed to declare that a traitorous correspondence between the brothers had been discovered.

The king loitered for some weeks at Calais, spending his time in festivity, while his generals invested the city of Terouenne. At length (Aug. 4) he entered the camp, where he was joined by the emperor Maximilian with four thousand horse; and this monarch, so high in dignity, to flatter the vanity of his young ally, styled himself his volunteer, wore the red rose and St. George's cross, and accepted one hundred crowns a day as his pay. The French king had, on his part, advanced as far as Amiens for the relief of Terouenne. He mustered his cavalry, renowned in the wars of Italy, at Blangi (16th), and it advanced in two divisions on the opposite banks of the river Lis. Maximilian led out his German horse and the English mounted archers, while Henry followed with the infantry. A sudden panic seized the French; they turned, though greatly superior in numbers, and fled without striking a blow, leaving prisoners in the hands of the enemy their commander the duke of Longueville, Bussi d'Amboise, the chevalier Bayard, Clermont, La Fayette, and several other men of distinction. This route was named the battle of Guinegate, from the place, but more usually that of Spurs, as the French made more use of their spurs than of their swords. Terouenne now surrendered, and the English army then advanced and laid siege to Ton may, which opened its gates on the eighth day (Sept. 29) ; and Henry, having devoted some days to festivity, returned to England for the winter.

Though the king of Scotland was Henry's brother-in-law, he shared, to the misfortune of himself and kingdom, in the war against him. The union between the two British sovereigns had never been cordial; James had in vain demanded the jewels left by will to his queen by her late father ; to as little purpose had he required that the bastard Heron of Ford should be tried for the murder of sir Robert Ker, warden of the Scottish marches; and with far less justice, he insisted on satisfaction for the death of Andrew Barton. For having granted letters of reprisal against the Portuguese to three brothers of this name, they took not merely Portuguese but English ships, under pretence of their carrying Portuguese property. On the repeated complaints of his subjects, Henry

pronounced the Bartons pirates, and two of their ships were captured in the Downs ; on which occasion Andrew Barton received a wound of which he died. To James[5] demand of satisfaction, Henry scornfully replied, that the fate of a pirate was beneath the notice of kings, and that the matter might be settled by commissioners on the borders. When Henry joined in the league against Louis the latter sought earnestly to gain the Scottish king, to whom he sent many large sums of money ; while his queen, Anne of Brittany, named James her knight, and sent him a ring from her own finger. The English envoys, on the other hand, required him to remain neuter. Much diplomatic finesse, seasoned with the usual proportion of falsehood and insincerity, was employed on all sides ; but when James found that the English had actually invaded France, he summoned his vassals to meet him at the Burrowmoor, and sent his fleet with a force of three thousand men to the aid of Louis. At the head of a numerous army the king of Scotland then crossed the Tweed (Aug. 22) near its confluence with the Till, and turning northwards laid siege to the castle of Norham, which held out for six days against him : it then surrendered, and its example was followed by the castles of Wark, Etall, and Ford. The Scots crossed the Till, and encamped (Sept. 6) on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot range, bordering on the dale of the Tweed.

The earl of Surrey, to whom Henry had committed the Scottish war, was at Pontefract when James crossed the Tweed; he had summoned the gentry of the north to meet him at Newcastle, and when they repaired to his standard his forces amounted to twenty-six thousand men. He then advanced at their head (Sept. 7) to Woolcr-haugh, within five miles'of the enemy. When he saw their position, fortified by nature on all sides but one, and that defended by cannon, he feared to attack, and, sending a herald to James, required him to descend into the plain, and engage on equal terms. The monarch refused. Surrey then, by the advice of his son the lord-admiral, resolved to march toward Scotland, and then return and take the army in the rear. The English therefore crossed the Till in two divisions, a van and rearguard, the former led by the admiral, the latter by Surrey in person, and marched till evening up its right bank. At sunrise next morning (Sept. 9) they crossed it by the bridge of Twissel, and going down the left bank approached the Scottish camp. James, **who** now saw their object, ordered his men to fire their huts

and retire to the hill of Brankston, more to the north. The smoke filled the entire valley, and when it cleared away the vanguard of the English found themselves at the foot of the hill, on which the Scots were posted in five solid masses. They halted till the rearguard came up, and both then advanced in one line; the Scots meantime began to descend in good order and perfect silence.

The right wing of the English vanguard was assailed by a body of Scottish spearmen under the lord Home. It gave way, and its leader lord Edmund Howard was unhorsed, and lay on the ground expecting to be slain or taken, when the bastard Heron came with a body of outlaws and restored the battle; and the lord Dacre, with a reserve of fifteen hundred men, took the Scots in the rear and put them to flight. A body of seven thousand Scots, under the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, was meantime hotly engaged with the remainder of the English vanguard, till after an obstinate and bloody conflict, Errol and Crawford fell, and their men broke and fled. The king in person, followed by a numerous body of gallant warriors cased in armour, assailed the rearguard, and bearing down all resistance had nearly reached the royal standard, when sir Edward Stanley, who had defeated and chased over the hill the earls of Lennox and Argyle who were opposed to him, returned and took the body led by the king in the rear. James was slain by an unknown hand within a spear's length of Surrey. The battle, which began after four in the evening, lasted but an hour. The approach of night and the want of cavalry caused the pursuit not to exceed four miles. The loss of the Scots was ten thousand men, among whom were their king, his natural son the archbishop of St. Andrews, two bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction. The body of the Scottish king was conveyed to London to be there interred. To reward the victors, Surrey was created duke of Norfolk; his son, earl of Surrey; Brandon lord Lisle, duke of Suffolk; lord Herbert, earl of Somerset; and sir Edward Stanley, lord Mounteagle.

When the Scots had recovered a little from the consternation caused by this calamitous defeat, they proceeded to regulate the affairs of the realm. The queen was allowed to retain the regency as guardian to her infant son James V.; but when shortly after the birth of her second son, of whom she had been left pregnant, she gave her hand to the earl of

Angus, a young nobleman who had little but his personal beauty to recommend him, the regency was transferred to the duke of Albany. A deputation was sent to France, where he resided, to invite him over; and though Henry obtained from the French government a solemn promise that he should not be permitted to depart, he made his way to Scotland (1515) and assumed the royal authority. When he learned that Henry was tampering with the queen to bring her children to England, he besieged her in the castle of Stirling, and forced her to surrender the two princes.

To return to continental affairs. While Henry during the winter was making every preparation for renewing the war with vigour in the spring, Louis was no less strenuous in his exertions to procure a general peace (1514). The present pontiff Leo X., a lover of pleasure rather than of war, was easily propitiated; the permission to retain Navarre rapidly infused pacific notions into the mind of Ferdinand; and even Maximilian listened readily to a proposal for the marriage of a daughter of Louis, with Milan for her portion, to his grandson Charles, though this prince was already engaged to the princess Mary, sister of the king of England. Louis lost no time in making Henry aware of this arrangement, which at first he could hardly credit. When he could no longer doubt of it, he began to lend an ear to proposals for peace, and Louis' queen happening to die at this time he offered his hand to Henry's sister Mary. Though Louis was fifty-three years old and the princess but sixteen, and her affections moreover were engaged to the accomplished duke of Suffolk, she was induced to give her consent. The marriage was celebrated by proxy at Greenwich and at Paris. The young queen was then conducted to Abbeville by the duke of Norfolk, where Louis met her, and the ceremony was renewed in the cathedral (Oct. 9). Next day, to the grief and surprise of the bride, all her English attendants, except Norfolk's niece Anne Moleyn, , a mere girl, and two others, were ordered home. Louis then conducted her to St. Denis, where she was crowned. The amorous monarch was enraptured with the charms of his youthful bride; but his constitution had been enfeebled, the change in his habits and mode of life was more than he could bear, and in less than three months (Jan. 1, 1515) the bride became a widow.

Louis was succeeded by Francis count of Angouleme, the next male heir. The new monarch was naturally anxious that

Mary should not espouse the archduke Charles. As Suffolk was at the head of the embassy sent by Henry to convey her back to England, Francis, who knew of his love, urged him to seek her hand at once ; and Mary herself gave him a challenge which few men could refuse, by asking him if he had now the courage to marry her at once, and fixing the day by which he must resolve to marry her or lose her for ever. Suffolk accepted the challenge; they were privately married in the month of March; Francis communicated the affair to Henry, interceding for the lovers; and Mary wrote taking the whole blame on herself. Henry was, or affected to be, extremely angry, but at length he relented and forgave them. Perhaps he was aware of the whole from the very commencement, as Suffolk had written to the* favourite Wolsey in order to sound the king's disposition*. Indeed, from his fixing on Suffolk to convey his sister to England, and from the whole progress of the affair, it is not unlikely that Henry, who was far from being devoid of generosity, may have secretly wished to promote the union of the lovers, whom he ever after treated with the greatest affection.

It was about this time that the great power and influence of Wolsey attained its height, and during fifteen years he ruled the kingdom with a power nearly dictatorial. We will therefore sketch his history and character.

Thomas Wolsey, the son, as was said, of a butcher at Ipswich, having received a learned education entered the church. He became tutor in the family of the marquess of Dorset, who, pleased with his talents, recommended him to Henry VII., by whom he was made one of the royal chaplains. The king employed him in a secret negotiation respecting his marriage with Margaret of Savoy, and was so pleased with his conduct in it that he bestowed on him the deanery of Lincolu †. Soon after the accession of Henry VIII. Wolsey was made almoner, a situation which brought him into constant intercourse with the king; and the polish and gaiety of the almoner's manners, and the readiness with which, though in orders and nearly forty years of age, he entered into the royal pleasures,—even,

* On a subsequent occasion Wolsey told Suffolk that if it had not been for *him* he would have lost his head.

† Wolsey used such extraordinary despatch, and was so favoured by circumstances, that, quitting the king at Richmond at noon, he went to Brussels, arranged all matters with the emperor, and was back at Richmond bv the night of the third day. Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, pp. 10-14.

it is said, singing, dancing, and carousing with the youthful courtiers,—quickly won him the heart of Henry, who was also aware of his talents for business, and delighted with his skill in the theology of the schools. Preferments rapidly flowed in upon him. On the taking of Tournay he was made bishop of that see ; he then became dean of York, then bishop of Lincoln, and finally archbishop of York, within the one year (1514). He was now courted by foreign princes, and even the pope, to secure his influence, sent him a cardinal's hat (1515); and the same year, on the resignation of archbishop Warham, the king conferred on him the office of chancellor. The pontiff finally (1518) invested him with the dignity of papal legate, and his ambitious mind now aspired even to the papacy itself. •

The wealth of Wolsey was enormous. Beside his archbishoprick he farmed the revenues of the sees of Hereford and "Worcester, which were held by foreigners ; he held in *commendam* the abbey of St. Albans and the see of Bath, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Durham, and this again for the more wealthy sec of Winchester. His legatine court and the chancery brought him in large emoluments, and he had pensions from the pope, the emperor, and the king of France. Bound to celibacy by his order, profuse and vain by nature, he hoarded not his wealth; he lived in a style of princely magnificence, and barons and knights were among the officers of his household; palaces, abbeys, colleges, rose or were enlarged from his munificence; the learned men of **all,** countries tasted of his bounty. At the same time in his office of chancellor he was just and upright, and his improvements in the administration of justice entitled him to the gratituda of flic people.

England was now in tranquillity both externally and internally. The king of France had recovered the Milanese; and on the death of the emperor Maximilian (1519), he and Henry, and the late emperor's grandson Charles, who had already succeeded his maternal grandsire, Ferdinand, in his dominion over Spain, Naples, and the New World, became candidates for the vacant dignity. The contest in reality lay between Francis and Charles, and the decision of the electors in favour of the latter laid the foundation of a lasting enmity between the two monarchs. Each was solicitous to gain to his side the king of England and his powerful favourite. Francis, in reliance on his own address and powers of persuasion, eagerly

desired a personal interview; he therefore (1520) summoned Henry to perform an article in the last treaty between them, by which it was stipulated that they should meet in person on the borders of their dominions. Henry, acting under the influence of the Spanish cabinet, sought to evade compliance; but Francis was too adroit for him, and the arrangement being committed by both monarchs to Wolsey, he appointed an interview to take place on the last day of May between Ardrcs and Guisnes, within the English territory; on which occasion a tournament should be held, in which the kings of France and England, each with eighteen companions, should answer all opponents at tilt, tourney, and barriers.

Henry and his court set out for Calais (May 21). On reaching Canterbury he learned that the emperor with a squadron of ships had cast anchor at Hythe: for Charles, in consequence (as he pretended) of most urgent affairs, being on his way from Spain to the Netherlands, and hearing as he came up the channel that the English court was so near the coast, could not, he said, omit the opportunity of paying his respects to his uncle and aunt, He came to court and remained for four days, during which short time he completely gained the affections of Henry, and he also secured the interest of Wolsey by assurances of the papacy on the next vacancy. On the very day of his departure (31st), the king and court of England passed over to Calais.

A temporary palace of frame-work, which had boon sent out from England, had been erected near the castle of Guisnes. It contained a stately chapel and numerous apartments, whose walls were hung with tapestry and the ceilings covered with silk. A similar edifice had been erected for Francis near the town of Ardres. When the two monarchs had arrived at their respective pavilions, Wolsey visited Francis, and an additional treaty for the marriage of the dauphin with Henry's only child Mary was concluded, Francis binding the crown of France to the payment of one hundred thousand crowns a year to that of England in case of their issue being seated on the English throne. When this arrangement had been made the two monarchs rode (June 7) to the vale of Andern, within the territory of Guisnes; and while their attendants halted on the opposite eminences they rode down into the valley, met and embraced, and then walked arm in arm into a pavilion which had been prepared for their reception, where they held a secret conference on the late treaty.

Serious business being now at an end the martial exercises began. During six days the kings tilted with spears against all comers; the tourney with the broad-sword on horseback occupied two more, and on the concluding day they fought on foot at barriers. The queens and their ladies looked on from their galleries and awarded the prizes; and whether it were owing to their own superior skill and prowess, or to the flattering courtesy of their opponents, the monarchs were invariably the winners. The heralds duly registered the names, arms, and feats of the knights. The French and English nobles, like their sovereigns, vied with each other in the display of magnificence on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, as the place of meeting was romantically styled; and debts were incurred which the frugality of a whole life proved in many cases unable to clear off*.

Yet, amidst all the gaiety and courtesy of the tournament, mutual distrust still prevailed. The number of guards and attendants on both sides was duly counted; when the kings would visit the respective queens, each set forth at the signal of the discharge of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle spot, and when Henry entered the French, Francis entered the English territory. At length, Francis, open and generous by nature, grew disgusted with these precautions; mounting his horse he rode one morning with but three attend-, ants to Guisncs, and entering the chamber where Henry was a-bed, told him he was his prisoner. Henry rose and embraced him, and Francis, saying he should have no valet but himself, aided him to dress. Next day Henry returned the compliment, yet, still dubious of treachery, he always disguised himself and his attendants on his return from Ardres. On the last day (June 24), when Francis was on his return from taking leave of queen Catherine, he met a body of maskers; Henry, who was one of them, discovered himself, and flung a collar of pearls worth 15,000 angels round the neck of Francis, who in return presented him with a costly bracelet. They then embraced, and bade each other farewell.

So ended this memorable but useless interview. Useless, for Henry forthwith visited the emperor at Gravelines, and any impression made by the more generous Francis was quickly effaced by the arts of his young but calculating rival, who

* -Many," says Bellay, "carried on their shoulders their mills, their forests, and their meadows."

made Wolsey more than ever his own by renewed assurances of the papacy, and by immediate possession of the revenues of three Spanish bishoprics. Charles, having conducted his uncle back to Calais, and spent three days with him there, returned to his own dominions.

The following year (1521) an event occurred in England which cast the first stain on the hitherto sufficiently blameless administration of Henry. Thomas Stafford duke of Buckingham, son of him who was put to death by Richard III., was one of the wealthiest subjects in England; he was moreover of the blood royal, and held the great office of lord high constable. It is said that he incurred the enmity of Wolsey by complaining of the great expense caused by the interview at Guisnes, and by laying the blame on the cardinal. He had certainly excited the king's suspicions and jealousy by his imprudence.

Buckingham, possessed with the usual folly of desiring to pry into futurity, had formed an intimacy with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who pretended to the gift of prophecy; and the lucky guesses of this man on one or two occasions had confirmed the duke in his belief in his skill. Hopkins at times darkly intimated that Henry would leave no issue, and that great things were portended for Buckingham's son. What the effect of these hints may have been on the mind of the duke cannot be said positively, but he augmented his household, and sir William Bulmer, among others, quitted the king's to enter his service. For this offence Bulmer was brought before the star-chamber just before the king went to France, and Henry, on pardoning him, used very enigmatic language respecting Buckingham. Some time after the duke discharged a relation of his own named Knevett, whom he had made his steward , and this man out of revenge went to Wolsey and revealed all he knew, with additions, as usual, of the projects of Buckingham. The duke was summoned to court from his seat in Gloucestershire. On his way he observed that he was closely followed by three knights ; at Windsor he met with insult; at York-place the cardinal refused to see him ; and as he proceeded down the river in his barge to Greenwich he was arrested and conveyed to the Tower. He was soon after arraigned for high treason before the duke of Norfolk, lord high steward, and a jury of twenty-one peers. Knevett, Hopkins, and his confessor and chancellor, were examined as witnesses against him. He defended himself with eloquence and

spirit; all the charges made against him did not amount to an overt act of treason, yet he was found guilty. The duke of Norfolk with tears pronounced his sentence; he replied with dignity, declaring his forgiveness of them and his resolution not to sue for mercy. He suffered on Tower-hill (May 17), amidst the lamentations of the people, who vented their rage on Wolsey, the supposed author of his death, by crying out "The butcher's son!"

Meanwhile the war had been renewed between Charles and Francis. Both parties, however, accepted the mediation of the king of England, and Wolsey being appointed arbitrator, repaired to Calais to try to effect a peace. His commission, however, ended, as perhaps it was intended to do, in a league between the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, against France. Henry's daughter the princess Mary was engaged to the emperor, and the allies were simultaneously to invade France the following spring. The vacancy of the papal throne, by the sudden death of Leo (Dec. 1), raised Wolsey's hopes to their height; his own sovereign favoured his aspirations; the emperor was hound to him by promises and obligations; he possessed in abundance that which was omnipotent at Home—money; yet the duplicity of the emperor, the jealousy of the French cardinals, or the arts of the cardinal Julio de' Medici, foiled his projects, and the choice of the sacred college fell upon Adrian of Utrecht, the emperor's tutor. As, however, the new pontiff was advanced in years, Wolsey readily listened to the excuses and the renewed promises of Charles, who on his way back to Spain landed at Dover (May 25, 1522), and passed five weeks at the English court.

As the invasion of France had been arranged at this interview, the earl of Surrey passed over in the autumn to Calais, with twelve thousand men of paid troops and four thousand volunteers, and being joined by one thousand German and Spanish horse made an inroad into the French territory (Aug. 31). He wasted and plundered the country as far as Amiens; but as the French would as usual give no opportunity of righting, and a dysentery broke out among his troops, he was obliged to lead them back to Calais (Oct. 16). The Scottish regent, meantime, at the impulse of Francis, as the truce was expired, assembled an army of eighty thousand men for the invasion of England; but, deceived and terrified by the vaunts of lord Dacre, warden of the western marches, who menaced

him with an army which actually did not exist, he disbanded his forces, glad to obtain a month's respite from war. The following year (1523) Surrey entered Scotland and burned the town of Jedburgh ; the regent assembled a force of sixty thousand men on the Burrow-moor, and soon after formed the siege of Wark (Nov. 1). Surrey, whose forces had been increased from nine to fifty thousand, advanced to give, him battle, but the Scottish army decamped at midnight and recrossed the borders. Albany soon after left Scotland, never to return; and the scandalous familiarity of queen Margaret with the son of lord Evandale having alienated her friends, her husband, the earl of Angus, assumed the regency under the protection of Henry, and for eighteen years tranquillity prevailed on the borders.

Again was Wolsey doomed to meet with disappointment in his suit for the papacy. On the death of Adrian (Sept. 14) Henry called on Charles to perform his engagements to the cardinal; the English minister at Rome was directed to spare neither money nor promises ; some members of the sacred college were gained, but the same causes operated against him as before, and by one of the manoeuvres familiar to the conclave, the election fell ou Julio de' Medici, the nephew of Leo X., who took the name of Clement V I I. Wolsey was at length fully convinced of the insincerity of the emperor, fur the papal throne was now occupied by a man much younger than himself. Dismissing, therefore, all his dreams of ambition, he began to think of the true interests of England; secret negotiations were entered into with the king of France, and when the defeat at Pavia (1525) had placed that monarch a captive in the hands of the emperor, Henry hastened to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive between the crowns of France and England. The following year (1526) the match between the emperor and the princess of Wales was broken off, and a marriage between her and Francis himself, or his son the duke of Orleans, was proposed. His domestic affairs, however, now began to occupy the attention of Henry, and as they were productive of most important results, we must devote ourselves for some time to them exclusively. «

The character of Henry will now undergo an apparent change ; the festive jovial monarch will gradually display the lineaments of the barbarous capricious tyrant, and deeds will be perpetrated deserving of the severest censure of the historian, and the reprobation of all good men.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED).

1527-1535,

EUROPE had now for centuries bowed beneath the system of polytheistic idolatry taught by the papal hierarchy. The time was at length arrived when reason was to resume her rights, and forms of religion more in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel were to be established, ,The Reformation marks one of the most important æras in the history of mankind; as it speedily extended to England, and there produced its best fruits, we will here give a sketch of its commencement, and a slight account of the early life of the man who was the great agent in emancipating the human mind.

Among the mighty plans of pope Julius II. was one for erecting at Rome a magnificent temple in honour of the apostle from whom the popes pretend to derive their authority. When Leo X., of the tasteful family of the Medici, ascended the papal throne in the thirty-seventh year of his age, his ambition excited him to continue and complete this noble edifice. But his generosity and extravagance had nearly drained the papal treasury, and, being perfectly ignorant of and careless about religion, he without any scruple had recourse to the old practice of selling indulgences. The principal agent for the holy traffic in Germany was a Dominican friar named Tetzel, who filled the office of inquisitor, a man of scandalous life, ignorant, and matchlessly impudent. Tetzel, who had been already similarly employed, selected suitable assistants from among the brethren of his own order; and soon, from press and pulpit, streamed forth currents of declamation oa the pains of purgatory and the sovereign power of indulgences, for the remission of sins, past, present and to come, howe\er deep might be their die. The simple, good-hearted Germans gladly purchased the remission of their own sins, and those of their deceased kindred, now languishing in purgatory. The per-centage allowed to Tetzel and his brethren was therefore considerable, and the tavern and the brothel we are assured shared largely in their gains. His ill-fortune at length, led Tetzel to the neighbourhood of the newly-founded univer*

sity of Wittemberg, in Saxony; and here Providence had prepared an overthrow, not merely for indulgences, but for the whole system on which the papacy had been erected.

The professor of theology at this time at Wittemberg was Dr. Martin Luther. This extraordinary man was born at Eisleben, in the cdunty of Mansfeld, in the year 1483. His father, who was engaged in the mines of that country, gave him a good education, intending him for the study of the civil law. He had made some progress in this science, when an accident changed the whole current of his thoughts and his future life. As he was walking alone one day in the fields there came on a dreadful storm of lightning and thunder; in his terror he flung himself on the ground, and made a vow to enter a monastery if he escaped. This vow he kept; notwithstanding the grief and entreaties of his parents, and he became an Augustinian friar in the year 1505. Two years after he found by chance in the library of his convent a Latin Bible, and thus to his surprise discovered that there were more Scriptures than those portions contained in the ordinary books of devotion. About this time, too, as he was suffering under the distress of conscience incident to pious* minds, he was comforted by an aged brother of his order, who showed him, from the Creed and a sermon of St. Bernard's, that remission of sins was to be had by faith only. He applied himself diligently to the Scriptures, and to the writings of St. Augustine, and was soon regarded as the most learned man of his order in Germany. He was ordained in 1507, and Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony, by the advice of Staupitz the vicar-general of the Augustinian order, made him professor of philosophy at Wittemberg. Three years after Luther visited Rome on the affairs of his convent, and he returned with no very favourable impressions of the zeal and piety of the Italian clergy. After his return, he applied himself diligently to the study of the Scriptures, and in 1512, having taken his doctor's degree, he expounded the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans.* He held the doctrines of election and of justification by faith only, and he had begun to view the scholastic theology with indifference or contempt, on which account he was even then suspected of heresy.

While Luther was thus engaged in the search after and communication of truth, Tetzel came into his neighbourhood. Some of those who made their confessions to Luther acknowledged sins of no common magnitude, for which they boldly demanded*

absolution. Luther refused, alleging that sincere contrition and heavy penance must precede. They produced the indulgences they had purchased from Tetzel. He bade them beware how they trusted to such things, and still refused them absolution. They complained to Tetzel, who. pronounced Luther a heretic, against whom, in virtue of his office of inquisitor, he was bound to proceed. Luther then set himself to examine the authority for this power of granting indulgences, and finding that there was none, he began to preach openly against them *. The warfare between him and the papacy thus began, but its progress and its glorious results fall not within the limits of a history of England.

In this country, the doctrines of Wickliffe, in spite of the efforts of the clergy, and the terrors of the stake, had secretly spread to a great extent. The books of the Saxon reformer, whose tenets were so nearly akin to his, were speedily translated, and were eagerly purchased. The bishops, however, exerted themselves to suppress the reformed practices and opinions. They acted on the slightest suspicions, and it sufficed to bring a man to the stake that he should have taught his children the Creed, Lord's prayer and commandments in the vulgar tongue. To damp the spirit of the reformers still more, the king himself came forward as the literary champion of the church. His course of studies had lain much among the schoolmen ; and the writings of that extraordinary genius Thomas Aquinas, named the Angelic Doctor, were his chief favourites. As Luther, in his Babylonish Captivity, had violently assailed these works, which formed the great armoury of the Romish party, the choler of the royal theologian was excited, and he resolved to enter the lists with the Saxon friar. "With the aid of his bishops and of the learned sir Thomas More, he produced in the year 1521 a work entitled A Defence of the Seven Sacraments, respectable both in matter and style. It was dedicated to the pope, by whom it was received with gratitude, and the title of Defender of the Faith was bestowed on its royal author. Luther, however, treated it with little respect; and as Henry, after the usage of the time, had given him hard names, he repaid the compliment in kind and with interest. He afterwards, however, wrote an ample apology;

* The common story of Luther's opposition to Tetzel having arisen from the disappointed avarice of the Augustinians, and their jealousy at the sale of indulgences being given to the Dominicans, is utterly devoid of foundation. Yet Dr. Lingard cannot refrain from insinuating it.

but, with uncourtier-like simplicity, excused himself on the ground of his having been assured that the work was not the king's own, but that it was the production of the cardinal of York, "that object of hatred to both God and man—that pest of the English realm." It may easily be supposed that an apology like this tended little to mollify the sceptred controversialist, of whose zealous cooperation the pope and clergy now felt quite assured. Yet a deadly enmity and a final separation were to take place between the papacy and its champion : the occasion was as follows.

Though Henry VII., in his anxiety to retain the Spanish portion and Spanish alliance, had disregarded the scruples of "Warham, and had obtained the papal dispensation, he see.us not to have been at ease in his mind about the matter; and lie obliged the prince, the day before he attained the age of fifteen years, to make a formal protest against the consummation of the marriage, and when dying he conjured him it is said to break *is* off. Catherine, however, had won the affections of young Henry, and of the people, by her amiable temper and her blameless manners, and he espoused her with general approbation. She bore him three sons and two daughters, but they all died in infancy except the lady Mary, born in 1.515. The queen now fell into ill health; her temper naturally melancholy became peevish, and though she retained the king's esteem she lost her hold on his affections. Nature, in fact, had destined Catherine for the convent rather than the court* : and, though Henry had not been strictly faithful to the marriage bed †, his attachment to her for so many years is not undeserving of praise.

Henry, who ardently longed for male issue, now gave up all hopes, and he therefore caused his daughter Mary to be proclaimed princess of Wales (1518). The early deaths of his offspring, who had but blossomed to die, probably led him to reflect on the nature of his marriage; he consulted the pages of the Angelic Doctor, and there found that the pope has not the power to dispense with the laws of God; among which is to be reckoned, as moral and eternal, that in the law of Moses prohibiting marriage with a brother's widow; and the very curse (that of childlessness) there denounced seemed to have fallen on him. It is not known when these scruples first began

* See in Sanders (De Schism. Anglic, p. 5) the account of her devotional exercises. Few, we fancy, would covet so *very* devout a wife.

† He had a natural son by Mary Blount (in 1519), whom he created duke of Richmond. That he violated, and then retained as his mistress, Mary the elder sister of Anne Boleyn, is asserted by Cardinal Pule.

to affect him, but according to his own assertion* he ceased in 1524 to cohabit with the queen.

In 1527, when a marriage was agreed on between the princess Mary and the king of France or his son, the bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, expressed some doubts as to her legitimacy. The king then mentioned his scruples to his confessor Longland, bishop of Lincoln. It is asserted by many writers, and it is perhaps the truth, that Wolsey, who hated the queen because she rebuked him for his ill life, and ardently longed for revenge on the emperor for his conduct about the papacy, was at the bottom of the whole proceeding, that he first instilled doubts into the king's mind, and then engaged the bishop of Tarbes to raise objections. Whether he were the original author of the scruples or not, the cardinal entered warmly into the project of procuring a divorce, and thus avenging himself on the queen and the emperor; at the same time he planned a French connexion for his royal master. The person on whom he fixed was Kenee, daughter to the late king Louis XII., and he went over himself to France in the summer of this year on that project †. But while Wolsey was thus pursuing his schemes of ambition and revenge, a person of whom he little dreamed had acquired an invincible power over the heart of the king.

When the young widow of Louis XII. returned to England the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn remained behind, and was taken into the service of Claude the queen of Francis I. After some years (1522) Anne Boleyn was recalled to England, and she became one of the attendants of queen Catherine, and as she was beautiful in person, accomplished in manners, sensible, witty, and animated in conversation, she was soon the object of general admiration. Lord Henry Percy, the heir of Northumberland, who was then in the family of the cardinal, paid his addresses to her. His suit was favourably received, but the king directed the cardinal to prevent the match. He accordingly reminded Percy of the inferiority of Anne's family; but the lover asserted that her lineage was equal to his own‡,

* He said so to Grineus; as the latter tells Buccr in his letter of Sept. 10, 1531. See Burnet, i. 59. This may have heen on account of the queen's infirmities, though Henry said otherwise; for he was not a man of strict veracity.

† Renee afterwards married Ercole II. duke of Ferrara, and was the mother of Alfonso IL and his sisters Lucrezia and Leonora, the patrons of Torquato Tasso.

‡ Her mother was sister to the duke of Norfolk.

and refused to give her up. The cardinal grew angry, and said he would send for his father out of the north, who would soon make him break it off; and when the old earl arrived he used such arguments as convinced his son of the inutility of oppo* sition, and *he* obliged him to espouse the lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. Anne was removed from court and sent to the family seat of Hever castle in Kent*, How long she was absent is not known, but we do not hear of her again at court till 1527, in which year the king revealed to her his passion. She fell on her knees and said that he must be speaking only in jest and to prove her, and she concluded with these words: "Most noble king, I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of the dowry that I shall bring my husband." Henry replied that he would still hope. "I understand not, most mighty king," said Anne, "how you should retain any such hope; your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness and also because you have a queen already, and your strumpet I will not bef." Ere long, however, she yielded so far that she agreed to accept Henry's hand in case of his obtaining a divorce. Such conduct was indelicate according to our present notions; her own times do not seem to }iave regarded it in that light‡.

Henry was now resolved on obtaining a divorce from the court of Kome. This he judged would be a matter of little difficulty, as divorces had been granted in much less dubious cases; and, moreover, the pope had a good excuse, the bull of Julius II. having been procured under false pretences. By orders from the king archbishop Warham assembled the bishops, and they all, except Fisher of' Rochester, signed an instrument expressing their doubts of the validity of the king's marriage. Dr. Knight, one of the royal secretaries, was then despatched to Rome (July 1527). But the pontiff, Clement VII., was at this time shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, a captive to the troops of •the emperor, who had lately taken and sacked the city of Rome. Knight found great difficulty in communicating with him, and Clement, a timid, vacillating man, trembled at the idea of offend-

* "Whereat she smoked [fumed], for all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose." Cavendish, Life of ^olsey, p. 67

† Turner, from the Sloane MS. No. 2495.

I know I am too mean to be your queen.
And yet too good to be your concubine.
Henry VI. Part III. a. iii. sc. *2.*

‡ See Appendix, 0.

ing the emperor. Henry meantime exerted himself for the pontiif's release ; and when Clement at length made his escape to Orvieto, Knight had a personal interview with him, in which he was profuse in terms of gratitude to Henry, but implored for delay lest he should be ruined by the incensed emperor. He gave it, however, as his private opinion to Casale, one of the English agents-, that the best course for Henry would be to marry another wife, and then to sue for ft divorce. The king, however, and his advisers saw too much difficulty in this course, and it was resolved to send Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, to Italy. On their way (1528) they obtained, as directed, a promise from the king of France to use his influence with the pope. They found Clement still at Orvieto (Mar. 22) ; he shuffled as usual, but on hearing that the French arms had had some success in Naples, he took courage and issued a commission to the cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to try the cause in England. Nothing could be more pleasing to Henry than this, for he reckoned that both would equally stand his friends, as he had some time before given to the latter the see of Salisbury and a palace at Rome*. Campeggio, acting in concert as we may suppose with the pope, made all the difficulty and delay possible, pleading his legatine commission at Rome and the gout with which he was afflicted. Wolsey wrote, urging his departure in the strongest terms, and at length he .set out. He travelled, however, leisurely, and did not reach England till October. He was received by Henry with the utmost respect, but his instructions were to procrastinate. He advised the king *to* live with the queen ; he counselled the queen to retire into a nunnery.. But Henry wanted to marry Anne Boleyn, and Catherine had too much spirit to surrender her rights.

All hopes of accommodation being at an end, and all his subterfuges being exhausted, Campeggio was obliged to consent to the opening of the legatine court. It sat (May 31, 1529) in a hall of the convent of the Black Friars. The royal pair took up their abode in the adjoining palace of Bridewell to be at hand. After going through the preliminary forms the legates cited the king and queen to appear on the 18th of June. On that day Henry appeared by his proctors, the queen in person. She protested against the competency of the court, as the cause had been evoked to Rome by the pope. This she said her nephew was exerting himself to effect, and with the

* It is on the way to the Vatican, and is now in the possession of Torlonia the banker.

delay of a few days she pledged herself to prove that it had been done. The court was then adjourned to the 21st, when both parties appeared in person. On their names being called the king answered "Here;" but the queen rose up, and going over knelt down before the king, and said that "she was a poor woman and a stranger in his dominions; she had been his wife for twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and ever studied to please him; he had found her a true maid, and his own conscience could witness. If she had done anything amiss she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt had good and learned counsellors when the match was agreed on. She would not therefore submit to the court, as her lawyers durst not speak freely for her; she therefore desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." She then rose and left the court, and would never again appear. The king publicly hope testimony to her virtues, and declared that nothing but the uneasiness of his conscience, and the doubts cast by foreign powers on the legitimacy of his daughter, could have induced him to take a step which thus wounded her feelings. At the desire of Wolsey he further declared that, instead of urging him to this course as was reported, the cardinal had at first opposed his scruples.

The court sat again on the 25th; the queen not appearing when summoned was pronounced contumacious, and the legates proceeded on this and other days to hear the evidence on the king's part. The proofs given of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were such, as can leave, we apprehend, little doubt on any reasonable mind* ; and the king was in full expectation of a sentence in his favour † when Campeggio (July 23) suddenly adjourned the court to the 1st of October, alleging that the vacation of the consistory at Rome, of which this court he said was a part, had commenced, and would last till that day. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other peers who were present, were greatly enraged at this artifice, and Suffolk striking the table cried, "By the mass I see that the old saw is true; never was there legate or cardinal that did any good in Eng-

* See Burnet, i. p. 68. A summary of the depositions will be found in Herbert. See also the discourse between Wolsey and the queen's almoner in the Illustrative Documents in Singer's edition of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. With all our respect for the piety and virtue of Catherine, we **find** it impossible to credit her assertion to the contrary.

† For Campeggio had brought over and shown him a bull for the divorce in case the consummation of the former marriage should be proved.

land." Wolsey rebuked him with firmness for his conduct, and reminded him of the obligation which *he* had once been under to a cardinal. The court then broke up. The king, who was in an adjacent room, took the matter with wonderful patience, expecting a favourable sentence in October ; but his hopes were crushed when on the 4th of August a messenger arrived with citations for him and the queen to appear in person or by proxy at Rome. The emperor had by this time by his threats and promises completely gained over the pontiff, from whose thoughts nothing now was further than any idea of gratifying Henry.

To Wolsey nothing could be more calamitous than the turn things had taken. The queen and her friends looked on him as the source and origin of all the evil; Norfolk, Suffolk, and the other lay lords had long been envious and jealous of him, and they now took occasion to instil doubts and suspicions of him into the mind of the king and Anne Boleyn, with which last he had been on terms of great cordiality. For though when Henry first informed him of his intentions with respect to her, he threw himself on his knees and earnestly endeavoured to turn him from them, when he found him unalterable, he entered, in appearance, with the utmost cordiality into his views. It is however likely that Anne was informed by her lover of his efforts to prevent her elevation, and this may have disposed her to join with the cardinal's enemies. It was therefore probably owing to her influence, that when, about the end of September, Wolsey accompanied Campeggio to Grafton, in Northamptonshire (where the king then was staying), on that cardinal*s audience of leave previous to his return to Italy, though he was received with tolerable civility, there was an absence of Henry's former kindness. This was his last interview with the king.

An actor destined to be of great importance now makes his first appearance on the scene. As the king was returning to London he stopped for a few days at Waltham to take the pleasures of the chase. Fox and Gardiner, who were in his train, were there entertained by a gentleman named Cressy. Here they met an old college acquaintance, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a lecturer in theology at Cambridge, and well-versed in the Scriptures, the Fathers and the religious controversies at this time prevalent. At supper, the king's case, the common topic of conversation, was introduced. Cranmer said he thought the opinions of universities and eminent divines and canonist* should be taken, and the matter be thus decided. Fox and Gardiner were pleased with the idea, and when next day the

court teturned to Greenwich, and the king began to ask them what was now to be done, Fox mentioned this plan, honestly-naming the author, for which Gardiner afterwards reproved him, as they might, he said, have taken the credit of it to themselves. The king was struck with it, and asked if Cranmer was still at Waltham. They said they had left him there. " Marry then," said he, " I will surely speak to him. Let him be sent for out of hand ; I perceive that this man hath the sow by the right ear. If I had but known this device two years ago it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness." Cranmer, who had returned to Cambridge, was brought up to London. The king was greatly pleased with his modesty and his learning; he opened his mind to him, and desired him to put his sentiments on the case in writing, for which purpose he directed the lord Rochfort, Anne Boleyn's father*, to take him home to his house and furnish him with books and everything else he required.

The fall of Wolsey was now at hand. At the opening of the Michaelmas term he proceeded to the court of chancery with his usual pomp and state. Three days after he was waited on by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk with an order to resign the great seal and retire to Esher, in Surrey, where was a house belonging to his see of Winchester. He refused, alleging that he held the seals by patent; a warm altercation ensued ; the two dukes finding him inflexible rode to Windsor, and next day returned with a letter from the king, at the sight of which Wolsey submitted. Having caused an inventory to be made of his immense quantity of plate, linen, hangings, furniture, etc. at York Place (afterwards named Whitehall), the whole of which the king required him to give up, he entered his barge to proceed toward his destination. The river was covered with boats, full of people expecting to see him taken to the Tower, but to their disappointment his barge went up the stream. At Putney he landed, and mounted his mule to go on to Esher. He was not quite clear of the village when he was met by Norris, groom of the stole, bearing him a ring and a kind message from the king. Abject in adversity as he had been insolent and haughty in prosperity †, he threw himself from his mule, took off his cap, and knelt in the mire to receive the communication. He then proceeded in better spirits to his place of exile.

* He had been created viscount Rochfort in 1525.

t How different from the noble-minded Becked The times, however, were altered.

The king now summoned a parliament for the first tUhe for seven years. The house of lords forthwith voted a long and vague charge, in forty-four articles, against the fallen favourite; but when it was sent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, a servant of the cardinal's, who had procured a seat in parliament for the express puq)ose, defended his patron with such fidelity and spirit as stopped the bill in that house, and laid the foundation of his own future favour with the king, who knew how to value worth and honesty. Wolsey was also indicted on the statute of provisions for having exercised his legatine authority. Though he had obtained the royal license for that purpose, he did not venture to plead it, and a sentence of *præmunire* was passed on him. The king, however, who, it would appear, only wished to humble him, hearing that he had fallen sick, directed his own physician to attend him; he also sent him another ring accompanied by kind messages from himself and Arme Boleyu. He further. (Feb. 12, 1530) granted him a full pardon; allowed him to retain the see of York, with a pension of 4000 marks a year out of that of Winchester; he made him a present of plate and furniture to the value of 6000/., and gave him permission to remove to Kichmond. But his enemies would not allow him to remain so near the court, and he received orders to go and reside in his diocese. He alleged his poverty; money was then sent him, and in Passion-week he set forth for the north in melancholy mood. His train consisted of one hundred and sixty servants, and seventy-two carts laden with .provisions and furniture. He stopped till Midsummer at Southwell, a house belonging to his see, and then moved to Scroby another of his houses further north, and finally, about the end of September, fixed himself at Cawood, a village within a few miles of York. At these places he endeared himself to all classes of the people by his affability, his charity, and his strict discharge of his religious duties. The ceremony of his installation in the cathedral was fixed for Monday, the 1st of November, but on the preceding Friday his former servant, Henry Percy, now earl of Northumberland, arrived, and arrested him on a charge of high treason. As he was departing the peasantry assembled, crying, "God save your grace! God save your grace! The foul fiend take them that have thus hurried you from us! We pray God that every vengeance may light upon them!" He stayed for a fortnight with the earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Park. Here he was seized with a dysentery; but he resumed Lis journey and got as far as Leicester. When the abbot of the

convent of that place came forth with his monks to receive him, "Father abbot," said the dying cardinal, "I am come to leave my bones among you." He was then conveyed to a chamber, which he never left. When he found himself dying he addressed sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had him in charge, praying him to recommend him to the king. " He is," said he, " a prince of a most royal carriage and hath a princely heart; and, rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one-half of his kingdom. I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince." Shortly after uttering these words he breathed his last (Nov. 28).

On the fall of the cardinal, the duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle, became the leading person in the cabinet; Gardiner was made secretary, and sir Thomas More chancellor. As the pope and emperor were to meet at Bologna for the coronation of the latter, an embassy headed by Anne's father (lately created earl of Wiltshire) was sent thither to attend to Henry's interests: Cranmer and other divines* accompanied them. Charles on their introduction to him said to the carl, "Stop, sir; allow your colleagues to speak; you are a party in the cause." The earl replied with spirit that he was not there as a father but as his prince's minister, and that the emperor's opposition should not prevent his sovereign from demanding and obtaining justice. From the pope, however, no satisfaction could be obtained. Henry finally resolved to put Cranrner's plan into execution, and measures were adopted for collecting the opinions of universities, theologians and canonists.

The king first applied to his own universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and, not without great difficulty and able management on the part of Fox and Gardiner, obtained from them an opinion that his marriage was unlawful; but they would say nothing respecting the power of the pope to dispense. The truth is they feared the progress of the new opinions, and wished not to weaken the papal authority. Agents 'were also employed

* " Among whom was Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman attached to the Boleyn family," says Lingard. The object of this first notice of Cranmer is evident.

on the continent to procure the opinions of the universities and of eminent divines and civilians, and the result was highly favourable to the views of Henry. Not only the French universities (which might be suspected to be under the influence of their king), but those of Italy, even Bologna, which was in the dominions of the pope, included, decided* in favour of the divorce; the principal divines and canonists did the same, though Henry's agents, it is said, gave no money but the usual fees to the canon lawyers, while the emperor showered preferments on those who gave sentence against it*. The Jews when consulted declared the prohibition in Leviticus to be universally binding, while the case of exception in Deuteronomy was restricted to Judaea. Zuinglius and the Swiss reformers pronounced the marriage unlawful: the German reformers in general took the most rational and moderate view of the case; they said that the marriage should not have taken place originally, but that since it had been contracted it should not now be dissolved. It may therefore be said that the general opinion of Europe was that marriage with a brother's widow was against the law of God.

The whole question in effect comes to this: Was the law in Leviticus of universal obligation, or merely peculiar to the Hebrew nation? was the exception in Deuteronomy coextensive with the former prohibition? had the pope the power of dispensing with the divine law? At the present day the answer would he simple: it is now generally agreed that both the prohibition and the exception were for the Israelites alone, though the former has very properly been adopted in the codes of Christian nations: we should therefore say with the German reformers that a man in Henry's case would not be justified in putting away his wife. But in Henry's time men had not generally arrived at this rational mode of viewing the Mosaic law. The prevalent opinion undoubtedly was, that such a marriage was incestuous, and should be dissolved. At all events, had Catherine not been aunt to the emperor, the holy father, who had always been so ready to oblige his royal children in these matters, would have granted Henry a divorce without hesitation †.

* The natural, we might say inevitable supposition is, that bribery was employed on both shdest; but the emperor and pope had certainly the means of giving much higher* rewards than Henry.

† Only a few years before, Louis XII. of France had been divorced in order to enable him to marry Anne of Bretagne. In our own day we havo seen a similar favour conferred on Napoleon.

A memorial, which had been signed by Warham and Wolsey, and by four bishops, twenty-two abbots, and several of the temporal nobility, was now transmitted to Rome, praying his holiness to attend to the opinions of so many eminent men, and to decide the question, but hinting that if he did not it would be decided in England without him. Clement was in the utmost perplexity; he feared lest England might follow the example of the north of Germany, and cast off her allegiance to the holy see; at the same time he stood in awe of the emperor, who steadfastly maintained the cause of his aunt, and would only consent to Henry's espousing Anne by what is termed a left-handed marriage, thus reserving all their rights to Catherine and her daughter. But Henry spurned at this when it was hinted to him; he would be regularly divorced, and would have no compromise.

Thomas Cromwell, who had so honourably distinguished himself by fidelity to his patron Wolsey in his fall, was now in the service of the king. He was of humble origin, being the son of a fuller or a blacksmith at Putney. He served as a private soldier in Italy, and was then for some time in a mercantile house at Venice. On his return to England he commenced the study of the law, and Wolsey, who knew so well how to appreciate talent, having had occasion to notice his abilities, took him into his service. In a conversation one day with Reginald Pole, Cromwell spoke slightingly of the notions of vice and virtue held by men who dwelt in academic shades away from the world, and said that the business of the man who would rise was to divine if possible the real thoughts and wishes of his prince, and gratify them in such a manner as to save all appearances. lie also praised Machiavel, and offered to lend him that writer's Prince. Pole, who was really an upright virtuous man, and who cordially detested the principles that work appeared to inculcate, and which he inferred were, those on which Cromwell acted, instantly conceived the worst opinion possible of him; and that opinion has been of course propagated by all the writers of his communion, while Protestants are perhaps too anxious to justify the conduct, of so important an agent in the Reformation. Cromwell was in fact an ambitions man, and little scrupulous about means, provided he could gratify the wishes of his royal master.

Cromwell, who had been appointed by-'Ypblsey to manage the revenues of the monasteries which that prelate had dissolved with the papal approbation, had imbibed no very high notions

of the rights and authority of the holy see. He now boldly advised Henry to take to himself the supremacy over the church and clergy of England. Henry listened with approbation, As Wolsey had not pleaded the royal permission for exercising his legatine authority, the whole of the clergy were liable to the penalty of a *praemunire* for having submitted to it, and proceedings accordingly were instituted against them Flagrantly unjust as this procedure was, they saw no remedy but that of purchasing indemnity ; and when the convocation met (1531) they voted the king 100,000l., under the name of a benevolence, for his services in writing against Luther and protecting the church. But this peace-offering did not suffice, and after some opposition, they were obliged to acknowledge him as " supreme head of the church of England, *as far as the law of Christ will allow."* A formal indemnity was then granted to them. The connexion between the papacy and the English clergy was thus nearly dissolved; and in the parliament of the following year (1532) a further blow was given to the influence of the court of Rome, by a bill reducing the first fruits to be paid by bishops to five per cent, on the net income of the see, and adding that, if the bull of consecration was withheld on account of them, the bishop-elect should be consecrated by a mandate from the crown, and all interdicts and other censures be disregarded. Other measures against the papacy were proposed, but the appearance of the plague caused a prorogation. Sir Thomas More, who was sincerely devoted to the church, seeing whither the king and parliament were tending, now desired, and with some difficulty obtained, permission to resign the great seal. It was given to sir Thomas Audeley.

But while the clergy were thus made to infringe on the claims of the head of the church, they were left full power to persecute those who rejected the real presence and derived their religion from the Scriptures- At this time Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, was burnt as a heretic at Norwich ; and Richard Bayfield, a Benedictine monk, James Bainham, of the Middle Temple, and a tradesman named Tewksbury, underwent the same fate in Smithfield.

For a person of his temper, and in love with one whose virtue was invincible, Henry had shown marvellous patience. But that patieaee was now nearly exhausted. Hitherto he had treated Catherine with all due respect as his queen ; but when she could not be induced to withdraw her appeal to **Rome,**

it was signified to her that she must leave Windsor, where the court then was, and retire to one of three abodes which were specified. She replied, "that to whatever place she might remove nothing could remove her from being the king's lawful wife." She went from one place to another, and finally fixed at Ampthill in Bedfordshire. The pope wrote to expostulate with Henry for thus putting away his queen; but he received rather a sharp reply. It was then proposed to cite Henry again to Rome. On hearing of this, the king sent thither as his *excusator* sir Edward Karne, who was accompanied by one Edmund Bonner, afterward so notorious. Karne purchased over some of the leading cardinals ; .but still the pope shuffled and twisted; and at length Karne told him, that, as the church of England was an independent church, the matter could be decided without any reference to him whatever. Henry himself had an interview with the king of France, to confirm their friendship arid alliance; and on the death of that estimable prelate archbishop Warham (Aug. 22), he resolved to confer the see of Canterbury on Cranmer, who had now been for some time resident ambassador at the imperial court.

Cranmer had by this time embraced most of the reformed doctrines ; lie had moreover formed a matrimonial union with the niece of Osiander, one of the German divines. He saw the difficulties which environed him, and would most willingly have declined the proffered honour ; but he had to .deal with one who would not lightly suffer his will to be disputed. He made all the delay he possibly could, and did not reach England till the month of November. He tried to turn Henry from his purpose, by stating that if he received the dignity it must be from the pope, which he neither would nor could do, as the king was the only governor of the church in all causes, temporal or spiritual. Henry, unable to overcome this objection, took the opinion of some eminent civilians on it, and they advised that the prelate-elect should, previous to taking the oath to the pope, make a solemn protest that he did not consider himself thereby bound to do anything contrary to the law of God or his duty as a subject. Cranmer, whose modesty and diffidence always led him to receive with deference the opinions of those learned in their profession, ceased from opposition. The king applied at Rome for the pall and the usual bulls. Clement, aware of Cranmer's principles, hesitated at first, but he finally sent them. The consecration was

appointed to take place on the 30th of March 1533 in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster. On that day Cranmer went into the chapter-house, and in the presence of five most respectable witnesses made his.protest; he then proceeded to the chapel, where the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter and St. Asaph stood ready to perform the ceremony. He there again declared that he would take the oath only as limited by his protest, and on receiving the pall he made this declaration for the third time. Cranmer thus attained the highest dignity in the English church in tlie forty-fourth year of his age, and within four years of the time when he became first known to the king.

Opinions are divided with regard to the conduct of Cranmer on this occasion; we ourselves highly condemn the principle on which he acted, and agree with Dr. Lingard, that " oaths cease to offer any security if their meaning may he qualified by previous protestations made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested*/' But at the same time we are fully convinced that Cranmer was satisfied in conscience of the rectitude of his proceeding, and that Clement must have known in his heart that the new prelate would not and could not take the oath of canonical obedience unreservedly.

Either the virtue of Anne had at length yielded, and its consequences would soon be apparent, or the passion of the king would brook no longer delay. In the autumn of the preceding year he had raised her to the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke; he now resolved to advance her to the throne. Early in the morning of the 25th of January, 1533, he was secretly married to her by Dr. Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains.

On Easter-evc Anne appeared as queen, and on the 8th of May Cranmer and those appointed to act with him repaired to Dunstable, within six miles of Ampthill, to hold a court for trying the question of the divorce. As Catherine took no notice of the citation she was pronounced contumacious; the former evidence was all gone through again, and on May the 23rd the marriage between Henry and Catherine was pronounced to have been null and void from the commencement. On Whit-Sunday (June 1) Anne was crowned by the primate.

* In 1526, Francis I. before signing the treaty of Madrid made a secret protest against it, and the pope felt no hesitation in freeing him from the oath.

Neither menaces nor promises could ever induce Catherine to forego what she deemed her right, and she insisted to the last on being treated as queen by all who approached her.

When the news of what had been done reached Rome the conclave were furious; but the wary pontiff would go no further than to declare Cranmer's sentence null, and Henry's second marriage illegal: a threat of excommunication was added, if he did not replace matters on their former footing. Clement's thoughts were now engrossed by a project for marrying his niece, the famous Catherine de' Medici, to the duke of Orleans, son of the king of France, who was on terms of great amity with Henry, and whom he was loath to offend. At the interview which took place in the following October between the pontiff and the king at Marseilles, when the marriage was celebrated, Francis exerted himself to effect an arrangement between the former and the king of England. Clement seemed inclined to gratify Henry, provided he returned to his obedience. Bonner, bowever, who was Henry's agent there, when he found that he could get no definite answer from the pope, presented (Nov. 7) an appeal to a general council, with which he was entrusted. Clement was highly indignant, and rejected it as being unlawful.

On the 7th of September Henry's new queen had been in her eighth month safely delivered of a princess, who was baptized with great pomp by the name of Elizabeth, after her paternal grandmother, the primate and the duchess-dowager of Norfolk and marchioness-dowager of Dorset standing sponsors. Soon after she was declared princess of Wales, as her sister Mary had been, though she was only presumptive heiress to the throne.

It is melancholy to observe how the Mangimiiiry spirit of the church of Rome still continued to prevail in England. On the 4th of July in this year the flames consumed two more victims offered to the popish Moloch. The one was John Frith, one of the Cambridge men whom Wolsey had removed to Oxford, and the intimate friend of Tyndal, who was now engaged in translating and printing the Scriptures at Antwerp. Frith denied both transubstantiation and purgatory; he had put his sentiments on the former subject in writing, and the paper was treacherously conveyed to sir Thomas More, who attempted to refute it; and this drew forth a masterly reply from Frith, who was now a prisoner in the Tower. He was brought (June 20) before Stokesley bishop of London, who was assisted by Gardiner (lately raised to the see of Winchester), and Longland

of Lincoln. He maintained his opinions. His judge deli* vered him over to the secular powers, " most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done on thee may be so moderate that the rigour thereof be not extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated; but that it may be to the salvation of the soul, to the extirpation, terror and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the catholic faith ;" the plain meaning of which hypocritical and blasphemous cant is, that he was to be roasted to death with all gentleness and moderation, frith suffered with the greatest constancy in Smithfield; and with him was burnt a tailor's apprentice named Andrew Hewit, whose natural sense had revolted against the corporal presence in the sacrament.

In the succeeding parliament (1534) rapid progress was made in casting off the yoke of Rome; provisions, bulls, etc. were abolished; no money was to be sent to Rome; monasteries were subjected to the king alone ; bishops were to be elected on a *conge d'elire* from the crown. A law was passed to regulate the succession to the thronei, In this the-marriage with Catherine was declared unlawful and void, and that with Anne was confirmed; the crown was to descend. to the issue of this marriage, and any person who did anything in derogation of the lawfulness of* the king's marriage with queen Anne, or to endanger the succession as thus limited, was to suffer death as a traitor.

An oath was enjoined to be taken by all persons to maintain this order of succession, under penalty of the consequences of misprision of treason. The bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More were the only persons of note who refused to take this oath; but they only objected to the preamble, asserting the nullity of the king's former marriage, and offered to swear, without reservation to the succession as proposed. They were both committed to the Tower,

Fisher had already been punished for the countenance he had given to a notorious imposture; There was a woman at Aldington in Kent, named Elizabeth Barton, who was subject to hysterical fits, in which she used to utter much incoherent rhapsody. The priest of the parish, one Masters, thought that these ravings might be turned to a profitable account. He affected to regard them as inspirations of the Holy Spirit, and going to primate Warham, who was at that time living, reported the case, and received directions from the pious but

credulous prelate to watch her future trances and give him an account of them. Masters gradually induced the poor woman to counterfeit these trances, and to utter in them what he should direct her. His great object was to make an image of the Virgin which stood in a chapel of his parish an object of pilgrimage, and consequently of emolument to himself; Elizabeth therefore was instructed to say that the Virgin had appeared to her and declared, that if she went to the chapel of Court-at-Street she would be cured. The news was spread,' and on the appointed day more than two thousand persons assembled to witness the miracle, which took place in due form, and they went away satisfied of the sanctity of the image. Elizabeth was now (1526) removed to Canterbury, where she took the veil, and. Dr. Booking, a monk of Christ-Church and a confederate of Masters, became her ghostly director.

Others were now taken into the confederacy ; the visions and revelations of the seer became more numerous, and one Deering made a book of them, which the primate put into the hands of the king, who showed it to sir Thomas More, by whom they were pronounced to be silly stuff. No further notice was taken of her till the question of the divorce and separation from Rome came to be warmly agitated. She was then put forward again; a monk wrot* a letter in gold characters, which she was to pretend had been given her by Mary Magdalen; and she was also taught to assert that when the king was at Calais in 1532 she was invisibly present as he was hearing mass, and an angel had brought her the holy wafer from the priest. These fictions were merely intended to gain her credit with the people, and then the visions of real importance were to be produced. An angel now came to her, desiring her to go to the infidel king, and order him to do three things ; to leave his rights to the pope, to destroy the folk of the new opinion, to keep his lawful wife. She also declared that if the king married Anne Boleyn he would not retain the throne more than a month, and would die a villain's death. Two agents of the pope now countenanced her, and bishop Fisher was so weak as to become one of her secret advisers. More too had an interview with her, in which he asked her to pray for him, and he expressed his belief that Heaven was working " some good and great things by her." Queen Catherine's chaplain Abel also communicated with the seer. Il would also seem that the Observant Friars, whom Henry VII. had greatly favoured, were engaged in the conspiracy. It was

in their chapel at Sion House that More saw her; and when in the summer of this year Henry was at Greenwich, father Peto of their order preaching before him likened him and the queen to Ahab and Jezebel, and bade him beware lest the dogs should lick his blood. Henry bore this insolence with patience, and only directed that Dr. Curwin should preach the following Sunday in reply. In his sermon Curwin called Peto abundance of foul names, when another friar named Elstow, who was sitting in the rood-loft*, burst out into a torrent of invective, and was only silenced by the voice of the king. The next day the two friars were summoned before the council and reprimanded. Cromwell told them they deserved to be tied in a sack and flung into the Thames. "Threaten Such things," said Elstow with a bitter smile, "to rich and dainty folk which are clothed in purple, fare delicately, and have their chief hope in the present world; we esteem them not when for the discharge of our duty we are driven hence. Thank God, we know the way to heaven to be as near by water as by land; nor care we therefore by which of these two roads we travel thither." Who can question the sincerity of these men *1*

It was deemed advisable to arrest the Holy Maid of Kent and her accomplices. By the efforts of Cranmer, Cromwell, and a zealous divine named Hugh Latimer, their arts were traced out, and when brought before the star-chamber they made a voluntary confession. They were transmitted to Canterbury, and there during sermon-time exposed on a stage in the churchyard and rebuked by the preacher. They underwent a similar exposure at St. Paul's cross in London, and were made to read out a confession of their imposture. They were then sent to the Tower, and as it was found that the popish party was tampering with the nun to get her to deny all she had said, they were attainted of treason. The nun, Masters, Booking, and three others were executed at Tyburn (Apr. 21). She owned her guilt, but justly said that her accomplices, who were learned men, were more to blame than she, "a poor wench without learning." As the Observants persisted in assailing the king's divorce, their order was suppressed in the course of the year.

The king's supremacy was now generally acknowledged, and the rupture with Home may be regarded as complete. But the regular clergy were highly dissatisfied with the change.

* The place where the rood or crucifix was placed: it was over the entrance to the chancel.

The first symptoms of resistance appeared at the Charter-house in London, the inmates of which, persuaded that the admission of the papal supremacy was necessary for salvation, had sought to instil this belief into the minds of their penitents. These fanatic monks prepared themselves for martyrdom in what they believed to be the cause of truth; the priors of two other houses came and joined them; the system of resistance to the government was gradually organized, and if not checked in time might spread over the whole kingdom. The three priors and three others were therefore arrested and tried for high treason; the jury hesitated to find such holy men guilty, but Cromwell forced them by menaces to give the verdict he desired. They were executed at Tyburn (May 4, 1535). Three more Carthusians at London and two at York suffered the same fate shortly after. About the same time fourteen Dutch reformers who had taken refuge in England were burnt as anabaptists.

More illustrious victims were now to bleed. Fisher and More had lain for upwards of a twelvemonth in the Tower The former, a man far advanced in life, would perhaps have been suffered to end his days in prison, were it not that Paul III., the successor of Clement, thought fit to subject him to the suspicions of the government by raising him to the dignity of cardinal (May 21). Fisher, now on the verge of eternity, made light of the honour: "If the red hat," said he, "were lying at my feet I would not stoop to pick it up." The king, on the other hand, is said to have declared that "the pope might send him a cardinal's hat, but that he should have no head to wear it." He was arraigned (June 17) before the chancellor, the judges and some of the peers, on a charge of having denied the king's supremacy, and was sentenced to die as a traitor. On the morning of his execution (22nd) he had himself dressed with great care. "My lord," said his servant, "surely you forget that after the short space of some two hours you must strip off these things and never wear them more." "What of that?" replied he; "dost thou not mark that this is my wedding-day?" On account of his infirmities he was carried on a chair to the place of execution. He held in his hand a New Testament, which he opened at a venture and lighted on this passage: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." He closed the book,

saying, "Here is learning enough for me to my life's end." He mounted the soafFold without aid, briefly addressed the spectators, telling them he came to die for the faith of Christ's holy catholic church, then meekly laid his head on the block, and it was severed from his body at a single blow; and thus perished this venerable, upright and pious prelate, a martyr to the rights of conscience.

It had probably been hoped that this severity toward Fisher would have the effect of intimidating More, whose acquiescence in the new order of things it was thought of the utmost importance to gain. But as no such result followed, he also was arraigned (July 1) for.imagining to deprive the king of his title and dignity. His refusal to answer some ensnaring questions which had been previously put to him was pronounced to be malicious; Rich, the solicitor-general, was base enough to give in evidence such expressions as he had drawn from him in a confidential interview, the truth of which, however, the prisoner denied, and which two persons who had been present said they did not hear. lie was notwithstanding pronounced guilty. When asked what he had to say why judgement should not be given against him, he asserted that the act on which he was indicted was repugnant to the laws of God and his holy church, the supreme government of which no temporal prince might presume to take on himself, it being granted by our Saviour himself only to St. Peter and his successors, bishops of the same see. The chancellor observed that, seeing that the bishops, the universities, and best learned men in the realm had agreed to it, it was much marvelled that he alone should oppose it. More replied, that if numbers were to decide, most bishops and good men, both of those who were now alive and those who were glorified saints in heaven, would be found to be on his side. Sentence was then passed on him, and he was re-conducted to the Tower.

At the Tower wharf his favourite daughter Margaret Roper was waiting to meet him. When she beheld him she rushed through the guards, threw her arms about his neck and kissed him. He gave her his blessing and comforted her. She retired, but overcome by filial affection she ran back, took' him again by the neck and kissed him several times "most lovingly." She then finally departed with a heavy heart/ most of the bystanders shedding tears at this beautiful instance of natural affection.

On the 6th of July his friend sir Thomas Pope came to him early in the morning with directions from the .king and council to prepare himself to die by nine o'clock. "Master Pope," said More, "I have been always much bounden to the king's highness for the benefits and honours that he hath still from time to time most bountifully heaped upon me; and yet more bounden am I to his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end. And, so help me God, most of all, master Pope, am I beholden to his highness that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me out of all the miseries of this wretched world, and therefore will I not fail earnestly to pray for his grace both here and in the world to come." Pope then told him that it was the king's wish that he should not make any address at his execution. More requested him to intercede with the king to allow his daughter Margaret Roper to be present at his burial; Pope assured him that the king was content that his wife and his family and friends should be present at it. "Oh, how much beholden then am I unto his grace," said More, "that unto my poor burial vouchsafest to have so gracious consideration!" Sir Thomas Pope then took leave of him with tears.

More now put on his best apparel, "as one that had been invited to a solemn feast," but at the suggestion of* the lieutenant he changed it. On coming to the scaffold, observing it to be weak and shaking, he said in his usual jocose manner, "I pray you, master lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." He called on the people to pray for him, and to bear witness that ne suffered death in and for the faith of the catholic church. He then knelt down and prayed; when he rose the executioner as usual asked his forgiveness. "Pluck up thy spirits, man," said he, "and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short; take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving of thy honesty" [honour]. As he knelt at the block he bade the executioner to stay till he had put his beard aside; "for," said he, "it never committed treason." He prayed to himself, and the axe descending terminated his mortal existence in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

None of the many violent acts which Henry; committed has brought such obloquy on him as the execution of sir Thomas More, for exclusively of his having suffered in the cause of the papacy, More was a scholar and a distinguished member

of the republic of letters. A general outcry **was** therefore **raised by** the friends of literature and the papacy. Erasmus published under a feigned name an interesting narrative of his martyrdom, while Reginald Pole seized with avidity the occasion of pouring forth a torrent of declamation against Henry, whom the historian Giovio compares for this deed to Phalaris. The emperor told sir Thomas Elliot, the English ambassador, that he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions than such a counsellor. The English resident in Spain wrote that the greatest horror was felt there at the fate of the "thrice greatest" More and the holy maid of Kent—a union which does no great credit to the former. Posterity have echoed these censures, and the judicial murder of More (as it certainly was) passes for one of the blackest deeds ever perpetrated.

Let us endeavour without prejudice to estimate the character of this eminent man. More was in private life the pattern of every social and domestic virtue; his piety was sincere and void of ostentation; in integrity and firm adherence to the dictates of conscience no man ever exceeded him. He was a good speaker, an elegant writer, and a well-read scholar; his conversation abounded with innocent pleasantry. Such were his merits. On the other hand, his jocularity frequently bordered on buffoonery*; his religion was akin to abject superstition †, and he persecuted without remorse those who presumed to differ from the church. In his controversial writings he indulged in the grossest scurrility. His greatest work, the Utopia, has we think been well described as giving us "the impression of having proceeded from a very ingenious, rather than a profound mind," and such in fact his mind was. Perhaps this is evinced by the circumstance that More alone, among the lay scholars of his time, seems to have had a sincere belief in the doctrines of popery. To sum up his character, he was a devout, upright, sincere, amiable, learned and ingenious man, good rather than great. "What the poet says of Wolsey, that 'his overthrow heap'd happiness upon him,' may be applied to More. If he had not died

* "I cannot tell," says Halle, "whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man; for undoubtedly he, besides his learning, had a great wit; hut it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken of except he had ministered some mock in the communication."

† See Appendix, P.

the victim of a tyrant, his fame would probably never **have attained** its present eminence.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED).

1535-1538.

WHEN intelligence of the deaths of More and Fisher reached Rome, the indignation of the pope and cardinals was boundless ; and on the 30th of August a " terrible thundering bull," as it is termed by Father Paul, was prepared. By. this, if Henry did not retrace his steps, he and all his abettors were cited to appear at Rome within ninety days, under pain of excommunication ; he was to be dethroned, his subjects released from their allegiance, his kingdom placed under interdict; the issue of Anne was declared illegitimate ; all commerce with foreign states was forbidden, and all treaties with them annulled ; the clergy were ordered to depart the kingdom, the nobility to take arms against their king! Such is the spirit of popery ; it fosters rebellion, it commands bloodshed and carnage, sooner than yield even one of its impious pretensions. Henry took due precautions to prevent the bull from getting into his dominions ; he drew more closely the bonds of alliance with France, and he entered into relations with the German Protestants*, whose leading divines he invited over to England. The vacant dioceses of Salisbury, Worcester, St. Asaph, Hereford, and Rochester were respectively conferred on Shaxton, Latimer, Barlow, Fox the almoner, and Hilsey, superior of the Black Friars in London,—all professors of the new opinions.

The monks and friars, who saw their own ruin in the new state of tilings, were strongly opposed to the separation from Rome, and both secretly and openly excited the people against the changes. To mince their influence, the suppression of at least a large number of their convents,—a measure of which Wolsey, with the pope's permission, had already given the

* They were so named from having " protested " against the decree of the Diet at Spire, in 1529, forbidding innovation in religion.

example,—was resolved on. The king, as head of the church, appointed Cromwell his vicar-general for the visitation of the religious corporations, with authority to nominate his deputies ; and in October, the visitors, armed with most ample inquisitorial powers, set out on their mission. They found, as was to be expected, feuds and factions and disorders of every kind, and in several the grossest immorality, lewdness and debauchery, while pious frauds and false relics beguiled the credulity of the people. At the same time, many, especially the larger abbeys, were quite free from all gross irregularities. Some, terrified by a consciousness of guilt, made a voluntary surrender of their revenues; that of Langden, whose superior the visitor had, we are told, caught in bed with a young woman, setting the example. In all the convents of both sexes the inmates under the age of four-and-twenty were set at liberty, if they desired it, of which permission many victims of avarice and family pride took advantage; for here, as wherever monachism prevails, the younger children of a family were compelled to take the vows, in order that the fortune of the eldest son might not be diminished. The report of the visitors was soon after published, and the crimes of the religious were exposed, with no doubt some exaggeration; a feeling was thus excited against them, and when parliament met (Feb 1536) an act was passed for suppressing all monasteries possessing leas than 200/. a year, and giving their property and estates to the king. The number suppressed was three hundred and seventy-six; their annual income was 32,000/., and their property was valued at 100,000l. The universities also were visited, and the course of study in them was changed.

On the 8th of January, 1536, queen Catherine breathed ber last at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before her death she dictated a letter to the king, styling him "her most dear lord, king and husband," advising him to attend to his spiritual concerns, assuring him of her forgiveness, commending their daughter to his care, and making a few trifling requests. She thus concluded : "Lastly, I make this vow that mine eyes have desired you above all things." Henry was moved even to tears with this last proof of the affection of one whom he once had loved, and whom he had never ceased to esteem. He gave orders that her funeral should be suited to her birth, but he would **not** permit her to be buried, as she desired, in a convent of **the** Observants: the ashes of the daughter of Ferdinand **and**

Isabel repose at Peterborough. Her character remains the object of respect to all parties as that of an upright, pious and virtuous matron, with the single drawback, in the estimation of the unprejudiced, that she persisted to her death in the assertion of a falsehood.

It could not be expected that queen Anne should feel much grief at the death of one whom she must have regarded as a rival, but she might have abstained from an indecent expression of joy *. How short-sighted are mortals! She probably deemed her state now secure, yet she was standing on the brink of the gulf into which she was to be ere long precipitated.

On the 29th of January Anne was delivered of a still-born male child, for which misfortune Henry, is said to have reproached her brutally. She had hi fact lost his capricious affections, which, as in her own case, had been transferred to one of her attendants, Jane, the daughter of sir John Seymour ; and as it was a peculiarity in the character of this tyrant to many instead of trying to seduce the women to whom he took a fancy, he was now on the look-out for a pretext to divorce his queen. Anne, who was aware of his passion for her maid, had reproached him with it on more than one occasion. The king's desire to frame a plausible charge against her was well known at court; the spritelmess of the queen's temper bordered on levity; and some little matters which resulted from it were reported to him with exaggeration, and by him greedily received. A commission was issued (April 25) to several noblemen and judges, among whom was her own father, to investigate the affair. On May-day there was a tilting match *at* Greenwich before the king and queen, in which her brother lord Kochfort, and Norris groom of the stole, were principal actors. In the midst of it something occurred which disturbed the king; he rose abruptly, quitted the gallery, and set out with a few attendants for Westminster. The queen also rose and retired to her apartments, where she remained in great anxiety. Next day she entered her barge and was proceeding to Westminster; on the river she was met by Jier uncle the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords of the council, and conducted to the Tower on a charge of adultery and treason. She asserted her innocence in the strongest terms. At the -gate of that fatal fortress she fell on her knees and

* " Anne Boleyn wore yellow for the mourning of Catherine of Aragon." Halle, Sanders.

said, " O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless **of this whereof I** am accused!" When the lords were gone, she **said to the** lieutenant, " Mr. Kingston, shall I go into **a** dungeon ? " " No, madam," said he, " you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation." " It is too good for me," she replied ; " Jesu, have mercy on me!" and she knelt down and wept, and then burst into laughter, the usual effect of hysterics, for such appears to have been the effect of her sudden misfortunes on her frame. Her aunt lady Boleyn, and Mrs, Cousins, with both of whom she was on ill terms, lay in the room with her, with directions to draw her into discourse and to report all that she said.

Cranmer had been directed by the king to come to Lambeth, but not to approach the court. His constitutional timidity did not prevent him from making an effort for his lovely and unhappy patroness, and on the 6th he wrote a persuasive letter to Henry. On that same day Anne herself wrote to her hard-hearted lord that beautiful letter which is still extant, every line of which breathes the consciousness of innocence and the purity of virtue ; but justice or mercy had now no room in the heart of Henry.

At the same time witfrthe queen were arrested her brother lord Rochfort, and Norris, with sir Francis Weston and William Brcreton, gentlemen of the privy chamber, and Mark Smeaton, a musician, who had been made a groom of the chamber for his musical talents. On the 10th an indictment was found by the grand jury at Westminster against the queen and them for high treason, as by a forced interpretation of the statute 25 Edw. **I I I .** the adultery with which they were all charged was made out to be. On the 12th the four commoners were tried before a common jury and found guilty. The three gentlemen affirmed the queen's innocence and their own ; Smeaton pleaded guilty, most likely induced so to do by some promise of mercy. When the king heard that Norris refused to confess, he cried. " Hang him up then! hang him up then!"

Three days after (15th) the queen and her brother were tried in the hall of the Tower. Their uncle of Norfolk presided, and six-and-twenty other peers (among whom, it is to be feared, was their father,) sat in judgement. The queen had no counsel; she was only attended by her ladies ; her countenance was cheerful and serene. When directed to lay aside the insignia of her rank, she complied, saying that she **had**

never misconducted herself toward the king. She readily'answered all the charges made against her; those not in the secret anticipated an acquittal, hut a majority of the peers, on their honour, pronounced the hrother and sister guilty of incestuous adultery, and she was sentenced to be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When she heard this sentence, she raised her hands, and cried, " O Father and Creator ! O thou who art the way, the truth and the life! thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." She then addressed her judges, and with dignity and calmness solemnly protested her innocence*. Rochfort was then tried. " There was brought against him as a witness," says Wyatt, " his wicked wife, accuser of her own husband to the seeking of his blood." He made a noble defence, but to no purpose, for his destruction was resolved on.

And what, it may be asked, was the evidence on which a queen of England was thus sentenced to an ignominious death ? Lady Wingficld, who had been in her service, was said when on her death-bed to have made some communications to some one; as if any one when well-paid could not swear that anything was said by a dead person. According to the disgusting language of the indictment, the queen was in every case the seducer. The act of criminality with Norris was placed in October 1533, that with Brereton in the following December, with Weston in May 1534, with Smeaton in April 1535, with her brother in the last November; and although all remained in her service, no proof was offered of any repetitions of the offence. Such evidence would not be attended to in the present days by any honest jury.

On the 17th Rochfort and the others were led to execution. Rochfort exhorted his companions to die with courage: he warned the bystanders not to trust in courts, states, or kings, but in Heaven alone, and he prayed for the king a long and happy life. They all died protesting their innocence except Smeaton, who was executed last, and may therefore still have had hopes of mercy. He said that he well deserved death : but this might only mean that he had calumniated

* " The records of her trial and conviction have perished," says Lingard, " perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory." " Had he read Burnet with any care," observes Hallam, " he would have found that they were seen by that historian." "We still," replies Lingard, " possess the most important of the few documents seen by Burnet, and some others, of which he was ignorant."

others. When the queen was told next day what he had said, she indignantly exclaimed, "Has he not then cleared me from the public shame he has done me? Alas, I fear his soul will suffer from his false accusation."

An attempt, the true motive of which we cannot assign, to make the earl of Northumberland acknowledge a pre-contract with the queen having failed, the king and queen appeared by their proctors in the archiepiscopal court (17th), and the unhappy prelate had (with anguish of heart we make no doubt) to endure the mortification of pronouncing the marriage of his innocent friend utterly void, in consequence of certain just and legal impediments then confessed on her part. Cranmer, who was appointed to be her confessor, had visited her the day before. It was thought even by herself, that she would only be banished, but her tyrant would not be so contented, and the fatal order came. All doubt and fear were now at an end. "1 have seen," says Kingston, "many men and also women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow; to my knowledge this lady hath more joy and pleasure in death." She reviewed her past life, and it appearing to her that she had been rather harsh in her treatment of the lady Mary, she made lady Kingston sit in her chair of state, and kneeling before her, with tears expressed her sorrow and remorse, and made her promise that she would thus kneel before the princess and implore her forgiveness. "Mr. Kingston," said she, "I hear say I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore; I thought to be dead and past my pain." He told her "it would be no pain it was so subtle." She replied, "I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a *little neck,*" and she put her hand about it, laughing heartily.

Next day (l!)th) a little before noon she was led to the scaffold, which was erected on the green within the Tower; all strangers were excluded. There were present the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond (the king's natural son), the chancellor, secretary Cromwell, the lord-mayor and aldermen. She addressed her auditory in these words, probably suggested by Cranmer: "Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law and by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it; 1 am come hither to accuse no mau, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the king and .send him long to reign over you; for a gentler, [nobler] nor more merciful prince was there never, and to me

he was ever a good, gentle and sovereign lord; and if any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take *my* leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to,pray forme. O Lord, have mercy upon me ! To God I, commend my soul." Then calmly removing her hat and collar, she knelt down and said, " To Jesus Christ I commend my soul. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!" One stroke of the sword terminated her existence. Her remains were thrown into an elm box and interred without ceremony in the chapel.

Thus was completed this barbarous judicial murder, not to be paralleled in imperial Rome or the despotic East. That no doubts might remain as to his real motives, Henry married Jane Seymour* the very next day. The lady Mary was now admitted to favour, on her signing articles acknowledging the king's supremacy and her own bastardy; but she honourably refused to give up the names of her friends and advisers, nor did the king insist ou it. A parliament was summoned, which ratified all the late proceedings, and enacted whatever the king required.

In the convocation, where Cromwell presided as the king's representative, ten articles of faith were agreed on. It was an attempt to take a middle course between the two parties, and was therefore pleasing to neither.

The- suppression of the monasteries, which was effected in this summer, caused great discontent among the people. The loss of the alms distributed at them was felt by the poor and idle ; the many associations of superstition as well as piety, connected with them were harshly broken, asunder; the prospect of the decay of these sacred edifices, or their .conversion into secular dwellings, was unpleasing, and moreover then, as at all times, the clergy had been the most lenient of landlords. The sight of the ejected brethren, many of them advanced in years, wandering about the country, moved the people to pity, and they were assured that this was only the first step toward depriving them of all religion, and subjecting them to an unheard-of tyranny.

These discontents having fermented in their bosoms all through the summer, as soon as the harvest was completed the peasantry of Lincolnshire assembled in arms to the number

* Seymour is St. Maur Anglicised. It appears to us to be very bad taste in the family that owes its honours to Henry'3 caprice, to have adopted this last form, which is unknown to English history.

of twenty thousand. Their leader was Dr. Mackrel, late prior of Barlings, who assumed the title of captain Cobler. They sent to the king a statement of their grievances, which included all the late changes made in the church, and complaining of the admission *of* low-born persons to the royal councils (meaning Cranmer and Cromwell), they prayed the king to assemble his nobility and devise remedies. The answer returned was the appearance of the duke of Suffolk, with a body of troops, preceded by a royal reproof of the presumption of "the rude commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm," in attempting to find fault with their prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates, and commanding them to surrender their leaders and one hundred others, and then to go to their homes. By Suffolk's advice, however, a milder proclamation was afterwards put forth, and the insurgents finally dispersed.

The cause of this mildness was the breaking out of a far more formidable insurrection in the counties north of the Humber, where the people were more ignorant and superstitious than in the southern parts. The clergy had secretly instigated them, and the harsh collection of the subsidy granted in the late parliament gave the occasion. The gentry, who shared their feelings, hesitated to risk their lives and fortunes, by coming forward openly, but they found an efficient leader in one Robert Aske, a lawyer of some property in Yorkshire. The insurrection was named the Pilgrimage of Grace ; priests bearing crosses appeared in the van ; their banner displayed on one side the Redeemer, on the other the host and chalice; on the sleeve of every pilgrim were wrought the five wounds of Jesus with his holy name in the midst of them. Aske first laid siege to Pontcfract, in which the archbishop of York and the lord Darcy had taken refuge. The gates were opened, through the influence of the prelate and peer, who secretly wished well to the insurgents, and who after a decent show of reluctance, took the oath by which the pilgrims were bound. York and Hull surrendered; the castles of Skipton and Scarborough alone resisted.

The earl of Shrewsbury, though without orders, raised his tenantry to oppose the rebels. The royal commands to levy troops were obeyed by the marquess of Exeter and other nobles ; and at length the duke of Norfolk, as general of the royal forces, advanced to Doncaster. His army, which did not exceed five thousand men, was divided from that of the rebels, of forty thousand, by the river Don, which could only

be passed by the bridge in the town or a ford at a little distance. The rebels, relying on their numbers, resolved to attempt to force the passage of the ford, but there fell so much, rain in the night that it became impassable. The duke then sent a herald to Aske, who received him sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop on one side of him and Lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that they should send two gentlemen to the king to learn his pleasure. After being detained for some time, the deputies returned with an offer of pardon to all but six who were, and four who were to be, named. These terms were rejected; new negotiations were then opened, but to no effect. The rebels once more prepared to force the ford, and again the rains swelled the stream. Their superstitious minds saw in this a withdrawal from them of the favour of Heaven; they began to despond and to disperse, and the arrival of an act of amnesty caused them to retire to their homes. Aske was invited to court, where he was kindly treated ; but Lord Darcy, who made some delay when summoned, was on his arrival cast into the Tower, as was also lord Ilussey, who was charged with favouring the Lincolnshire rebels.

The people of the north were, however, soon again in arms (1537), a«d eight thousand men, headed by Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, gentlemen of Cumberland, attempted to surprise Carlisle. They failed, and in their retreat were met and defeated with great slaughter by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave escaped; the other leaders were taken and hanged, with seventy inferior persons, on the walls of Carlisle. An attempt on Hull by sir Francis Bigot and a Mr. Ilalem had a similar success. Aske, who made his escape when he heard of the rising, was taken and hanged at York: several other gentlemen were executed at other places. The venerable lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill, and Lord Hussey at Lincoln. Six priors, among whom was Mackrel, were hung for their share in the rebellion. In the month of July a general amnesty was issued. One of the demands of the rebels was complied with, for a court was, by patent, erected at York for the decision of law-suits in the north.

To the joy of the king and kingdom, queen Jane was delivered (Oct. 12) of a son, who was named Edward; but within a few days that joy was damped by the death of the mother, who died of a puerperal fever. The grief of the king was considerable, but it gave way to his satisfaction at the dangers of a disputed succession being now terminated. To the queen

herself it may have been a fortunate event that nature, not the axe of injustice, terminated her mortal life, as a pretext would surely have been found for destroying her, if the despot's eve had been caught by some other object. The young prince was created prince of Wales; his uncle, sir William Seymour, earl of Hertford ; sir William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton ; sir William Paulet, lord St. John; sir John Russell, lord Russell.

Toward the close of the year a book, entitled The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man, compiled by the bishops and revised by the king, was published by the royal authority. It was divided into sections, treating of the Creed, the Sacraments, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory, and contained as much of the reformed opinions as Cranmer and his friends were able to introduce into it. This year was also signalised by the publication, with the royal sanction, of the Bible, translated into English by Tyndale and Coverdale.

The suppression of the remaining monasteries was now finally resolved on. Their wealth made them an object of cupidity to the king and his rapacious courtiers; the reformers viewed them as the strongholds of popery, which they thought could never be eradicated while they were let to remain; the convents of the north had openly aided the late rebellion, and those of the south had secretly furnished the rebels with money. TThe visitations therefore were renewed; threats and artifices were employed, frequently with success, to obtain surrenders. The religious themselves, in anticipation of the coming storm, had been making preparations to meet it; they embezzled the moveable property of their convents to a great extent; they renewed leases of the lands at low rents on receiving large tines. They had therefore often but little reluctance to give up their monastic seclusion , many of them were even glad to escape from the irksome monotony of a conventual life. Hence the crown met with but little opposition. Pensions, varying according to their rank and good conduct, were settled on the monks till they should receive livings in the church of equal dignity and value*.

* " The pensions to the superiors appear to have varied from 266/. to 6/. per atrnutn. The priors of cells received generally 13/.; a few, whose services merited the distinction, obtained 207. To the other monks were allotted pensions of 6/., 4/., *21.*, with a small sum to each at his departure to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about 4/." —*Lingard.* He acknowledges that money was of about six or seven times the value then than it is now.

The suppression was effected in the course of two years, and the annual income which thus fell to the crown amounted to more than 130,000/.

The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading and Colchester were executed on charges of having aided the northern rebels; the vices of others were made public, but still the people said that these were the crimes of the individuals, not of the order. It was then determined to expose the false relics and the 'lying wonders ' to be found even in the most respectable convents. Eleven houses it was ascertained possessed a girdle belonging to the Virgin; eight had some of her milk to show ; one exhibited some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; the ear cut by the sword of St. Peter from the head of Malchus gave fame to one, and the parings of the toe-nails of St. Edmund to another, in which also the penknife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury assured pregnant women of a safe delivery. The teeth of St. Apollonia, which cured the toothache, were so multiplied that when collected they rilled a tun. At Reading there was the wooden image of an angel, with but one wing, which had flown into England with the spear-head that pierced our Saviour's side. The monastery at Hales in Gloucestershire had a vial containing a portion of the Redeemer's blood, to behold which pilgrims flocked from all quarters ; but the votary often looked in vain for the beatific vision ; his penitence, he was told, was incomplete; he had not purchased enough of masses ; more money was paid, and at length perhaps his eyes were blessed with a sight of the divine blood. The secret was found to be, that the vial, which contained the blood of a duck, was opaque on one side, and was turned about by the priests to suit their purpose. At Boxley in Kent was the crucifix named the Rood of Grace, which moved its head, eyes, lips, *etc.,* all effected by secret cords and wires. These various impostures were exposed at St. Paul's, whither also were brought other idols from various parts of the country, among which came a huge rood from Wales, named Darvel Gatheren, to which large offerings used to be made; an old prophecy had said that it should *burn a forest,* and in cruel mockery it was made to form part of the fire that consumed one friar Forest, who denied the supremacy*.

St. Thomas of Canterbury was proceeded against, and con-

* We search the pages of Lingard's early editions in vain for any allu sion to these pious frauds. In his later he *does* allude to them.

demned as a traitor; his name was struck out of the calendar ; his office was expunged from the breviary, and his bones were taken up and burnt; the skull was found with the rest, though the monks used to exhibit it to the pilgrims. His shrine was broken up, and the gold and jewels it contained filled two chests, and required eight men to carry them. There was a festival called the translation of his body celebrated every year, and a jubilee of fifteen days every fiftieth year, which drew a great concourse of pilgrims to Canterbury, one hundred thousand being known to have been there at one time; the offerings therefore were numerous, for the saints, like eastern kings, were not to be approached without a present. On his own ground this 'holy blissful martyr' so far eclipsed the Saviour and the Virgin, that of the three great altars there, that of Christ received one year only 3l/, *2s. 6d.*, that of the Virgin 63/. 5s. *6d.*, while the martyr's share was 832/. 12*. *3d.* ; but the next year it was still worse ; on Christ's altar nothing was offered, on the Virgin's but 4l. 1s. *8d.*, while St, Thomas's displayed 954l. 6s. *3d.*!

While the evils and frauds of the monastic institutions were thus sedulously displayed, care was taken to persuade the nation that the transfer of their revenues to the crown would Im productive of inestimable public benefits. There would be an end, it was asserted, of pauperism and taxation, as the revenues which the crown would now possess would enable it to maintain fleets and armies, to build fortresses, execute public works, maintain the court, and form institutions for learning and charity, without applying any more to the purses of the subjects. Fortunately for the public liberties, these splendid anticipations, as we shall see, were never realised.

With respect to the legal and moral character of the transaction, there are many points to be considered. If the Reformation was to proceed, the monasteries must be destroyed, as they were the strongholds of the dominant superstition. Property no doubt is sacred, of whatever kind it may be, and should not be touched without the most urgent state-necessity, to which even the rights of private and much more those of corporate property must give way. In the latter case, it is, however, a principle, that the rights of the actual possessors, and of those who have a reasonable certainty of succeeding them, should be regarded ; hence it is said that the abolition should have been gradual, that the convents should have been prohibited to receive any more members, and that as the actual members died

off the revenues should fall to the crown. But this would have been inconsistent with the success of the great object proposed, as the popish party would thus have retained for many years the means of checking the progress of the Reformation, and the claims of justice were perhaps sufficiently satisfied by giving pensions, as was done, to the members of the suppressed convents. Again, it is said that the monastic lands should have gone to the representatives of the original donors ; but where were they to be found ? Who could prove himself, for instance, to be the heir of the baron or knight who in the reign of Henry I. or IL gave lands to a monastery for the good of his soul ? Besides, such a right of reversion is hardly ever contemplated ; those who make grants or bequests of this kind part with all right over them, which thus become subject to the control of the legislature. Lastly, it is said that the entire of these revenues should have been devoted to the support of religion and learning ; but a fifth of the lands of the kingdom was by far too much for this purpose, though we will not say that it might not have been better if tithes had been abolished, and lands to the same amount been retained for the support of the church. Yet many difficulties would probably have attended this plan, and perhaps under all circumstances none was preferable to the one which was adopted, that of sharing the lands among the nobility and gentry of the realm*.

This is said to have been a suggestion of Cromwell's, who, aware of the selfishness of human nature, knew that the surest way to make men adverse to Home was to make it their interest to be so ; and this effect was produced. One cannot, however, contemplate without disgust the unprincipled cupidity and rapacity of the vultures of the court, (though they were the founders of some of the noblest and wealthiest families now in the kingdom), or the reckless prodigality of the monarch himself, who, for example, set a peal of church bells on a cast of the dice, gave, it is said †, the revenues of one convent to a woman who made a pudding to please his palate, and those of another to the man who set his chair in a commodious position for him before the fire. Some abbey lands were bestowed on

* Latimer and other reformers pleaded in vain for the preservation of some of the convents. Hume justly thinks that many of the nunneries might have been retained as places of honourable retreat for single women. In vain the gentry of the county pleaded for the blameless nunnery of Godstow near Oxford ; purity and innocence were no defence against the rapacity of the king and his courtiers.

f Only we believe by Sanders.

the courtiers, others were sold or exchanged at such low rates as to differ little from gifts ; and after all the magnificent prospects that had been held out, parliament was called upon the very year (1540) after it had vested the monastic property in the king, for a large subsidy, on account of the great expense of reforming the religion of the state—so completely had the voracious courtiers carried off the spoils of the church!

When we view the ruins of Fountains and other magnificent piles, the glory of architecture and pride of our island, it is impossible to suppress a sigh at such Vandalic devastation as was then committed, or to avoid wishing that some more of these stately edifices had been preserved, and a portion of their revenues appropriated to their maintenance. But the very lead which roofed them sufficed to attract the royal cupidity. The abbot's house and offices were no doubt left standing for the use of the grantee or purchaser; but the church and all the other buildings were stript and let to go to ruin. The destruction of books too was lamentable ; the convent library was always given in with the bargain to him who obtained the house and lands. The books were torn up and used for the basest purposes, or they were sold to the shopkeepers ; whole shiploads of vellum ma-, nuscripts were sent over sea for the use of the bookbinders. We are told by a contemporary that one tradesman purchased two libraries for forty shillings, and that the contents had lasted him in his business for ten years, and were likely to last him as much longer. Much loss has thus been sustained by English history, and perhaps by classical literature. But the greatest injustice perpetrated at this time was in the case of the impropriated tithes. The regular clergy had gradually contrived to deprive the secular clergy of their tithes to the amount of two-fifths of the whole, appointing vicars with paltry stipends to do the duty. In all justice these should have reverted to their original destination, but they shared the fate of the other monastic revenues, and went, where they still remain, into the possession of laymen. The more, in fact, we view the mode in which this secularization of monastic property was effected, the more we are disgusted with the scandalous rapacity of those who were the principal gainers ; for their subsequent conduct proved that religion was not their motive, as when a popish sovereign mounted the throne they readily returned to the ancient superstition on being secured in their lands. It certainly ill becomes the descendants of these men to look with contempt on the possessors of estates acquired by ability, prudence, and honourable diligence.

In order to fulfil some part of the magnificent promises which had been made, Henry erected and slenderly endowed six new bishopricks*. He completed Christ Church College at Oxford, and King's College at Cambridge, where he also founded Trinity College. A few grammar-schools and hospitals were established, and some money was laid out in public works.

When the intelligence of the suppression of the monasteries reached the Vatican, it excited the most unbounded wrath and indignation. Libels without number appeared at Home, in which the impiety of the king of England was described as surpassing that of all the tyrants in history, sacred or profane: Julian alone was a parallel, as like him he was learned and a persecutor of the church he had left. Finally, the bull which had been prepared three years before, but had only been held over him *in terrorem*, was now issued, and all hopes of an accommodation were thus terminated.

One of the most active agents in the cause of the papacy at this time was a member of the blood-royal of England. Reginald Pole was the fourth son of Margaret countess of Salisbury, the daughter of George duke of Clarence, and therefore first cousin of Henry's mother. Henry had always treated this his young kinsman with the greatest affection; as he designed to enter the church and had a turn for literature, he supplied him with ample means for pursuing his studies at home and at Padua. In the affair of the divorce Pole's opinion was adverse to the king's wishes, and he had the manliness* in spite of the entreaties of his family to the contrary, to state to him both orally and in writing his reasons against it. This Henry took in good part, and at his request allowed him to return to Padua. He was residing there when Henry was declared to be the supreme head of the English church ; the books which Gardiner and Sampson wrote on this occasion were transmitted to him, and Pole, who was now devoted body and soul to the papacy, determined to answer them. Early in the following year he composed his work Pro Ecclesiasticse Unitatis Defensione, addressed to his benefactor, assailing him with a virulence of scurrility hardly exceeded by Luther in his worst moods. This work was communicated as he wrote it to two of his Italian: friends and to the pope, by whose permission it was read by some other persons. His friends advised him in vain to soften the personalities. All this time, we may observe, Pole was receiving his pension from Henry, and continued making profes-

* Westminster (united with London in the next reign), Oxford, Chester. Bristol, Gloucester and Peterborough.

sions of his intentions to serve him. In the May of the liext year he sent his book to Henry, by whom it was received just four days after his murder of Anne Boleyn. The king contented himself with directing his prelates to draw up a refutation of the facts which it set forth. A second edition of Gardiner's book De Vera Obedientia was published, to which Bonner put a preface, in which the pope was abused in the most virulent terms. At the same time the king invited Pole to come over to explain some parts of his book; but he was not to be thus caught, and he was therefore deprived of his dignities and pensions.

In the winter Pole went to Rome by the invitation of the pope, who offered him a cardinal's hat; this honour, however, he declined, and his reasons satisfied the pontiff. But the im penal party had particular reasons for wishing him to be invested with this dignity ; the papal orders, which on his own principles he could not disobey, were therefore sent to him; and on the 22nd of December 1537 he with an unwilling heart became a member of the sacred college.

There is something remarkable in Pole's strong repugnancy to accept the highest dignity the pontiff could bestow, and in the efforts of the imperial ministers to have it forced on him. Is it not possible that Pole secretly aspired to the hand of the princess Mary and the throne of England? The princess had been committed to the care of his mother the countess of Salisbury ; and Pole's friend and biographer lieccatclli tells us that queen Catherine, on whose conscience the murder of the innocent earl of Warwick to secure the succession to ber offspring weighed heavy, had projected with the countess, who was Warwick's sister, that by way of reparation one of her sons should marry the princess and thus obtain the throne. Pole was one of the youngest of these sons, and he was Mary's favourite. The same biographer actually assigns this as a reason why the imperial ministers were so eager to have him made a cardinal. One of the charges made against his relations in 1539 was that of having devised to " maintain, promote and advance /m#, and to deprive the king." In 1540, Damiano a Goes, writing to Pole, says of him, " Whom, if there be any truth in my auguries, we shall yet see king of England ;" and Pole in his reply does not absolutely reject the augury. Finally, when Mary mounted the throne her marriage with Pole was in contemplation, and might have taken place but for his advanced age and infirmities, and the arts of the emperor.

Be this, however, as it may, Pole was now a member of the

sacred college, and when the intelligence of the risings in England had reached the Vatican the office of legate beyond the Alps was conferred on him, and he was directed to proceed to Flanders to be at hand to foment the rebellion. On reaching Lyons he heard of its suppression, and of his being proclaimed a traitor by Henry, who had set a reward of 50,000 crowns on his head. Though the king of France would not surrender him, he would not admit him to his presence; the queen-regent of the Netherlands acted in a similar manner, and he was obliged to fix his abode at Liege, whence after a stay of three months he returned to Rome, for though he had opened communications with the disaffected he found that nothing could be accomplished. He now remained for a year in Italy, and at the close of it (Nov. 1538) he was sent as legate to Spain to try to excite the emperor to a crusade against his country. He, however, met with but a cool reception ; and he seems to have come to the conclusion that the papacy had in reality more to apprehend from Charles than from Henry.

The cardinal, who was out of Henry's reach, might pursue his treasonable course in safety, but he thereby drew the monarch's vengeance on his family. At the time of his mission to Spain, his brother Lord Montague, Courtenay marquess of Exeter, and sir Edward Neville were committed to the Tower On a charge of treason (Nov. 3). On the last day of the year the two peers were arraigned on a charge of devising to maintain and advance one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy, beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. The chief witness against them was sir Geoffrey Pole, who having been arrested on some other charge had attempted suicide, and when he failed in his attempt had in remorse (probably the result of the weakness caused by loss of blood) revealed the treason of his family. They were found guilty and executed, as three days after were Neville, two priests, and a sailor. Sir Geoffrey was tried and convicted with these **last,** but his life was spared for his services, and he was pardoned in the next reign. About three months later sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, was convicted and executed as an accomplice of the marquess. Though conviction in this reign is no certain proof of guilt, there seems to be little reason to doubt of the reality of this conspiracy.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED)

1538-1547.

WHILE Henry was thus warring with the papacy on points of authority, he was strenuous in maintaining its most revolting doctrines, and another victim was at this time offered to the real presence. This was a man named Lambert, who had adopted the view of the Swiss reformer Zuinglius, that the eucharist was merely commemorative. Hearing one day (1538) Dr. Taylor preach on the subject of transubstantiation, he went to him and offered to argue the matter. Taylor, pleading want of leisure, desired him to put his thoughts in writing. Lambert was so incautious as to comply; Taylor then showed the paper to Dr. Barnes, who like himself held the reformed opinions, but still believed in the real presence, by whom he was advised to proceed against Lambert for heresy in the archiepiscopal court. On the trial Lambert appealed to the king, to whom Gardiner suggested that this was a good opportunity for clearing himself from the charge of encouraging heresy. Westminster Hall was accordingly prepared; the nobles were summoned from all parts. The king took his seat, the bishops ou his right, the temporal peers on his left; the hall was filled with spectators; the prisoner came surrounded by armed men. Bishop Sampson having made a speech, the king put a few questions to the prisoner in a haughty tone. Gardiner, Gardiner, Tunstali, Stokesley, and six other bishops then argued successively with him. He became exhausted; the king demanded whether he would live or die; he said he threw himself wholly on the royal mercy. Henry replied that he had none for heretics. Lambert persisted in his opinion, and Cromwell by the royal order read the sentence of death. He was burnt shortly after (Nov. 20) in Smithfield. Two Dutch anabaptists suffered also in the same place about this time.

It was, as we may have observed, the practice of Henry to carry all his measures under form of law, and indeed he found parliaments so very compliant that it would have been mere folly and wantonness in him to pursue any other course. The parliament met on the 28th of April 1539, and its acts perfectly accorded with the royal wishes.

An act of attainder against the marquess of Exeter and those executed with him was easily obtained, but the king wished to extend his vengeance to the whole of the cardinal's family. Cromwell was therefore directed to ask the judges whether a person might not be attainted without trial or confession. They replied that, though such a thing might not be done by the lower courts, a sentence passed by the high court of parliament would be good in law. This was enough; Pole's mother the venerable countess of Salisbury, his nephew the son of lord Montague, the marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortcscue, and sir Thomas Dingley, were all included in a bill of attainder, and as it would seem without any proof: the two knights were executed, the countess was reprieved, the marchioness was pardoned.

An act was passed confirming the surrender of the monasteries. By another a formal surrender of the national liberties was made, for the legislature gave to the king's proclamations the force of statutes of parliament.

But the great measure of this parliament was that respecting religious doctrines. As soon as it met a commission was appointed, consisting of Cromwell, the two archbishops, and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle and Worcester, to prepare such articles of doctrine as might put an end to religious controversy. But as the two parties were nearly equal in the committee, there was no rational chance of their agreement. On the 16th of May, therefore, the duke of Norfolk proposed six questions to the house as necessary to be previously determined. Craimier and his friends argued them vigorously on the reformed side; the opposite view was supported by Lee, Tunstall and the Romish party. On the second day Henry himself came down to the house ; and his presence, and most probably his words, silencer! all opposition. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th; when it met again, on the 30th, each party was required in the king's name to prepare a bill against the following Sunday. That of the Romish party received the royal approbation, and the lords were directed to discuss it; and the Act of Six Articles, [4] the bloody statute, or whip with six strings,' as it was commonly called, was passed (June 10).

These articles were as follows: 1. The natural body of Christ is present in the eucharist under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine ; 2. Communion in both kinds is

not necessary; 3. Priests may not marry; 4. Vows of chastity are to be kept; 5. Private masses should he retained; 6. Auricular confession is expedient and necessary. The penalty of opposing the first was death without mercy; the violation of the others was to be punished as felony. "Such," says Lingard, "were the enactments of this severe and barbarous statute." Latimer and Shaxton immediately resigned their sees, and they were both committed to the Tower. Numbers of other clergymen were cast into prison for having spoken against the popish doctrines. But it is extraordinary to remark Henry's steadiness to Cranmer; he assured him of his constant friendship, and at his desire the lords of parliament were entertained by him at Lambeth. The primate, however, bent before the Btorm, and sent his wife and children to Germany.

Henry was now in the second year of his widowhood, but the whole of this time he had been engaged in matrimonial treaties. The first was with the emperor for his niece the duchess-dowager of Milan, daughter of the king of Denmark; but this was broken off, and Henry turned his views to France. It has generally been observed that in love people affect their opposite; in Henry's eyes it seemed fitting that his wife should be of large dimensions to suit his own corpulence. He therefore fixed Ins fancy on the duchess-dowager of Longuevillc, daughter of the duke of Guise; but she was already contracted *to* the king of Scots, and Francis, refusing at Henry's solicitation to break off the match, sent her to Scotland. He offered him, however, Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as Henry had heard that the Scottish king had refused her he would not listen to this proposal. Francis then offered him his choice of the sisters of the queen of Scots, who fully equalled her in size. Henry proposed that they should have a conference at Calais, to which Francis should bring the finest ladies of his court; but the delicacy of the French monarch would not allow him to treat the ladies of France as men, he said, did nags at a fair, where they were trotted out that the purchaser might choose. The negotiations therefore were broken off.

Henry now turned his thoughts to an alliance with one of the protestant princes of Germany, and Cromwell proposed to him Anne daughter of the duke of Cleves. A picture of her by Hans Holbein having satisfied him of her beauty he made his proposals, which were accepted, and the princess was sent over to England. She landed on the last day of the year at

Dover. On New Year's. Day (1540) she reached Rochester, whither the king's impatience had brought him to meet her. Great, however, was his consternation when he beheld her. Tall she was and large no doubt, but her features were coarse, her manners ungraceful, and she only spoke her native German. As he had previously viewed her unseen he had time to compose himself before he was announced. She knelt; he raised her and kissed her cheek, but he could not prevail on himself to deliver the presents he had prepared. He retired to consult with his friends, to whom he swore that they had brought him a great Flanders mare. Next morning he rode back in melancholy mood to Greenwich. He there directed Cromwell to devise some mode of breaking off the marriage, but none could be found, and there was danger of offending the protestant princes. "There is no remedy," said the king in a sorrowful tone; "I *must* put my nock into the yoke." The marriage ceremony was performed (Jan. *6)* by Cranmer, but the bride could make no progress in gaining[1] the affections of her capricious lord.

Within his heart Henry had determined on divorcing his queen and destroying Cromwell, whom he regarded as the author of his calamity. Yet never apparently was Cromwell higher in his favour: he had made him knight of the garter and lord great chamberlain, an office hereditary in the family of Vere earls of Oxford • and on the second day after the meeting of parliament (April 14), which Cromwell had opened as usual, he received the earldom of Essex, which had just become extinct, and the estates belonging to it. But his enemies were numerous; the ancient nobility hated him as an upstart; the people regarded him as the cause of the high taxation; the Romish party viewed him with abhorrence on account of the dissolution of the monasteries; the reformers blamed him for suffering the act of Six Articles to pass. It seems too that the party opposed to him and the queen adopted the same tactics as had been employed against Catherine and Wolsey. At a dinner given to the king by Gardiner, one of the company was Catherine Howard niece of the duke of Norfolk, a young lady small in person, not remarkably handsome, but extremely agreeable in manners. She contrasted favourably with the coarse Anne of Cleves, and her conquest of the royal heart was immediate. The king's hatred of Cromwell was thereby augmented, and by his directions the duke of Norfolk arrested the minister (June 10) at the council-board as a trai-

tor. The iniquitous mode of proceeding by attainder, which he himself had been the instrument of introducing the last year, was adopted. He was charged with encroaching on the Royal authority in divers ways, with holding arid favouring heretical opinions, and with declaring that he would fight even against the king in defence of them. Cranmer alone proved faithful to the fallen minister; he wrote to the king in his favour, hut that availed him nought. The bill was rapidly passed through the lords: in the commons it met with some opposition, but was finally carried.

The great object, the divorce of the queen, was now proceeded with speedily. She was sent to Richmond for the benefit of the air, as it was pretended, and while there she was waited on (June 25) by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, and acquainted with the king's intention of divorcing her on account of an alleged precontract with the duke of Lorraine. Apathetic as she was she fainted at the intelligence. When she recovered she was prevailed on to consent to refer the matter to the clergy, to relinquish the title of queen, and in lieu to accept that of the king's adopted sister; she also consented to write a letter to him to this effect, and another to her brother, acknowledging the justice of the whole proceeding; and she further engaged to show all the letters she should receive from her family.

In the mean time a very pretty farce was enacted by the legislature. A member of the upper house rose, and having lamented the hard fate of his majesty in being bound to a wife who had been affianced to another,, and the dishonour thereby brought on him and the country, moved that he should be petitioned to refer his case to the consideration of the clergy. The motion was agreed to; the commons were equally alive to the interests of the king and nation; the joint address was most graciously received; the case was submitted to the convocation (July 5) ; Gardiner expatiated on the causes which urged the king to seek their interference; a committee, composed of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester and Worcester, and seven inferior clergymen, was appointed to receive and report on the evidence. The marriage was declared null and void, as the precontract it was alleged had not been satisfactorily explained, as the king did not and could not consummate it, as it would be for the public good if he were to marry again, etc., in short as Henry disliked his wife and wanted to marry another, and as his di-

vines were most obsequious to his wishes. Parliament confirmed this sentence, and made it high treason to question it. The palace of Richmond and 3000/. a year, with precedence of all but the queen and the king's children, consoled Anne for the loss of a capricious husband. She had spirit enough to refuse to return to Germany: she died about sixteen years after this time, in the reign of queen Mary.

Henry had never been known to forgive, and Norfolk and the other enemies of Cromwell were now high in his favour. It was therefore in vain that he wrote in such piteous terms imploring mercy, as even drew tears from the despot's eyes; no mercy was to be found. The warrant for his execution was sent, and on the 28th of July he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Aware of the king's temper, and actuated by affection for his son, he acted like Anne Boleyn, and made no assertion of his innocence. He said he was by law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his prince, who had raised him from a base degree. He died, he said, in the catholic faith, not doubting of any article of faith or of any sacrament of the church ; he had not been a supporter of those who held ill opinions; but he had been seduced, and now died in the catholic faith; and he desired those present to pray for the king, the prince, and himself. He then prayed for remission of his sins and admittance into heaven, and giving the sign, his head was cut off in a bungling barbarous manner.

Two days only had elapsed after the death of Cromwell when the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield taught the reformers their loss of him. The victims were Dr. Barnes, and two clergymen named Jerome and Gerard; their offence was preaching the doctrine of justification by faith only; their persecutor was Gar diner. As they could not be brought within the Six Articles, the convenient mode of attainder was employed, and they were sentenced to be burnt as heretics; at the same time three of the other party, Abel, Powell and Featherstone, were attainted for denying the supremacy, To prove the king's thorough impartiality, they were drawn on hurdles, one of each party on each, to the place of execution, where the reformers were burnt as heretics, the Romanists were hanged and quartered as traitors.

On the 8th of August Catherine Howard was introduced. at court as queen, and the Romish party now viewed their

triumph as complete, for Catherine, according to the lords of the council, had entirely won the king's heart by "a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour."

In the following month of April (1541) the people of the northern counties were again in arms against the government; the cause was probably religion: the leader was sir John Neville, but the insurrection was speedily suppressed, and Neville and some others were executed at York. Whether it were that her son the cardinal had instigated it, or that she had herself given some offence, or from the mere wantonness of barbarity, Henry now gave orders for the execution of the countess of Salisbury. The venerable matron of seventy-two years, when placed on the scaffold (May 27), refused to lay her head on the block, saying, "So should traitors do, and I am none:" she added, that if the executioner would have her head, he must take it by force. "When held down she still kept moving it, and he was thus, says Herbert, "constrained to fetch it off slovenly."

When the insurrection in the north had been quelled, Henry made a progress thither in person, in order to quiet the minds of the people; he had also in view a personal meeting with his nephew the king of Scots, in whose realm the Reformation had likewise commenced, and whom he was urging to follow his example in seizing the property of the church. But his queen and the clergy had too much influence over the mind of James, and lie sent excuses to his royal uncle, who was now at York. Henry, breathing vengeance, returned to London, where a trial he little anticipated now awaited him.

On Allhallows-day the king "received his Maker, and gave him most hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with his wife," and he requested his confessor the bishop of Lincoln to join with him in prayer and thanksgiving. Next day, after mass, Cranmer put into his hand a written statement of charges against his supposed immaculate consort.

It seems, that while the king was in the north, a man named Lascelles had waited on the primate, and told him, that having been down to Sussex to see his sister, who had lived in the service of the old duchess of Norfolk, who had brought the queen up, he had advised her to apply for the situation of one of her women; she replied that she would not, as the queen was "of light living and conditions." She then went on-to say that one Francis Derham, who had been also in the duchess's service, had lain with Catherine more than one hundred times;

and that another servant, named Mannock, knew a private mark of her body. The archbishop on hearing this was in great perplexity, and he deemed it his wisest course to communicate it to the chancellor Audley and to the earl of Hertford; and after maturely weighing the matter they decided that he should inform the king. Henry was thunderstruck at the information, which he asserted was forged; he, however, summoned the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, sir Antony Brown, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, and directed that inquiry should be made.

The lord privy seal examined Lascelles, and when he was found to persist in his statement, the same nobleman went into Sussex, under pretence of hunting, and thus contrived to have an interview with Lascelles' sister, who confirmed the statement of her brother. Wriothesley meantime arrested Mannock and Derham, and they both confessed to the charges, the latter even naming three women who had lain in the same bed with him and Catherine. When this was all laid before the king his rugged nature gave way, and after a long silence he burst into a copious flood of tears. The primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the lord chamberlain and the bishop of Winchester were sent to examine the queen. She at first stoutly denied everything, but being pressed by the weight of evidence she made that night a full confession to the primate, and pnt her subscription to it. She acknowledged her incontinence before marriage, but assorted that she had been faithful to the king. But it appeared that she had taken Derham as well as one of those women into her service, and that during the late progress a gentleman named Culpepper (related to her on the mother's side) had been secretly introduced into her chamber at Lincoln by lady Bochfort, where he remained from eleven at night till three in the morning.

Culpepper and Derham both it is said pleaded guilty when they were arraigned (Nov. 30): the former was beheaded, the latter hanged (Dec. 10). The old duchess of Norfolk, lord William Howard the queen's uncle, his wife, and several other persons were charged with misprision of treason for not revealing her guilt, and were sentenced to imprisonment for life. When the parliament met (Jan. 1542), bills of attainder against the queen, lady Bochfort, and all the above-named persons were rapidly passed. On the 13th of February the queen and lady Bochfort were beheaded within the Tower. They expressed great contrition for their sins, but the queen persisted

in affirming that she had never been faithless to the royal bed. Neither however was much pitied. It was well remembered that lady Rochfort had been a principal agent in the murder ef her husband, and his sister Anne Boleyn*.

In the act of attainder of Catherine it was enacted, that any woman who was about to be married to the king, should, if ihe was not a maid, inform him of the fact, under penary of treason ; any other person who knew of this fact, and did not disclose it, should be held guilty of misprision of treason; if the queen or the prince's wife induced any one to commit adultery with her, they should be all punished as traitors. It was jestingly said that the king need not now expect any reputed maid to marry him.

In the convocation this year great complaints were made by the Romish party, of the inaccuracy of Tyndal's and other translations of the Bible, and a new version was projected, in which Gardiner artfully proposed to retain about one hundred Latin words, the true meaning and force of which he said the English language was unable to express. As the people could not now be debarred the use of the Scriptures, it was reckoned that by means of a piebald version of this kind they might still be kept in the dark on many important points; Cranmer, however, Saw through the artifice, and the project fell to the ground.

Many years had elapsed since the English nation had been engaged m foreign war, but hostilities were now to commence with both Scotland and France. In consequence of the insult offered him, as he conceived, by his nephew of Scotland, Henry ordered the duke of Norfolk to raise an army and to invade that kingdom. The duke crossed the Tweed with twenty thousand men, and advanced along it to Kelso, but he re-crossed the river at that place and returned to England. King James, who had assembled an army, proposed to his nobles an inroad into England; they, however, refused, and a body of ten thou-

* See Appendix, Q. The misrepresentations of Lingard in this and the three succeeding reigns are so numerous that it is impossible for us to notice them, yet we cannot let him pass here. He first of all says, without even the authority of Sanders, that " a plot was woven by the industry of the reformers which brought the young queen to the scaffold ;" and finally, lie says of her and lady Rochfort, " I fear that both were sacrificed to the manes of Anne Boleyn.? *"I fear,* that is," says Hallara, " / *wish to inmnuate"* [In his last edition Lingard omits the latter and softens the former passages.] Again, Derham is styled a " *gentleman* in the service of her grandmother/' but Norris and Weston, undoubted gentlemen, were only *mm-servanta* when Anne Boleyn was to be injured by insinuation.

Sand men, whom he sent into England by Solway Firth, took panic and fled at the appearance of a party of but five hundred English, leaving several men of rank captives in their hands. James fell sick from chagrin, and he died just as he had learned the birth of his first child, a daughter. Henry, on hearing of this event, proposed to his prisoners and some other Scottish nobles a match between his son Edward and the infant princess, and he gave them their liberty on condition of their aiding him to effect it. But Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews, whom the pope had made a cardinal, had forged a will, by which the king left the regency to himself and three other noblemen during the minority. He was the head of the Romish party, and the queen-dowager joined interest with him. On the other hand, the earl of Arran was the nearest akin to the young queen, and he was supported by the reformers. The cardinal's forgery being suspected, he was deprived of the regency and put in confinement; but he obtained his liberty, and by appealing to the national and religious prejudices of the people, he turned them completely against the English match and triumphed over his rival (1543).

As the king of France had favoured the party hostile to his interests in Scotland, Henry now listened to the overtures of the emperor, and entered into a league with him against France. The Romish party in England were elate, but the reformers gained perhaps a more than countervailing advantage in the king's marriage (July 12) with Catherine Parr, the widow oi lord Latimer, who inclined to the new opinions.

Henry crossed the sea the following year (July 14, 1544) with his principal nobility and a gallant army of thirty thousand men. He was joined by fifteen thousand imperialists; hut instead of marching direct to Paris, as good policy and the desires of his ally required, he laid siege to Boulogne and Montreal, because Charles had taken some towns and was besieging St. Dizier. The king of France in alarm made proposals of peace to the emperor, which were at once accepted, and Henry, now, as ever, the dupe of his ally, having taken and garrisoned Boulogne, raised the siege of Montreal and returned home (Sept. 30). The war with France and Scotland was continued through the following year, but in a languid manner, and it was terminated by a peace in 1546.

In the year 1543 a new exposition of faith and morals was put forth under the title of A Necessary Doctrine and Erur dicion for any Christian Man, but it was commonly called

The Kingfs Book. Like the Institution, on which it was founded, it was of a motley character, with too much of popery to content the reformers, with too much of scriptural truth to please the Romanists. In the next parliament (1544) Cranmer succeeded in obtaining a mitigation of the provisions of the Act of Six Articles.

The cause of the reformers lost in 1545 two of its most powerful supporters in the persons of the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, and the lord chancellor Audley, who both died in this year j and Audley's successor, Wriothesley (now ennobled), sided strongly with the opposite party. It was not long till an attempt was made to ruin Cranmer. The king was informed "that the primate, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with unsavoury doctrine as to fill all places with abominable heretics," and that the throne was in danger. Henry asked how it were best to proceed, and he was advised to commit him at once to the Tower. He objected to this as a harsh measure; but he was assured that the primate was so unpopular that charges in abundance would be brought against him when he was in confinement. He at length consented that the prelate should be summoned next day before the council, and be committed if they deemed it advisable.

Before midnight the king sent sir Antony Denny to Lambeth to summon the primate to his presence. Cranmer, who was in bed, rose and came to Whitehall. Henry told him what he had done : Cranmer declared himself indifferent about the committal, as he could easily clear himself. "O Lord God!" cried the king, "what fond simplicity have you so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know that when they have you once in prison three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you and condemn you ?" He then went on to tell him that *he* had taken better measures for his safety; he desired him to claim his right as a privy councillor of being confronted with his accusers, and, if that was refused, to produce the ring which he then gave him, and appeal to *him.*

Cranmer returned home, and the next morning at eight o'clock he was summoned to appear before the council. "When he came he was obliged to remain sitting in the anteroom among the servants. At length he was brought before the **board** and informed of the charges against him ; his demand

to be confronted with his accusers was at once refused. "I am sorry, my lords," said he, "that you drive me to such a step, but seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you I must appeal to his majesty." He produced the ring; they gazed on it and each other for some time in silence; at length lord Russell said with an oath, "Did I not tell you, my lords, what would come of this affair *1* I knew right well that the king would never permit my lord of Canterbury to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason." They then took the ring and papers to the king, who rated them well for their, treatment of the primate. "I would have you to know," said he, in conclusion, "that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man toward me as was ever prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe to God." The duke of Norfolk replied that their only object had been to give the primate an opportunity of refuting the charges made against him. "I pray you," said the king, "use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you." At the royal command they all then shook hands with the placable primate, and a few days after were entertained by him at Lambeth.

Shortly after, at Cranmer's desire, the king suppressed some popular superstitions, such as ringing bells and keeping watch the whole night before Allhallows-day; veiling the cross and the images in churches all through Lent, and unveiling them on Palm Sunday, and kneeling before the cross on that day. But the king himself went still nirther, and he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross and adoring it.

The king's last parliament met on the 2.3rd of November: its chief business was to relieve his pecuniary difficulties. It granted large subsidies, and suppressed all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, transferring their revenues to the king. It even went so far as to empower him to seize those of the universities, he making a solemn promise "that all should be done to the glory of God and common profit to the realm." It further legalised all the transfers of property which the 5hurrh dignitaries had been forced to make to the crown. The king then dissolved the parliament (Dee. 24). He made on this occasion a speech, which he concluded by complaining of the religious dissensions which prevailed. Of the clergy he said, "Some were so stiff in their old *mumpsiinus,* and others sa ousy with their new *sumpsimus**," that they did nothing but rail

* The origin of this phrase is as follows:—A priest had long read in his

at each other; while the laity censured the conduct of the clergy and debated Scripture in alehouses and taverns. He exhorted both parties to give over calling one another ill names, and to live in peace and charity.

The next year (1546) showed how well the king's advice was attended to, for the flames of Smithfield blazed once more. The principal victim was a lady named Anne Askew, daughter of a knight of Lincolnshire. She had been married to a gentleman named Kyme, to whom she bore two children; but having adopted scriptural sentiments, her husband, a furious papist, turned her out of doors. She resumed her maiden name, and came to London, in hopes of obtaining a divorce* Here she transgressed the Six Articles, and she was also suspected of conveying religious books to the queen and some ladies at court. She was taken before Bonner bishop of London ; a recantation was proffered to her to sign, and she wrote that she believed " all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church;" and, though this was ambiguous, Bonner was obliged to let her go on bail. This year she was again arrested ; she was examined before the council by Gardiner and Wriothesley ; but they could not move or refute her; she was then sent to Newgate, tried before a jury for heresy, and sentenced to die. As it was hoped by means of the rack to get her to implicate some persons of rank, she was taken thence to the Tower, and placed on that horrid instrument; but she bore the torture with the utmost firmness, not uttering even a cry. The lieutenant refusnig to allow his man to torment her any further, Wriothesley and Rich threw off their gowns and worked the instrument themselves. When taken off she fainted, but oa her recovering she maintained a conversation with them for two hours, sitting on the bare ground. She was carried in a chair to the stake (July 16) : with her were John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman, and John Adams, a poor tailor—all, like Anne Askew, deniers of transubstantiation. Wriothesley sent to offer them a pardon if they would recant. " 1 came not hither," said Annfi, " to deny my lord and master." The others were equally firm, and all were burnt.

It was commonly said at this time of the bishop of Winchester that " he had bent his bow in order to shoot some of the head deer." He had eoveytly shot at Cranmer; he now openly

breviary *mnmpsimus* for *sumpsimus*; his error was at length pointed out to him, but he angrily declared he would not change his old *mumpsimus* for their new sumpsimus.

aimed at the queen. Henry, who was grown peevish and irritable from disease, was annoyed at her urging him on the subject of religion ; and one day as she left the room he fretfully noticed it to Gardiner, who was present. The artful prelate saw his opportunity, and he succeeded in prevailing on the king to let articles or accusation be drawn up against her. When prepared they received the royal approbation; but luckily for the queen the paper was dropt (probably by design) by the person who was carrying it, and was picked up by one of her friends. Her alarm at her danger brought on an attack of illness ; the king came to visit her ; she expressed her regret at seeing so little of him, and her fear of having given him offence. They parted on good terms. Next evening she visited the king; he asked her opinion on some points *of* religion; she modestly replied, that the man was the woman's natural superior, and her judgement should be directed by his. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king ; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed by us." She assured him that in arguing with him her only object had been to divert his mind and to derive information. "And is it even so, sweetheart ?" cried he ; " then perfect friends are we now again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He embraced and dismissed her, and when she was gone highly extolled her to those who were present; and yet the capricious tyrant had been on the point of sending her to the Tower, perhaps even to the stake !

Next day he sent for her to the garden. "While they were there, the chancellor came with forty men to arrest her. The king frowned; the queen retired; the chancellor knelt; the words " Knave, fool, beast, avaunt from my presence!" reached the ears of the queen, and she came forward to interpose. "Ah, poor soul," said Henry, " thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he hath been toward thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." Orders were now given that Gardiner should appear no more in the royal presence; the king also struck his name out of the list of executors named in his will.

The days of the monarch were now fast drawing to their close. He was become so corpulent and unwieldy that he could only be moved about in a chair, and an ulcer in one of his legs was at this time So fetid as to be hardly endurable by those

about him. One more act of injustice and cruelty was, however, to be perpetrated. The head of the Romish party and of the ancient nobility was the duke of Norfolk, a man who had on several occasions done good service to the crown; his son, the earl of Surrey, was the most accomplished nobleman of the age. The Seymours, the uncles of the young prince, may be regarded as the chiefs of the reformed party, and there was a jealousy between them and the Howards, who despised them as upstarts. Whether it proceeded from the intrigues of the Seymours, or from the king's own caprice or apprehensions, the duke and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Feebler or more ill-supported charges never were made than on this occasion. Surrey's principal offences were his having quartered the arms of the Confessor with his own, a thing in which he was warranted by the heralds; his having spoken contemptuously of the new nobility; and his haying two Italians in his service, whom one of the witnesses suspected to be spies. Being a commoner he was tried by a jury at Guildhall (Jan. 18, 1547), before the chancellor and other commissioners. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; but vain was all defence in this reign; he was condemned as a traitor, and six days after (19th) he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The duke of Norfolk was accused of various trifling acts of treason, and every effort was made to get up evidence against him. A good deal of the misfortune of himself and his son originated in family dissension; the duchess, who was separated from her husband, actuated by jealousy, wrote to the lord privy seal, accusing him; and his daughter, the duchess of Richmond, was one of the witnesses against her brother. Mrs. Holland, who was supposed to he the duke's mistress, testified all she could against him. The duke was induced to sign a confession of having divulged the king's secrets, concealed his son's treason in quartering the arms of the Confessor, and having himself quartered those of England. But all availed not; a bill of attainder was hurried through parliament, the royal assent was given by commission on the 27th, and he was ordered for execution the next morning. Fortunately for Norfolk, the king died in the night, and a respite was sent to the Tower.

The king had gradually been growing worse, but his friends feared to apprise him of his clanger. At length sir Antony Denny ventured to inform him of his approaching dissolution. He received the intelligence with meekness, expressing his reliance on the merits of his Saviour. Sir Antony asked if he

would have any divine to attend him ; he said, if any, it should be the archbishop of Canterbury; but "Let me take a little sleep first," said he, "and when I awake again I shall think more about the matter." When he awoke he directed that Cranmer should be fetched from Croydon. The prelate came in all haste, but found him speechless. He desired him to give a sign of his faith in the merits of Christ; the king pressed his hand .and expired.

Nothing can be more injudicious than the conduct of those Protestant writers, who, identifying Henry with the Reformation, seem to think themselves bound to apologise for and even justify the various enormities with which his memory is charged. A slight knowledge of history will suffice to show that the worst instruments are often employed to produce the greatest and best results. We may therefore allow Henry to have been a bad man, and yet regard the Reformation, of which he was an instrument, as a benefit to mankind. It is, on the other hand, weak in the Romanists to charge the Reformation with the vices of Henry ; it would bo equally so in us were we to impute to *their* religion the atrocities of pope Alexander V I. and his children Caesar and Lucretia Borgia.

Thorough selfishness formed the basis of Henry's character *. He never was known to sacrifice an inclination to the interest or happiness of another. "He spared no man in his anger, no woman in his lust;" everything must yield to his will. He was rapacious and profuse, vain and self-sufficient. At the same time he was courteous and affable, and when in good humour had a gay jovial mariner highly captivating in a ruler. His people remembered the magnificence of his early reign, his handsome person, his skill in martial exercises, and he was popular with them to the very last. The constancy of his friendship to Cranmer is the most estimable trait in his character ; but the primate never had dared to oppose his will. Henry's patronage of letters was also highly commendable : he was skilful in selecting those whom he employed in church and state, and rarely promoted an inefficient person.

* See Wolsey's opinion of him (p. 355). He went to dine one day with sir Thomas More, at Chelsea. After dinner he walked for an hour in the garden with him, with his arm round his neck. When More's son-in-law Roper congratulated him on the favour he seemed to be in, '* I thank our Lord, son, (quoth he,) 1 find his grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France it should not fail to go." This was in Henry's jovial days.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD VI.

1547-1553.

THE new monarch being only in his tenth year, Henry had in his will nominated a council of sixteen persons to administer the government till he should have completed his eighteenth year. A second council of twelve persons was appointed to aid them in cases of difficulty. Hertford and his friends formed a majority in the council of regency, and one of its first acts was to invest him with the office of protector of the realm and guardian of the king's person. The chief, or rather sole opponent of this measure, was the chancellor Wriothesley, who being from his office next in rank to the primate, whom he knew to have little talent or inclination for public affairs, had reckoned that the chief direction of them would fall to himself.

The members of the council next proceeded to bestow titles and estates on themselves, sir Antony Denny, sir "William Paget, and sir William Hertford having deposed that such had been the late king's intention. Hertford was created duke of Somerset; Essex (the queen's brother), marquis of Northampton; lord Lisle, earl of Warwick; "Wriothesley, earl of Southampton j and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, barons of the same names. Manors and lordships were to be bestowed on them out of the church lands, to enable them to support their new dignities. Meantime Somerset and others took to themselves the revenues of sundry deaneries and prebends. When they had thus provided for themselves they proceeded to the ceremony of the young king's coronation, which was performed with the usual magnificence (Feb. 20).

The chief obstacle in the way of Somerset's ambition being the chancellor, he was on the watch for a pretext to get rid of him, and Southampton's imprudence soon furnished him with one. In order to be able to devote himself more exclusively to politics, he had, without consulting his colleagues, put the great seal into commission, and appointed four lawyers to hear and decide causes in chancery. Complaint was made to the council; the judges, on being consulted, declared the act illegal. The chancellor, when summoned before the council, defended himself, but he was obliged to surrender the great seal, and to remain a prisoner in his own house till the amount of the fine

to be imposed on him should be settled. Southampton's opposition being thus removed, Somerset proceeded to enlarge his own authority, and he procured letters patent under the great seal, now held provisionally by lord St. John, making him Protector, with full regal power. He appointed a council, composed of the members of those nominated in the late king's will, but he reserved the power of increasing their number, and did not bind himself to follow their advice. By this plain usurpation Somerset was invested with more power than had ever yet been placed in the hands of a subject.

The Protestants, as we shall henceforth style the reformers *, now looked forward to the rapid spread of their principles. The young king had been brought up in them; the protector and the members of the council, with the exception of the bishop of Durham, were, from various motives—partly pure, partly interested—in favour of them. It was a great advantage, that Cranmer, to whom the protector much deferred in these matters, was a man of extreme moderation and caution.

Cranmer commenced by petitioning the council (Feb. 7) to restore him to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; for, as he argued, it had proceeded from the crown, and therefore had expired with the late king. The other bishops were obliged to follow his example, and they were thus brought under obedience to the council. A royal visitation of all the dioceses in the kingdom was next appointed. The visitors received directions to suppress sundry superstitious practices, such as the sprinkling of beds with holy water, using blessed candles for driving away the devil, etc.; and to see that the clergy performed their functions in a decorous and proper manner. A book of homilies and Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament were to be provided for each church, and one of these homilies (which were mostly drawn up by Cranmer) was to be read on Sundays and holidays. Images which had not been objects of pilgimage and so forth were to be retained, and every precaution was taken to shock the prejudices of the people as little as possible. To

* We will rail the other party Catholics, at the same time protesting against their claim to the exclusive right to this title. *Catholic* signifying *universal*, no church can have less right to it than the one which denies salvation to all without its pale. Roman Catholic (though, as Milton says, " one of the pope's bulls,—as if he should say, universal particular, a catholic schismatic ") is perhaps appropriate enough as denoting the Romish branch of the church. We cannot see any reasonable objection to the term Papist; it merely denotes one who maintains the authority of the Pope, **and** is like Imperialist, etc.

these innovations Bonner made some opposition at first, but he afterwards submitted. Gardiner, a man of more firmness and authority, resisted them vigorously, for which he was committed by the council to the Fleet.

In the autumn the protector invaded Scotland: his chief object was to endeavour to force the Scottish nation to agree to the measure (so evidently advantageous to both countries) of their union by the marriage of the two young sovereigns; but the queen-mother and the Romish party were strongly opposed to it, and the Scottish reformers had lately disgraced their cause by one of those atrocities which distinguish their religious zeal from that of the English. The cardinal-primate, having, by engaging the earl of Bothwell to break his faith, got into his hands a gentleman of the name of Wishart, a zealous preacher of the new doctrine, had him tried and condemned to the flames for heresy; and when Arran, the regent, refused to concur in the sentence, he of his own authority had caused him to be burnt, himself witnessing the execution from a window. Some of Wishart's friends determined on vengeance; they contrived early one morning (May 28, 1546) to enter the castle of St. Andrews, and they murdered the cardinal in his bed-room. Their friends then repaired to them, and they sent to London seeking aid from Henry, who promised them his protection. By means of the supplies forwarded to them from England they were enabled to hold out against the regent for more than a twelvemonth, but he at length reduced them by the aid of a fleet of French galleys.

'Somerset, taking with him the earl of Warwick as second in command, crossed the Tweed (Sept. 2) at the head of twenty thousand men; whilst a fleet under lord Clinton moved in view along the coast. He had previously put forth a manifesto stating all the reasons for the proposed marriage, but the ostensible cause assigned for his invasion were the depredations committed by the Scottish borderers. Arran, on the other hand, summoned all the fighting men to his standard, and having selected a force nearly double that of the English, took his post on the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. A skirmish of cavalry took place, in which the Scots had the worst; Somerset then proposed assailing their camp, but finding it too strong, he sent, offering to evacuate the kingdom and make good all the damage done, provided the Scots would engage not to marry their queen to any foreign prince, and to keep her at home till she was of age to choose for her-

self. The moderation of these demands caused them to be rejected; the priests who had flocked to the camp, inflamed the bigotry of the Scots against the English heretics; when they saw the protector move toward the sea they thought he intended to embark his troops and thus escape; and confident of victory they quitted their camp, crossed the river, and advanced in order of battle into the plain. In the engagement which ensued, the Scots, in consequence of their imprudence and impetuosity, found themselves exposed at once to the fire from the English ships and their artillery, and to the flights of arrows from their archers. They soon broke and fled; the space thence to Edinburgh was strewed with the bodies of the slain, the priests especially finding no mercy. The loss of the Scots in the battle of Pinkey, as it is named, was more than ten thousand slain and fifteen hundred prisoners; the victors lost not two hundred men. The protector might now, by following up his successes, have imposed what terms he pleased; but intelligence of intrigues against him at court determined him to return to London without delay; and leaving Warwick at Berwick, with full powers to treat of peace with Arran, he quitted Scotland, in which he had been altogether but sixteen days. The negotiations, however, came to nothing, and the following year the young queen was conveyed to France, where she was soon after betrothed to the Dauphin.

On the return of Somerset a parliament met. The law of treason was brought back to the statute of 25 Edw. III., and all the late laws, extending the crime of felony, and those against Lollardy, and that of the Six Articles, were repealed. Heresy, however, remained a capital crime, and was to be punished as heretofore by burning. The act making the king's proclamation of equal force with a statute was also annulled. An act was passed restoring the communion in both kinds to the laity, at the same time prohibiting all contempt and reviling of the eucharist, a practice to which the reformed were too much addicted. Those who sought to batten oh the property of the church carried, in spite of the opposition of Cranmer and the other prelates, an act for vesting in the crown the revenues of such colleges, chantries, etc. as had as yet escaped the royal grasp. On the prorogation of parliament a general pardon was announced, in consequence of which Gardiner was set at liberty.

On the approach of Lent (1548) an order of council was issued prohibiting various superstitious usages common at that

season. It was directed that candles should not he carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes be presented on Ash Wednesday, or palms be home on Palm-Sunday. Orders also were given for the removal of all images, without exception, from the churches ; for it was found to be impossible to separate the use from the abuse of them. As many of the reformed preachers were very intemperate in their language, none were henceforth to preach who had not received a license for the purpose. A new communion-service was put forth (May 8) by the royal authority. In the preface the practice of auricular confession was left optional with the communicants;—"a prelude," says Hume, "to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them." In the course of the year, Cranmer, aided by several of the ablest divines among the reformers, compiled a liturgy in English. They proceeded with great moderation and judgement, selecting and translating such portions of the mass as were agreeable to Scripture, and making no innovation for the mere sake of change. This liturgy, the basis of the beautiful service still in use, and in which no pious catholic, we should suppose, could scruple to join, having been approved of by parliament, was ordered to be used in all the churches. By another act permission was given to the clergy to follow the dictates of nature and enter into matrimony like other men.

The protector's brother had, as we have seen, been created a baron by the title of Seymour of Sudeley. Warwick had also resigned the post of high admiral in his favour. Seymour was a haughty aspiring man ; he had been paying his addresses to Catherine Parr when Henry chose her for his queen ; neither had however dared to oppose the despot's will, but her heart was Seymour's; and the king was hardly consigned to the tomb, when, with rather indecent haste*, she gave him her hand. Her death, however, in childbed (Sept. 1548) put an end to any hopes he might have formed of advancing his ambitious views through her wealth and influence; he therefore directed his thoughts to the lady Elizabeth, now fifteen years of age, his attentions to whom had excited the jealousy of the dowager-queen,

* It was said in the articles against Seymour, with ridiculous exaggeration, that had she borne a child within the usual period, it could not have been said with certainty who was the father.

under whose care she lived. He also sought to win the affections of the young king by supplying him secretly with money, and by insinuating that he was old enough to take the government on himself. Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, had engaged to furnish him with funds to a great extent, and he was said to have taken a large body of men into his pay, to have fortified his house of Holt in Denbighshire, and to have intended to carry off the young king. He also engaged several of the discontented nobles to enter into his plans. Information of what he was about being laid before the council, he was committed to the Tower (Jan. 19, 1549). A charge consisting of thirty-three articles was drawn up against him ; to three of these, when exhibited to him, he replied, but lie would not sign his replies; of the rest he took no notice, but persisted in demanding an open trial. On the 25th of February a bill of attainder against him was brought into the upper house ; the judges declared the acts with which he was charged to be treasonable, and evidence was heard in proof of them. The bill passed the lords rapidly; in the commons it encountered much opposition, many expressing their dislike to this mode of proceeding by attainder, and saying that the admiral ought to be heard in his defence. A message from the king was brought, saying that all the evidence should be repeated before them if they desired it. This, however, was not required, and the commons passed the bill, only ten or twelve members opposing it. It received the royal assent (Mar. 14), and three days after the warrant for the execution was signed by the council, Somerset and Cranmer being among those who affixed their names to it. On the 20th the admiral was beheaded. He declared that "he hud never committed or meant any treason against the king or kingdom." One of his last acts was to write letters to be secretly delivered to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, urging them to avenge his death. It certainly does not appear that the admiral's guilt amounted to treason; it was against his brother, not the king, that he conspired; he was, however, a dangerous man, and lie was evidently sacrificed to expediency*.

No one yet had thought of putting down heresy in any way but by violence, and the reformers would as little bear any attacks on such articles of faith as they retained as the catho-

* The upright Latimer, in a sermon which he preached at this time, asserted Seymour's guilt in the most positive terms from his own knowledge.

lics themselves. In April a commission was issued to Cranmer, and other prelates and laymen, to take cognizance of anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the common prayer. Several such were brought before them, who recanted and bore fagots according to the custom. A woman of good birth and education in, Kent, named Joan Bocher, was charged before the commissioners with maintaining an old exploded heresy, namely, that Christ did not take flesh of the Virgin. Her words were, "Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could take none of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her*/' On her refusal to recant, Cranmer pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular arm. "It is a goodly matter," said she to her judges, "to consider your ignorance. Not long ago you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burnt her! And now, forsooth, you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." These words ought to have made Cranmer and Ridley at least, who were probably the persons chiefly meant, doubt of their own infallibility †. The poor woman was kept an entire year in prison; Cranmer and Ridley had frequent conferences with her to no purpose. The young king had the greatest repugnance to signing the warrant; it was only the authority of Cranmer that at length overcame his scruples, and he signed it, saying that the guilt, if any, must be on the primate's head ‡. She was consigned to the flames in Smithfield the following year (May 2): when Dr. Scory preached on the occasion, she cried to him, "You lie like a rogue; go search the Scriptures." She died of course with constancy. About a year after a Dutchman named Van Parr was burnt for Arianism.

In the course of this summer insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom; the causes were partly religious,

* Dr. Liugard calto this "unintelligible jargon," ami fco it, is; "Lui the doctrine it expresses is far more intelligible than that of the real presence.

† In 1545, Kidley, from studying the work of Rutraum on the subject, was led to reject the doctrine of the real presence. He communicated his ideas to Cranmer, who on inquiry came to coincide with him in opinion.

‡ Foxe, 1179. Soames (Hist, of Reformat, iii. 544) attempts to throw doubt on the story. We wish he had succeeded; for, after making all due allowance, it is a blot on Cranmer's character.

partly civil and domestic. Evil always has its attendant good; and monachism, therefore, though injurious to the best interests of man, had its beneficial results. The monks were in England, as in all countries, the best and most indulgent of landlords. Restricted to a particular mode of life, and not having families to provide for, they had no motives to urge them to be griping and oppressive; and we may fairly suppose that they felt both pride and pleasure at seeing those under them nourishing and happy. They also resided constantly on their estates; they received their rents mostly in kind; they spent them on the spot, thus giving encouragement to the industrious, while the more indigent gentry were glad to share their liberal hospitality, and the poor in general derived relief from the food distributed at the convent-gate. But all this was changed when the abbey-lands passed by gift or nominal purchase into the hands of the Russells, Paulets, Petres, and other vultures of the court. The tenantry were obliged to surrender their leases and take out new ones at double or treble the rent; the new landlords neglected the injunction imposed on them to maintain hospitality; they lived mostly in London, leaving their tenants to be oppressed by their stewards. Further, as wool was found to be more profitable than corn, they pulled down farmhouses and villages, converted the arable land into sheep-walks, and in their griping spirit took in and enclosed the commons. The peasantry, whose numbers had rather increased in consequence of the long period of internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed, and whose occupation was thus diminished, felt the pressure of want severely; they had not the charity of the monasteries now to look to; and to add to their distress, in consequence of the harvest of the precious metals now poured into Europe from the New World, and the frequent debasements of the coin in the late reign, the money prices of most articles had risen considerably, while, owing to their numbers and the changes above-mentioned, the supply of labour exceeded the demand for it, and they were thus unable to raise their wages in proportion. These causes, however, being in general far beyond their ken, they fixed on the one most apparent, and ascribed, not without some justice, the deterioration of their condition solely to the changes made in the national religion.

The people rose almost simultaneously in most of the midland, southern, and eastern counties, but they were quieted *by* the efforts of the gentry, and of some of the "honest men

among themselves." The protector, who was a man of humanity, seeing the justice of their complaints, issued, against the consent of the council, a commission of inquiry respecting inclosures, and directed that such as were found to be illegal should be destroyed; the people thus encouraged began of themselves to level the inclosures in sundry places, while the landowners exclaimed against the protector, as sacrificing their interests to his passion for vulgar popularity.

The most formidable risings were those in Oxfordshire, Devon and Norfolk ; the first, however, was easily suppressed by lord Grey de Wilton; the insurgents fled at the approach of his troops, leaving two hundred prisoners, twelve of whom were hanged as examples. The rising in Devon was much more formidable; it broke out on Whit Monday (June 10) in the parish of Sampford Courteney, where the new liturgy had been read for the first time the day before. The people compelled their priest, who was probably nothing loath, to read the old service. The insurrection then rapidly spread ; the insurgents soon numbered ten .thousand men ; many of the gentry joined them, and the command was given to Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. Lord Russell, who was sont against them with a small force, tried the way uf negotiation; they required that the mass should be restored ; the Six Articles be again put in force ; the sacrament be hanged up and worshiped, and those who refused be punished as heretics; the sacrament be only given to the people at Easter, and only in one kind ; that holy bread, holy water, and palms should be again used, and images be again set up; tliat the new service should be set aside ; that preachers in their sermons and priests in the mass should pray for the souls in purgatory; that the Bible should be called in, *since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics ;* that cardinal Pole should be restored and made one of the council. They also required that half the abbey and church lands should be resumed, and that every gentleman should have but one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent. To these demands, evidently dictated by their priests, Cranmer, by direction of the council, drew up a reply ; a proclamation was issued, in high terms, ordering them to disperse ; but they advanced, the sacred wafer preceding them, to lay siege to Exeter. The citizens made a vigorous defence; the rebels having tried to take the town by escalade and by mine, converted the siege into a blockade, but lord Russell when reinforced attacked and routed them. Arun-

del, the **mayor** of Bodmin, and other leaders were taken and executed; the viear of St. Thomas was hanged from his own steeple in his sacerdotal robes.

The insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Kett, a wealthy tanner of Wymondham. Having collected about twenty thousand of the peasantry, he took his station on Mousehold-hill, which overhangs Norwich, and there, seated beneath an old oak, which was thence named the Oak of Reformation, he summoned the gentry before him, and made what decrees he pleased respecting inclosures and other matters. The marquess of Northampton first went against the rebels, but he was routed, and lord Sheffield was among the slain. Warwick was then sent with six thousand men, who had been levied for the Avar with Scotland ; the rebels imprudently descended into the plain to engage him : their rout was speedy and total; two thousand were slain, Kett was taken. He was hanged at Norwich, and nine others were suspended from the boughs of the Oak of Reformation.

The protector was now beset with difficulties on all sides; the war with Scotland languished, the French had resumed hostilities and taken some places about Boulogne, and they menaced that possession; but when he proposed a peace in council, the member* objected to it. The nobility and gentry were hostile to him for his having taken the part of the people, and yet the people were not his friends, because he was not of the old faith. The execution of his brother had alienated many; the great estate he had acquired at the expense of the crown and church displeased others, and the palace which he was building for himself in the Strand brought great odium on him from the means he employed. To procure a site and materials for this edifice he pulled down the church of St. Mary-le-Strand and three bishops[1] mansions. He was proceeding to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, but the parishioner:! rose and drove off his workmen. He then turned eastwards and seized on Pardon churchyard and the buildings about it on the south side of St. Paul's; the materials were conveyed to the Strand, the bones of the dead were carried away to Finsbury Fields, and there covered up in unhallowed earth. He finally blew up with gunpowder the steeple and part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, near Smithfield.

Somerset's chief opponent was Dudley earl of Warwick, an artful unprincipled man. He was son to the notorious agent of Henry **VII.,** but the late king finding him a young man of

ability had restored him in blood and taken him into his service. In pursuance of his plan of forming a new nobility out of the gentry, Henry had created him viscount Lisle; he was made earl of Warwick in the beginning of the present reign.

On the 6th of October, Warwick, Southampton (who had been restored to his place in the council), St. John the president, lord Arundel and five others met at Ely-house, and taking on themselves the whole power of the council wrote to the chief nobility and gentry, calling on them to aid; and to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, directing them to obey *their* orders and not those of the protector. Next day they were joined by Rich the chancellor and several other councillors. Secretary Petre also, who had been sent to treat with them, was induced to remain. Somerset removed the king from Hampton Court to Windsor, but finding himself generally deserted (Cranmer, Paget and a few others only remaining faithful), he began to parley. Lord Russell and some others who had hitherto remained neutral now declared against him. On the 10th he invited Warwick and his friends to come to Windsor. They proceeded thither, and the next day they committed the duke's secretary, William Cecil, and four others, to the Tower, and two days after the protector himself was sent under a strong guard to the same fortress. Twenty-nine articles of accusation were drawn up against him, in which, though the losses incurred in the war and his assumption of power were objected to him, the chief complaint was his having sympathised with the people and wished to do them justice, He was brought before the council (Dec. 23), and on his knees confessed his guilt and subscribed the charges against him. His life was spared, but he was deprived of all his offices and of lands to the value of 2000/. a year. Somerset's spirit having revived when he found his life was safe, he ventured to remonstrate against the severity of his sentence, but he was forced to sign a still humbler submission. He was then liberated (Feb. 6, 1550) and pardoned. Soon after his property was restored, he was admitted into the council, and a marriage (June 3) between his daughter lady Anne Seymour and Warwick's eldest son lord Lisle seemed to have reconciled the rival statesmen.

The successful party now took care to reward themselves with places and titles. Warwick became great-master and lord-high-admiral; the marquess of Northampton was made great-

chamberlain, and the lords Russell and St. John were created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire ; to reward lord Wentworth the manors of Stepney and Hackney were torn from the see of London. The catholics expected that their cause, to which Warwick was thought to lean, would be now triumphant. But it was not of them or their cause that Warwick thought; and finding the young monarch devotedly attached to the principles of the Reformation, he would not risk his power by any efforts in their favour. Southampton, finding himself thwarted in his projects, withdrew from the council; and his death in the following year deprived the Romanists of one of their ablest supporters.

A peace was now (Mar. 24) made with France, in which Scotland was included. Boulogne was restored to the French king on his paying for it a sum of 400,000 crowns. A negotiation was thru set on foot for the marriage of Edward with a princess of France.

Whatever might be Warwick's private sentiments, it was resolved to carry on the Reformation. Many of the bishops were, if not hostile, at least lukewarm in this matter; and as they had at the accession acknowledged that they held their sees at the royal pleasure, an easy mode of proceeding against them presented itself. Bonner of Loudon had been already deprived. At the close of the insurrections in the preceding year he had been directed to preach at St. Paul's Cross, and to inculcate the wickedness of rebellion, the superiority of holiness of life over ceremonial observances, and the competence of a minor king to make laws binding on his subjects. The first two he discoursed of in a sort of way, taking good care, to advocate the doctrine of the real presence: on the third he was perfectly silent. Two of the reformed clergy, Hooper and William Latimer, who were present, having deemed it their duty to denounce his sermon to the council, a commission was issued to two prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, the two secretaries of state, Petre and Smyth, and May dean of St. Paul's, to examine into the charges. Nothing could well exceed Bonner's impudence when before them ; his language was vulgar ribaldry. After several hearings, his defence not being deemed sufficient, it was resolved to withdraw from him the trust which he was held to have abused. A sentence of deprivation for various causes was pronounced, and he was deprived of his see and confined in the Marshalsea. Ridley was then translated from Rochester to London.

Gardiner had been now lying in the Tower for two years, for having preached a sermon nearly similar to that of Bonner on a similar occasion. The duke of Somerset and some other members of the council were sent (June 8) to try to induce him to express sorrow for the past and to promise future obedience. No decisive answer, however, could be obtained from him. On the 10th of July six articles relating to the royal authority in matters of religion and the book of Common Prayer were offered to him to sign. He objected to the preamble, which contained an acknowledgement that he had acted wrong, and an expression of his sorrow for having done so. A new series of articles expressive of approbation of the late changes was next offered to him, but as the preface was still the same he refused to sign these also. The revenues of his see were then sequestered, and when this produced no effect on him a commission was appointed to try him ; he appealed to the king, but his appeal was rejected and sentence of deprivation was passed. Day of Chichester, Heath of Worcester and Voisey of Exeter, were also deprived for non-compliance with the new order of things.

It has been justly observed,, that if any person had a right to hate the Reformation it was the lady Mary ; for it was associated in her mind with her mother's injuries and her own. She inherited her father's firmness and her mother's melancholy ; slip had been sedulously brought up in the doctrines of the church of Rome, and she now clung to them with characteristic obstinacy. The young king, equally bigoted in his own creed, viewed her adherence to the mass with horror ; but the influence of the emperor prevailed with the council, and she had her private masses. Two of her chaplains, however, Mallet and Berkley, having celebrated mass where she was not present, were committed to the Tower. Letters and messages passed between her and the council. She declared herself ready to endure death for her religion, and only feared that she was not good enough to suffer martyrdom in so good a cause. With true Romish perverseness, that will not even look ou the proffered light, she added, that "as for their books, as she thanked *God she never had, so she never would read them." The emperor menaced war if she was molested any further, and as this would at the time be very injurious to the commercial interests of the country, the council prudently resolved to connive at her disobedience to the law; but it required all the influence of Cranmer and Ridley to overcome the scruples of the young king at thus tolerating idolatry.

In the course of this year the Book of Common Prayer underwent a new revision and improvement, and articles of religion, forty-two in number, were drawn up; several of the Lutheran divines, particularly Bucer and Peter Martyr, were now in England and had aided the English divines with their advice. They had sought a refuge from the persecution of che emperor, who, though he could plead the rights of conscience in the case of the lady Mary, refused to allow even the kinj; of England's ambassadors to use in their own houses within his dominions the "communion and other divine service according to the laws of this realm*."

The ambition of Warwick now began to display itself more fully; the title of Northumberland having become vacant by the death of the late earl without heirs, he caused the greater part of the ample possessions of that noble house to be granted to himself with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet earl of Wiltshire, the treasurer, was at the same time created marquess of Winchester, the marquess of Dorset duke of Suffolk, and sir William Herbert earl of Pembroke, lie was resolved to ruin Somerset, whom, though fallen in power and reputation, he still regarded as an obstacle in the path of his ambition; for this purpose he sought to gain over the friends and servants of that nobleman, and thus surround him with spies; he provoked him by menaces and insults, and when the duke broke out into passionate expressions or formed vague projects of revenge, which were usually abandoned as soon as conceived, the information was conveyed to Northumberland. When he thought he had thus obtained matter enough for a plausible accusation, he resolved to proceed to action without further delay.

Ou the 16th of October 1551, the duke of Somerset and his friend lord Grey were arrested and committed to the Tower; next day the duchess and several of her favourites were also thrown into prison: shortly after the earl of Arundel and the lords Paget and Decies were arrested. On the 1st of December, the duke, having been previously indicted at Guildhall, was brought to trial in Westminster Hall; the newly created marquess of Winchester sat as' high steward; Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke were among the judges, who were twenty-seven in number. The charges against Somerset were his having intended to depose the king, and having plotted to seize and imprison the earl of Warwick

* Proceedings of the Privy Council, 32. The invariable practice of Popery I It seeks, but never will grant, toleration.

(Northumberland). The witnesses were not produced, but their depositions made the day before were read; according to these it was arranged that Grey should levy forces in the north, that Paget should invite Northumberland, Northampton and Pembroke to dine with him at his house in the Strand, and that Somerset's band of one .hundred horsemen should intercept them, or, if they were too well attended, assassinate them when at table ; and that the duke should meanwhile raise the city and attack the *gems d'armes* of the guard. All this Somerset positively denied ; but he owned that he had spoken of the murder of these lords, though he had at once abandoned that project. The peers after retiring for some time acquitted him of treason, but found him guilty of felony; their verdict was unanimous; he acknowledged its justice, asked pardon of the three lords, and expressed his hopes that his life would be spared. When the people saw him come forth without the axe being borne before him, as was usual in the case of peers charged with high treason, they thought he was acquitted, and set up a loud shout of joy.

Perhaps this proof of the unfortunate duke's popularity determined Northumberland not to spare him. The utmost pains were taken to impress his royal nephew with a belief of his guilt; and the prisoner was deprived of all means of communicating with the king, who, as it was now the season of Christmas, was kept engaged in a constant succession of amusements.

The 22nd of January (1552) was the day appointed for the execution. Though orders had been issued for the citizens *to* keep their families and servants within doors till after *ten* o'clock, Tower Hill was crowded at day-break by the people, for Somerset was greatly beloved. At eight the duke ascended the scaffold with a firm step and a cheerful countenance; he knelt and prayed, then rose and addressed the people, asserting his loyalty, rejoicing in the state of purity to which he had been instrumental in bringing the national religion, and exhorting them to accept and embrace it thankfully. A movement, of which the cause did not immediately appear, now took place among the people, and several were thrown down and crushed ; presently sir Antony Brown, a member of the council, was seen approaching on horseback; the people, fancying he brought a reprieve, flung up their caps, shouting "A pardon, a pardon! God save the king!" A gleam of hope flushed the countenance of Somerset, but when the truth was ascertained he resumed his address with composure, and having concluded it and read a paper con-

taining his profession of faith, he knelt down and received the fatal stroke : several persons then pressed forward and steeped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in that of a martyr.

Like many other unfortunate persons in history, the duke of Somerset was unequal to the situation in which his destiny placed him; his talents were ill-matched with his ambition, and he thus fell into errors and even stained himself with a brother's blood. In more tranquil times his mild and humane disposition and his religious feelings might have caused him to pass a life of peace and happiness. Somerset stands almost alone in these times as a nobleman really caring for the rights and interests of the inferior classes of the people.

Four of Somerset's friends were executed. The earl of Arundel and lord Paget were never brought to trial, but they were obliged to make submissions and confessions, resign their offices and pay fines. Lord de Grey and some others were discharged.

The next of Northumberland's victims was Tunstall, the estimable prelate of Durham. As Tunstall's firm adherence to Romanism had made him adverse to the new order of things, a person named Menville had written to him proposing a plan for an insurrection in the north. The bishop incautiously answered the letter ; Menville then gave information to the council, who summoned Tunstall before them ; but his letter to Menville could not be found, and nothing therefore could be proved against him. Somerset, it would appear, had concealed this letter out of regard to the bishop, for after his death it was found in one of his caskets. The proceedings were now resumed ; a bill of attainder was introduced into the house of lords, and it was passed, none opposing it but Cranmer and lord Stourton, a zealous catholic. The commons, more just or more courageous, insisted that the bishop and his accusers should be confronted, and this being refused they threw out the bill. A commission was then appointed to try him ; and he was deprived, and his goods were confiscated. The regalities of the see were transferred to Northumberland, and but for subsequent events, much of its property would also have gone into his possession.

In the month of April of the following year (1553) the young king had an attack of the measles, which was followed by the small-pox : his constitution, originally delicate, was much shaken, and there seemed little prospect of his life being prolonged for many years. If the lady Mary should succeed, Northumberland had everything to apprehend; he therefore represented

to Edward the dangers likely to result to true religion should the supreme power of the state come to one so bigoted to the ancient superstition ; and he reminded him that the act of parliament bastardising her was still in force and might be employed to exclude her. Although the princess Elizabeth was a protestant she came under the same act, and must therefore be also excluded; there consequently only remained the descendants of the daughters of Henry VII., the queens of Scotland and France. But the former were excluded by the late king's will; the duchess of Suffolk, eldest daughter of the latter by the duke of Suffolk, was therefore the next in order of succession, and she would willingly transfer her rights to her eldest daughter the lady Jane Gray, of whose attachment to protestantism there could be no doubt. To these suggestions Edward listened with approbation.

The ambitious Northumberland aimed not merely at excluding the lady Mary, but hoped to bring a crown matrimonial into his own house. At this very time, his residence, Durham House, was the scene of connubial festivities ; the lady Jane Gray becoming the bride of his fourth son lord Guilford Dudley, her sister Catherine being married to the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, and the lady Catherine Dudley to lord Hastings eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon.

On the 11th of June, sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, was summoned, with two of the other judges and the attorney- and solicitor-general, to attend the king at Greenwich. When they came Edward apprised them of his intentions respecting the devise of the crown, and putting into their hands a draft of the measure signed by him in six different places, desired them to draw up *a* legal instrument to that effect. They attempted to remonstrate, but he would not hear them, and only granted them some delay to examine the various settlements of the crown. Two days afterwards they came, and informed the council that such an instrument would subject both the drawers and the advisers of it to the penalties of treason. Northumberland, who was in the adjoining room, when he heard what they said, came out in a rage, and calling Montague a traitor, said, " I will tight in my shirt with any man in this quarrel." They retired, and soon after all but the solicitor-general were again summoned to appear before the king, who asked them in an angry tone why they had not obeyed his command. The chief justice explained the reason, and when the king expressed his intention of calling a parliament, ad-

vised that the matter should be deferred till it met. But Edward insisted on its being done immediately, and the lawyers finally consented, on condition of receiving a commission under the great seal and a pardon. When the instrument was drawn up Northumberland resolved that it should be signed by all the privy councillors, and by the judges and law officers. Anions the judges, sir James Hales, a zealous protesfant, alone refused, and Cranmer alone among the councillors ; but with his wonted weakness he swerved in his resolution. He had all along ailvised the king against the measure; and he had earnestly sought but could not obtain a private audience, in the hope of dissuading him from it. When called on to sign, like the rest, he said, " I cannot set my hand to this instrument without committing perjury, for I have already sworn to the succession of the lady Mary, according to his late majesty's testament." lie was then required to attend the king: "I hope," said Edward to him, " that you will not stand out, and he more repugnant to my will than all the rest of my council. The judges have Informed me that I may lawfully bequeath my crown to the lady Jane, and that my subjects may lawfully receive her as queen, notwithstanding the oath which they took under my father's will."" Cranmer asked permission to consult with the judges: their explanations seem to have removed his scruples, and he put his signature to the devise.

The king was now taken from under the care of his physicians, who declared that their skill was baffled, and committed to the charge of a woman, who pretended to have some specific for his disease. But he rapidly grew worse, and on the 6th of July he breathed his last. Almost his closing words were, "O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for Jesus Christ's sake."

Edward died so young that his character had not developed itself sufficiently to enable us to appreciate it. He has, however, been the subject of unlimited panegyric to the pens of zealous protestants, who identify him with the progress made by true religion in his reign. He was certainly amiable in his disposition, his piety was fervent and sincere, but it showed symptoms of degenerating into bigotry and intolerance. His abilities were more than moderate, and they were carefully cultivated. It is to the glory of Edward's reign, and to the honour of his advisers, that it was free from bloodshed on account of the contest between the old and new religions. " Edward,"

says Dodd, a catholic, " did not shed blood on that account. No sanguinary, but only penal laws, were executed on those who stood off." The blood-thirsty zealots of the succeeding reign could not therefore say that they only followed the ex* ample set them by those whom they murdered.

CHAPTER VII.

MARY.

1553-1555.

NORTHUMBERLAND intended to keep the death of king Edward for some time a secret. His object was to get the princesses into his power, for which purpose they had been summoned to London to see their brother. The lady Mary, who was residing at Huntsdon in Herts, had reached Iloddesdcn on her way to London on the evening of the king's death ; but having received secret intelligence of that event from lord Arundel, she turned and rode with all speed to her seat of Kemiinghall in Norfolk.

The council spent three days in making the necessary arrangements for securing the succession of lady Jane. During this time they communicated the death of the king to the lord mayor and some of the aldermen and citizens, under the seal of secrecy. On the fourth day they proceeded to make that event public, and the chief of them rode to Sion House to announce her dignity to the young queen.

The lady Jane Gray was now only sixteen years of age; her person was pleasing, her disposition amiable and gentle, and her talents of a superior order. Of the extent of her acquirements and the serious turn of her mind we have a proof in the following anecdote, related by the learned Roger Ascham :— Going one day to Bradgate, the residence of her family, he learned that the other members of it were hunting in the park, but he found the lady Jane at home deeply engaged in the perusal of Plato's Phaedon in the original Greek. When he expressed his surprise at her thus foregoing the pleasures of the park, she replied with a smile, " I fancy all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato! Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means." Beside the classic languages, she is said to have been acquainted with French

and Italian, and even to have acquired some tincture of the Oriental languages.

Her usual residence since her marriage had been at Sion House; but she had lately removed to Chelsea. An order of the council to return to her former abode, and there to await the commands of the king, was now conveyed to her by her husband's sister, lady Sydney. Next morning she was visited by Northumberland, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon and Pembroke. They addressed her in tones of unwonted respect; her mother, her mother-in-law and the marchioness of Northampton then entered, and the duke informed her of the death of her royal cousin, and his devise in her favour, in order to preserve the realm from papistry. The lords then fell on their knees, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in her right. At this unexpected intelligence Jane burst into a flood of tears and fell senseless on the ground. When she recovered she bewailed her cousin's death, and expressed her sense of her unfitness to supply his place, but added, looking up to heaven, " If the right be truly mine, O gracious God, give me strength I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honour and my country's good."

A barge was prepared next day, and Jane was conveyed to the Tower, the usual residence of the kings previous to their coronation. As she entered it her train was borne by her own mother; her husband walked at her side, his cap in his hand; all the nobles bent the knee as she passed. Her succession was now proclaimed; but the people, whose notions of hereditary right were strong, and who hated Northumberland, listened with apathy. A vintner's boy, who ventured to express his dissent, was net in the pillory, and lost his ears for his offence. Many of the reformed clergy preached in favour of the present change in the succession. Bishop Ridley exerted his eloquence in the same cause at St. Paul's cross, but with kittle effect. For this he has been blamed, and it may be with reason; but he had had recent experience of Mary's unyielding bigotry, and doubtless he deemed that there was no safety for the Reformation but in her exclusion.

Though the partisans of Jane had the government, the treasures, a fleet, an army, and the fortresses in their hands, the cause of Mary was strong in the popular notion of her right, and still stronger in the popular aversion to Northumberland. The people of Norfolk, who had suffered so much at his hands in their late insurrection, were therefore disposed to favour

her, and she was proclaimed at Norwich (July 13). She had previously written to the council, demanding why they had concealed her brother's death, and requiring them to have her instantly proclaimed; a denial of her right was returned, and she was called on to "surcease to molest any of queen Jane's subjects." Her letters to divers of the nobility and gentry were better attended to; the earls of Bath and Sussex, and the heirs of lords Wharton and Mordaunt joined her at the head of their tenantry; and sir Edward Hastings, who had been sent by Northumberland to raise four thousand men for the cause of Jane, led them to the support of Mary. This princess had now removed to the duke of Norfolk's castle at Framliugham, on the coast of Suffolk, that she might escape to Flanders if necessary. A fleet had been sent to intercept her, but the crews were induced to declare in her favour. So many of the nobility and gentry had now joined her that she found herself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, while sir Edward Hastings and some other leaders were preparing to march in support of her cause from Drayton to Westminster with ten thousand men.

On receiving this intelligence the council directed the duke of Suffolk to advance with the troops which had been collected against the lady Mary; but Jane with tears implored them not to deprive her of her father. As Suffolk's incapacity was well known, the council called on Northumberland himself to take the command. He complied, though with reluctance, it is said, for he feared their treachery. He scut his troops forward, and on receiving the assurances of the nobles that they would join him with their forces at Newmarket, he set forth with his train (July 14). The indifference shown by the assembled populace was such as to cause him to observe to lord Gray, as they rode through Shoreditch, "The people press to look on us, but not one saith God speed ye." He proceeded to Cambridge, whence he advanced (July 17) at the head of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse in the direction of Framliugham; but at Bury St. Edmund's he found it advisable to retreat, and he returned to Cambridge, whence he wrote to the council requiring them to send him reinforcements without loss of time.

But things in London had meantime taken a new direction. On the' 19th, the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury and Pembroke, sir Thomas Cheney and sir John Mason met at Baynard's Castle, where they were

attended by the lord mayor, the recorder, and some of the aldermen. Arundel, who had all along been in secret correspondence with Mary, advised them to acknowledge her; he met the main objection by saying, "How doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned on this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer*." Pembroke then drew his sword, and exclaimed, "If the arguments of my lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarreli." All, however, gave a willing assent; they rode forth and proclaimed Mary at St. Paul's cross amid the acclamations of the populace, to whom beer, wine and money were then distributed, and the night was ushered in by bonfires and illuminations.

Arundel and Paget having set forth with the news to Mary, Pembroke took the custody of the Tower from Suffolk. The lady Jane, after a brief reign of only ten days, laid down her royalty; and retired to Sion House. When her father announced to her the necessity of her resignation, she replied that it was far more agreeable than his late announcement had been, and expressed her wish that her cheerful abdication might atone for the offence she had committed in accepting the crown, in obedience to him and her mother. Northumberland, when he found the turn matters were taking, proclaimed queen Mary at Cambridge; but he was arrested by Arundel, and committed to the Tower†, as also were the duke of Suffolk and twenty-five more of their friends.

Mary now advanced toward London. At "Wanstead in Essex she was met by the lady Elizabeth, at the head of a stately cavalcade of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. Four days after, the two sisters, followed by a magnificent train, rode through the city to the Tower,—rMary small, thin and delicate; Elizabeth tall, handsome and well-formed, carefully displaying her beautiful hands. In the Tower Mary

* "Which indeed was true," adds bishop Godwin, as of his own knowledge. As it appears to have been only verbal, it was easy for Mary and her partisans afterwards to deny it.

† This fervent loyalist had been one of those who signed the devise of the crown to Jane, and he had sworn a few days before to shed his blood in her cause!

‡ As he was led through the city a woman displayed one of the handkerchiefs dipped in Somerset's blood: "Behold," she cried, "the blood of that worthy man, the good uncle of that worthy prince, which was shed by thy malicious practices! It plainly now begins to revenge itself on thee."*

was met by four state prisoners of rank, the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, Courtenay, son of the late marquess of Exeter, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester. She raised them from the ground where they knelt, kissed them, and gave 1hem their liberty. Next day she released Tunstall and Bonner. When forming her council, she bestowed the office of chancellor on Gardiner, who soon showed that his captivity had not subdued his haughty overbearing spirit. Paget was next in influence and importance in the cabinet.

Though Mary had hitherto led a life of seclusion, the love of splendid apparel, which seems to have been inherent in her family, was seated deep in her heart, and she gave loose to it in such a manner as to surprise even the French ambassador, who must have been well used to the pomp and display of dress at his own court. She required all about her, both lords and ladies, to be similarly arrayed, and grey-haired dames of sixty were now to be seen in the gayest hues, and laden with jewels and ornaments,—unlike the perhaps too sober court of Rdward VI. Her coronation was celebrated (Sept. 30) with all possible splendour. It was performed in the ancient manner; her clothes were all blessed; she was anointed on various parts of her head and body; Gardiner chanted mass; the crown was borne by Elizabeth, who with Anne of Cleves afterwards dined at the queen's table. A general pardon to all but sixty persons, who were named, was proclaimed the same day.

On the 18th of August Northumberland, his son lord Warwick, the marquess of Northampton, sir John and sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley and sir Thomas Palmer had been brought to trial. Norfolk presided as lord high steward for the trial of the three peers. Northumberland submitted these questions: Could a man be guilty of treason who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and could those who were involved in the same guilt with him Hit as his judges? He was told that the council and great seal of which he spoke were those of a usurper, and that those against whom there was no sentence of attainder were qualified to sit as judges. They all then pleaded guilty. The commoners, who were tried the next day, did the same. Northumberland, sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer were selected for execution.

Abject in adversity as insolent in prosperity, Northumberland sought an interview with Gardiner, and implored his interest to save his life: "Alas!" cried he, "let me live a little

longer, though it he but in a mouse-hole." Gardiner expressed his wish to serve him, but could not venture to give any hopes. He then prayed that a learned priest might be sent, to whom he might confess, adding that he had never been of any religion but the bishop's own, though for ambitious motives he had pretended otherwise, and that so he would declare at his death. Gardiner, it is said, shed tears, and there is reason to believe did apply to Mary on his behalf; but the emperor had strictly enjoined her not to spare him, and indeed there was no reason why she should. Bishop Heath was sent to give him spiritual comfort. On the 21st the duke and his fellow-prisoners attended mass; he received the eucharist in one kind, and he addressed those present, expressing his regret for his share in putting down the mass, and his intention of restoring it, which, he said, " I could not do at once, because it was necessary for my ends to win the hearts of the Londoners, who love new things." Before evening it was announced to him that he was to die the next morning. He wrote in the most supplicatory terms to Gardiner and Arundel, but in vain. Next morning he was led with Gates and Palmer to the scaffold on Tower-hill. The duke, taking off his damask gown, leaned over the railing on the east side and addressed the spectators. He acknowledged his guilt, but said that he had been incited by others whom he would not name ; he exhorted the people to return to the" ancient faith, without which they could not hope for peace. " By our creed," says he, " we are taught to say 'I believe in the holy Catholic faith,' and such is my very belief, as my lord bishop here present can testily. All this T say not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free will." He then prayed, and laid his head on the block. His two companions died with penitence and courage, but made no recantation.

Such was the well-merited end of this bold bad man. His confession, it has been finely observed, " was not attended with those marks of penitence which might render it respectable ; it served only to strip his conduct of any palliation, which the mixture of a motive, in its general nature commendable, might have in some degree afforded." It matters little whether he were sincere or not ; he certainly seems to have looked for a reprieve up to the moment when he laid his head on the block*.

* Foxe asserts that he had been promised a pardon.

The other prisoners, with the exception of lady Jane and her husband, were set at liberty. But notwithstanding all this clemency, the prospect for the protestants was gloomy and cheerless. The queen made no secret of her attachment to the church of Rome, though she still pretended that she would not interfere with the religion of the people. The Romish priests, now emboldened, ventured to celebrate mass openly in some places. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, when preaching at St. Paul's cross,' dared to attack what had been done in the late reign. The people became excited, a cry of " Pull him down !" was raised, stones were thrown, and some one flung a dagger, which hit one of the pillars of the pulpit. He might have lost his life but for Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers, who calmed the fury of the people, and conveyed him into St. Paul's school. The queen took advantage? of this to forbid all public preaching, the great weapon of the reformers.

No one could plead better the rights of conscience in her own case during the late reign than Mary, but in the case of her sister she seems to have forgotten them all. Elizabeth found it necessary for her safety to attend mass, and she was even obliged to stoop some time after to the hypocrisy of writing to the emperor to send her a cross, chalice, and other things for the celebration of mass in her private chapel.

Ridley was already in the Tower; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester and others were also in prison. Crammer had hitherto been suffered to remain at Lambeth ; but when the subdean Thomdon had the audacity to have mass celebrated in the cathedral of Canterbury, the primate felt it his duty to show that this was without his participation. He drew up a paper containing his sentiments on the mass. Bishop Scory having called on him, saw it and obtained a copy; from this several other copies were made, one of which was publicly read in Cheapside. Cranmer was summoned before the council ; he acknowledged the paper to be his, and said his intention had been to enlarge it, affix his seal to it, and put it upon the doors of St. Paul's and other churches. He was committed to the Tower (Sept. 14) on a charge of treason. Latimer had been sent thither the preceding day for his " seditious demeanour," as it was termed. As the venerable man was led through Smithfield he anticipated his fate, and said, " This place has long groaned for me." Most of the leading protestants were now in prison, many fled the kingdom : Peter

Martyr and the other foreigners were ordered to depart, "When the men of Suffolk sent to remind the queen of her promises, they met with insult, and one of them named Dohbe was set m the pillory. The intentions of the queen and her council could now be no secret to any one. When the news of her accession reached Rome the pope instantaneously appointed Pole papal legate for England, and soon after a Romish envoy named Commendone, who had gone over *to* England, and had had private interviews with the queen, arrived with a letter to the pontiff in her own hand-writing, in which she engaged for the return of herself and her kingdom to their obedience to the Holy See. Pole was impatient to proceed at once to England, but Gardiner feared he would precipitate matters too much; the emperor too apprehended his opposition in a matter he had much at heart, and impediments were therefore thrown in his way.

The parliament which had been summoned met on the 5th of October. It is said, but without proof, that violence had been employed to procure a majority favourable to the court; but the simple court influence, added to the prejudices of a large number of the electors, the eagerness of the catholics to obtain seats, and the fears or despondency of the protectants, are fully sufficient to account for the effects. In open violation of the existing law a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in Latin before both houses, and when Taylor bishop of Lincoln refused to kneel at it he was thrust out of the house. The archbishop of York had been committed to the Tower the day before for "divers his offences," and ITarley, the only remaining protestant prelate, was not allowed to take ids seat because he was a married mau.

The most important measures passed in this parliament were, an act abolishing every kind of treason not contained in the statute 25 Edw. III., and all felonies that did not exist anterior to 1 Henry VIII.; one declaring the queen's legitimacy, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer; and one repealing all the statutes of king Edward respecting religion: it was further enacted that after the 20th of December next ensuing no service should be allowed but that in use at the death of king Henry. An act of attainder was also passed against those already condemned for treason, and against lady Jane Gray, her husband, lord Ambrose Dudley, and archbishop Cranmer: these four were arraigned at Guildhall (Nov. 13), and they all pleaded guilty. Cranmer, urged

probably by the natural love of life, wrote to the queen a **full** explanation of his conduct in the affair of altering the succession, and seeking for mercy: he did not remind her, as he might have done, that she had been indebted to him for safety in her father's time. *No* notice, however, was taken of his application, but it does not appear that Mary had as yet any decided intention of taking his life.

The marriage of the queen was a subject which had for some time engaged the attention of herself and her council. The plan of a match between her and Cardinal Pole, whom a papal dispensation could restore to a secular condition, was again brought forward; but the cardinal was now fifty-four years of age, his health was delicate, his habits were bookish and studious, and as the queen seems to have desired an active young consort, that project was abandoned. The general opinion was that she would marry young Courtenay, whom she had created earl of Devonshire, and whose mother she had selected for her bedfellow, according to the usage of the age. Of foreign princes, the king of Denmark, the infant of Portugal, and others were spoken of; but the imperial ambassador had his directions to hint to her, as from himself, a match with the prince of Spain who was now in his twenty-seventh year, and a widower. She did not seem to give any attention at the time, but the idea sank in her mind. Her affection for Courtenay was observed visibly to decline : she began to talk of his youth and inexperience, and she felt or affected great horror at the excesses into which he ran, and which were but too natural to a young man long secluded on the first acquisition of liberty. Presently came a letter from the emperor himself, gallantly regretting that age and infirmity prevented him from offering her his own hand, but proposing to her that of the prince of Spain. Her pride was gratified by the prospect of such a high alliance, her vanity was flattered at her hand being sought by a man eleven years her junior, and she secretly resolved on the Spanish match.

In the council Norfolk, Arundel and Paget were in favour of it; Gardiner was opposed to it, as also were the bulk of the people, catholics as well as protestants; the French and Venetian ambassadors also exerted themselves strenuously in favour of Courtenay. On the 30th of October the commons voted an address to the queen praying that she would select a husband out of the nobility of the realm. But she would **not** be thwarted; she said she would prove a match for **all**

the cunning of the chancellor. She sent that same night for the imperial ambassador, and taking him into her oratory knelt at the foot of the altar before the hallowed wafer, which she believed to be her Creator, and having recited the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," called God to witness that she took the prince of Spain for her husband, and never would have any other. When the commons waited on her with the address, she told them it was for her not for them to choose in this matter.

On the 2nd of January 1554, four ambassadors extraordinary arrived from the emperor, and made a formal offer to her of the prince of Spain. Gardiner, who had given up his opposition when he found it useless, had already arranged the terms with the resident ambassador Renard, and he took all possible precautions for the honour and independence of England. The appointment to all offices was to rest with the queen, and be confined to natives; Philip was to bind himself by oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges; he was not to take the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility; not to claim a right to the succession if he survived her; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition or any of the crown jewels; and not to engage the nation in the war between his father and France.

Gardiner recommended this treaty with all his eloquence to the lords of the council, who were willing auditors, but to the people the Spanish match was odious. Treaties and promises they knew were as easily broken as made; supported by foreign troops Philip might easily trample on the constitution, and establish the diabolical tribunal of the Inquisition. These murmurs soon ripened into conspiracies, which were secretly encouraged by Noailles, the French ambassador. It was proposed to effect risings in various parts, and to marry Courtenay to Elizabeth, and establish them in Devonshire, where his family interest lay. It was the intention of the conspirators to wait till the actual presence of Philip in the kingdom should have still further excited the dissatisfaction of the people; but Gardiner drew the secret from the fears or the simplicity of Courtenay, and the very next day (Jan. 21) finding they were betrayed they resolved to have recourse to arms, unprepared as they were, before they were arrested. The duke of Suffolk and his brothers, the lords John and Thomas Gray, went down to Warwickshire to raise his tenantry

there; sir James Croft went to the borders of Wales, where his estates lay; sir Peter Carew and others to Devonshire. But all their efforts to raise the people proved abortive. The duke, after being defeated in a skirmish near Coventry by Lord Huntingdon, who was sent in pursuit of him, was betrayed by one of his own tenants and was recommitted to the Tower: Croft was surprised and taken in his bed before he could raise his tenantry : Carew flew to France at the approach of the earl of Bedford.

In Kent affairs assumed a more serious aspect. Sir Thomas Wyat, a young man of talent and courage, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone (Jan. 24) : he was instantly joined by fifteen hundred men, and five thousand more were ready to rise. He fixed his head-quarters at the old castle of Rochester, and he obtained cannon and ammunition from some ships that were lying in tbe river. The duke of Norfolk, at the head of a part of the guards and five hundred Londoners, advanced to attack him; but when he gave orders to force the bridge, Bret, the commander of the Londoners, addressed his men, urging them not to fight against those who only sought to save them from the yoke of foreigners. A cry of "a Wyat! a Wyat!" was raised. Bret and his party went over to Wyat, who then came out at the head of his cavalry : Norfolk and his officers tied toward Gravesend, and Wyat soon reached Deptford at the head of fifteen thousand men.

The council were now greatly alarmed for the personal safety of the queen. This, however, is one of the few moments in her life in which we must admire her; she exhibited all the courage of her race, and resolved to face the danger. When the lord mayor had called a meeting of the citizens, she entered Guildhall with her sceptre in her hand, followed by her ladies and her officers of state, and addressed the assembly in such animated terms that the hall resounded with acclamations : twenty-five thousand of the citizens forthwith enrolled themselves for the protection of the city.

Wyat meantime was at Southwark with a force diminished to two thousand men, for his follower's slank away when they saw that the Londoners would oppose them. Seeing that they were exposed to the guns of the Tower, he led them up the river to Kingston, and having there repaired the bridge, which had been broken, and crossed, he proceeded rapidly toward London in the hope of surprising Ludgate before sunrise. But the carriage of one of his cannon happening to

break, he most unwisely delayed for an hour to repair it. This gave time for information to he conveyed to the court. The ministers on their kness implored the queeu to take refuge in the Tower, but she scorned the timid counsel. A force of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the lords Pembroke and Clinton, was ready to oppose the rebels. At nine o'clock Wyat reached Hyde-park. Though exposed to the fire of the royal cannon at St. James's he forced his way up Fleet-street with a few followers, and reached Ludgate, where being refused admittance, he turned and fought his way back to Temple-bar; but here finding further resistance hopeless, he surrendered to sir Maurice Berkeley. His followers meantime had been routed, one hundred being slain and about four hundred made prisoners.

If Mary -on the former occasion had neglected the advice of the emperor and acted with lenity, she resolved to do so no longer. The very day after the capture of Wyat (Feb. 8) she signed a warrant for the execution of "Guilford Dudley and his wife," as it was insultingly expressed. Feckenham the former abbot of Westminster, was sent to endeavour to convert the lady Jane to the catholic religion, but all his arguments failed against her sound sense and steady piety. On the morning appointed for the execution (12th), lord Guildford, whom Jane had refused to see lest their feelings should overcome their fortitude, was led out and beheaded on Tower-hill in the presence of a great multitude of people. Jane from her window saw him go forth, and she afterwards beheld his bleeding trunk as it was brought back in a cart. Her own execution was to take place within the precincts of the Tower, either on account of her royal extraction, or more probably from fear of the effect the sight of her youth and innocence might have on the minds of the spectators. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and then addressed those present, saying that she was come there to die for the commission of an unlawful act in taking what belonged to the queen; but adding that, as to the desire or procurement of it, she washed her hands in innocency, and she called on them to bear witness that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only through the blood of Jesxis. She then knelt down and repeated the fifty-first psalm in English. As she was placing herself before the block she said to the executioner, "I pray you despatch me quickly." She then asked him, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" "No,

madam," replied he. Her eyes being handaged, she- groped about for the block, and not finding it, she became a little agitated, and said, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" Her head was then guided to the right spot. She stretched forth her neck, saying, "Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," and one blow terminated her existence.

Even the popish historian, who seems to regard it as his duty to suppress all sentiments of sympathy and compassion when a protestant is the sufferer, says that "it would *perhaps* have been to the honour of Mary" if she had abstained from this deed. A more humane and enlightened historian * says, "The history of tyranny affords no example of a female of seventeen, by the command of a female and a relation, put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father, sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast of what was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion. The example is the more affecting, as it is that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty with genius, with learning, with virtue, with piety; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honour and dishonour an age."

The duke of Suffolk was executed shortly after. He met with less commiseration than he would have done had he not been regarded as the chief cause of his admirable daughter's death. lie was a weak well-meaning man, and seems to have been actuated more by religious feeling than by ambition. His brother lord Thomas Gray, a bolder man, shared his fate. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was the most fortuuate of those who were brought to trial; for he proved to the satisfaction of the jury that his case did not come within the statute of Edward III., and they acquitted him. But the court had no idea of being balked of its prey by the consciences of jurors. They were all summoned before the council, committed to prison, and made to pay lines of from 1000 marks to 2000£c a piece. This made other juries more pliant, and sir John Throgmorton and others were found guilty at once. Wyat was reserved for some time, and efforts were made to prevail on him to accuse the lady Elizabeth and Courtenay. He partly yielded, but what he had been induced

* Mackintosh, ii. 306. Dr. Lingard, in his later editions, omits the *perJiaps*, and altogether expresses himself in very creditable terms.

to say not being deemed sufficient he was sent to the scaffold. At his execution (April 11) he declared that, led by a promise of his life, he had been induced to charge them falsely with a knowledge of his enterprise.

According to the accounts of both the French and the Imperial ambassadors, upwards of four hundred persons were nung. Our own writers would seem to limit this number to little more than sixty*. On the 20th of February four hundred others were led coupled together with halters round their necks to the tilt-yard, where the queen from her gallery pronounced their pardon, and the poor men went away shouting "God save queen Mary!"

But the great object of Mary and her council was to get the lady Elizabeth into their toils, as the emperor strongly urged her execution. In the beginning of December she had with difficulty obtained permission to retire to her house at Ashridge, near Berkhampstead. It is very probable that she had received some intimation of the designs of the conspirators, and that, knowing her life to be in constant danger from the bigotry of her sister, she may have secretly approved of them, but there is no reason to suppose that she ever committed herself by giving her consent to them. But whether the court had evidence against her or not, the very moment Wyat's insurrection was suppressed (Feb. 10), the lord admiral and two other members of the council were sent to Ashridge, with orders to bring her up to court †. She was at this time very unwell, and was retired to rest when they arrived at ten at night. She requested not to be disturbed till morning ; but they insisted on seeing her immediately, and followed her lady into her chamber. Two of the queen's physicians having reported that she might travel without danger to her life, she was placed at nine o'clock on Monday morning (12th) in a litter, and her weakness was such that she did not reach London till the 23rd of the month. As she passed along the streets she caused the litter to be opened, and she appeared clad in white, but pale and swollen with her

* These seem to be only Bret's men, who were hanged at their own doors in the city. The French resident, Noailles, writes on the 12th of March that above 400 had been hung, besides 50 captains and gentlemen ; Renard, the imperial resident, on the 17th of Februrary, that 200 men taken at the light at St. James's had been executed with their officers; and on the 24th, that 100 had suffered in Kent.

† Foxe says " quick or dead."

disease, yet still displaying that air of majesty and dignity which nature had impressed on her features. She was kept for a fortnight a close prisoner in the palace; it was then determined to send her to the Tower. She wrote to her sister, asserting her innocence in the strongest terms, and claiming a personal interview on the grounds of a promise the queen had made her. Her letter was unheeded, and on Palm Sunday (Mar. 18) she was led to a barge in order to embark for the Tower. As she passed along she cast her eyes up to the windows, hoping to see her sister, but the queen was probably engaged at her devotions. She ventured to say that she wondered the nobility of the realm would suffer her to be led into captivity. She objected to landing at Traitors' Stairs, but one of the lords said she must not choose, and offered her his cloak as it was raining. She flung it from her and stepped out, saying, " Here lands as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, 0 God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." The warders who came to receive her knelt down and prayed for her safety, for which they were dismissed from their situations the next day. She passed on, and sat on a stone to rest herself; the lieutenant begged of her to come in out of the rain; she replied, " Better sitting here than in a worse place." She was then led to her apartment; the doors were locked and bolted on her, and she remained there to meditate on the fate of her guiltless mother and the innocent Jane Gray, a fate which she had little doubt awaited herself.

Mary, in whose bosom fanaticism had stifled all natural feeling, was willing to shed her sister's blood; the emperor, acting perhaps on the principles of his grandfather in the case of the earl of Warwick, was urgent to have her executed if possible; Arundel and Paget were for the same course; but Gardiner saw plainly that neither she nor Courtenay could be brought within the provisions of 25 Edw. III., now the only law of treason. It may be that motives of humanity had some influence on the chancellor's mind, but there is nothing to prove it. The queen feared to take on herself the responsibility of executing her sister contrary to law. The rigour of Elizabeth's confinement was so far relaxed, that she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the Tower. On the 19th of May sir Henry Bedingfield came with one hundred soldiers and conveyed her to Richmond, and thence to Woodstock castle, where she was confined as strictly as when in the Tower.

Courtenay, who was a close prisoner in this fortress, was sent on the 22nd to Fotheringay.

The queen meantime lay on no bed of roses. She was in a state of constant apprehension; she distrusted even those who were about her, and did not venture to move without a large body of guards. She is said to have had thoughts of ordering a general muster of the people, and then seizing their arms and laying them up in the fortresses. At this time great numbers of the gentry, apprehensive of the persecution which they saw coming, sold their properties and went over to France.

A parliament met on the 4th of April; a sum of 400,000 crowns, sent for the purpose by the emperor, is said to have been employed to gain over the members ; and Mary, to quiet the apprehensions which might be felt about the church lands, resumed the title of supreme head of the church. The object proposed was to get a bill passed, enabling the queen to dispose of the crown and appoint a successor; but the parliament easily saw who the successor would be, and that in her blind folly and hatred of her sister the queen would make England but a province of the Spanish monarchy. All the arts of Gardiner therefore failed ; they would not even make it treason to compass the death of the queen's husband. Bills for reviving the law of the Six Articles and other statutes against heresy were introduced to no purpose, and the queen finding the parliament not to answer her ends dissolved it.

If we believe the malicious but probably true statements of the French ambassador, the queen manifested her impatience for the arrival of her young husband in a very ridiculous manner. She frequently complained of his delay, regarding it as intentional, and remarked that though she brought him a kingdom as her dower he had not favoured her with a single letter; and as she viewed her ordinary and careworn features in her glass, she feared lest sin: misfit fail of inspiring him with affection. At length to ber great joy Philip landed at Southampton (July 19). He was received by the lords of the council and presented with the order of the Garter, After a short delay he rode to Winchester, where he was met by the anxious queen ; and on the feast of St. James, the patron saint of Spain (25th), the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner, the bishop of that see. The royal pair remained there for some days, and then proceeded to Windsor. They visited the metropolis, where they were received with those very dubious marks of affection, shows and pageants;

but the character of neither was calculated to gain the popular favour. The queen was anxious to have her husband all to herself, and his own Spanish pride contributed to fence him round with pomp and etiquette.

But the object nearest the queen's heart was to bring her kingdom again into the bosom of the church. As this could never be effected while the nobility and gentry had to fear for their property in the church lands, the pope yielded to the representations of Gardiner, and signed a bull empowering the legate to "give, alienate, and transfer" to the present possessors all the property taken from the church in the two late reigns. It was now deemed advisable to convene a new parliament; and as the queen knew she might depend on the compliance of the degenerate or upstart nobles, who never dreamed of opposing the royal will, no matter who possessed the crown, her sole care was to obtain a pliant house of commons. Orders were therefore sent to the sheriffs to have those who held the ancient faith elected; the protestants were dispirited, and consequently a house containing probably not a single one of them was returned. On the 1st of November the parliament was opened by a speech from the chancellor in the presence of the king and queen, whose expectation he said it was that they would accomplish the reunion of the realm with the catholic church. One of the first measures for this purpose was to introduce a bill for reversing the attainder of cardinal Pole. It was passed, of course, without hesitation.

The cardinal meantime was on his way to England; lord Paget, sir Edward Hastings and sir William Cecil had been sent to meet him at Brussels, At Dover he was received by the bishop of Ely and lord Montague; as he advanced the gentry of the county joined him on horseback. He entered a barge at Gravesend, where the earl of Shrewsbury and the bishop of Durham presented him with the act reversing his attainder; then fixing his silver cross in the prow he proceeded to Westminster. The chancellor received him as he landed; the king at the palace gate, the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short stay he retired to Lambeth, and occupied the archiepiscopal palace, which had been prepared for his abode.

Four days after the legate returned to court, whither the lords and commons had been summoned. He thanked them for reversing his attainder, and assured them of his readiness to aid in restoring them to the unity of the church. They then retired, and next day they unanimously voted a petition

to the king and queen, expressing their sorrow for the defection of the realm, and hoping through their mediation to be again received into the bosom of the church. A gracious reply could not be withheld. On the following day the queen came and sat on her throne, the king on her left, the legate on her right. The chancellor read out the petition ; the king and queen spoke to the cardinal, who then rose, and after addressing the assembly at some length solemnly absolved them and the whole realm, and restored them to the holy church. They rose and followed the king and queen into the chapel, where the *Te Deum* was chanted. The next Sunday the legate made his public entrance into the city. Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cross, lamenting his conduct in the time of Henry VIII., and exhorting all to follow his example, and repent and amend.

The present parliament readily passed the bill against heresy, and the others which had been rejected by the last. They also made it treason to compass or attempt the life of Philip during his union with the queen; but even they would go no further, refusing to consent even to his coronation. An act, however, was passed, giving him the guardianship of the queen's expected issue, " i f it should happen to her otherwise than well in the time of her travel."

The lovesick Mary actually fancied at this time that her longing desires for issue were about to be gratified. At the first sight of Pole she felt, as she thought, the babe moving in her womb; this by some of the zealous was likened to John the Baptist's leaping in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. The council wrote that very night to Bonner to order a *Te Deum* to be sung in St. Paul's and the other churches. Prayers were composed for the safe delivery of the queen, one of which ran partly thus : " Give therefore unto thy servants Philip and Mary a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent." Public rejoicings were made, and the household of the prince (for so it was to be) was arranged. But all was mere illusion; the pregnancy, as afterwards appeared, was but the commencement of dropsy!

To ingratiate himself with the nation, Philip caused those who were in confinement in the Tower for treason to be set at liberty. Through his means the same favour was extended to Courtenay *. But his most popular act was obtaining pardon

* This young man went to the Continent, and he died soon after at Padua.

for the princess Elizabeth. **As we** have seen, she was now a prisoner at Woodstock, and sir Henry Bedingfield proved so rigorous a jailer, that, it is said, hearing one day the blithe song **of** a milkmaid, she could not refrain from wishing that *she* were a milkmaid too, that she might carol thus gay and free from care. Her situation was a precarious one; as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and a protestant in her heart, she was an object of aversion to the queen, who, according to Elizabeth's own assertion, actually thirsted for her blood. Gardiner is said to have been now urgent for her execution. He used, we are told, when the punishment of heretics was spoken of, to say, "We may shake off the leaves and lop the branches; but if we do not destroy the root, the hope of heretics (i. e. the princess), we do nothing." And he was right; for had she been cut off, and had the queen of Scots succeeded, it is impossible to say what might have been the injury to true religion. The Spanish match alone saved Elizabeth ; for it became the interest of him who had the power to do it to protect her. Nobler motives. too may have actuated Philip ; he may have shrunk from the idea of seeing the blood of a princess shed to gratify revenge and bigotry. Such motives operated at least on his Spanish attendants. Foxe tells us that when lord Paget said that the king would not have any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from the shoulders, the Spaniards answered, " God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief ;" and he adds that they never ceased urging Philip till he had her released from prison. To this is to be added Elizabeth's extreme prudence, which prevented her enemies from gaining any advantage over her, and her feigning to be a catholic. Something also must be ascribed to the mild temper of cardinal Pole, his gentlemanly feeling, his respect for royal and kindred blood, and his influence over the queen.

Hatfield was now assigned to Elizabeth as a residence, under the charge of sir Thomas Pope, a gentleman of honour and humanity, and she was frequently received at court. It was proposed to marry her to some foreign prince, but she steadfastly declined all the offers made to her. She spent her time chiefly **in** reading the classics with the learned Roger Ascham.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARY (CONTINUED).

1555-1558.

THE year 1555 opened with dismal prospects for the protestants. The queen had already, even before the parhament met, made this reply to the lords of the council in writing:—"Touching the punishment of heretics, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meantime to *do justice to* [i.e. execute] such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple ; and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion ; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none *to be burnt* without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time/' On the 23rd of January all the bishops went to Lambeth to receive the legate's blessing and directions. Pole, whose natural temper was mild and whose character was virtuous, desired them to return to their sees and endeavour to win back their flocks by gentle methods. On the 25th (St. Paul's conversion) there was a solemn procession through London. First went one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes; then came eight bishops, and lastly Bonner, bearing the host; thanksgivings were offered to God for reconciling them again to his church j bonfires blazed all through the night, and this day was appointed to be annually observed under the name of the Feast of Reconciliation. On the 28th, the chancellor, aided by the bishops Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, Aldrich and other prelates, and the duke of Norfolk and the lords Montague and Wharton, opened his court under the legatine authority for the trial of heretics at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark.

The late bishops Hooper and Ferrar, and Rogers, Tiyjor* and some other divines, had been brought on the 22nd before the chancellor and council; they had to undergo the ill language and browbeating of Gardiner, but they persisted in maintaining their principles. Hooper and Rogers were now put on their trial. The former was charged with marrying*

though a priest; with maintaining that marriages may be legally dissolved for fornication and adultery, and that persons so released may marry again; and with denying transubstantiation. He admitted the truth of all. Of the last he said, "I have done so, and I now affirm that the very natural body of Christ is not really and Substantially present in the sacrament of the altar. I assert, moreover, that the mass is idolatrous, and the iniquity of the devil."

Rogers was asked if he would accept the queen's mercy and be reconciled to the catholic church. He replied that he had never departed from that church, and that he would not purchase the queen's clemency by relapsing into antichristian doctrines. Gardiner charged him with insulting his sovereign. "The queen's majesty, God save her grace! would have been well enough," said Rogers, "if it had not been for your counsels." "The queen went before me," said Gardiner, "it was her own motion." "I never can nor will believe it," was the reply. Bishop Aldrich then said, "We of the prelacy will bear witness to my lord chancellor in this." "Yea," replied Rogers, "that I believe well:" which reply caused a laugh among the by-stanclers. Gardiner made a long speech, and then he and his brethren rose and took off their caps, and he asked the fatal question, did he believe that the body of the Lord was really present in the sacrament. He answered that he did not. The passing of sentence was deferred till the next day, under the pretence of charity, and the two prisoners were conducted to the Counter in Southwark. Next morning they were brought up again, and as they refused to recant, they were condemned on the charges already mentioned. Rogers requested that his poor wife being a stranger (she was a German), might come and speak with him while yet he lived. "She is not thy wife," said Gardiner. "Yea, but she is, my lord," replied Rogers, "and hath been so these eighteen years." His request was refused. The two prisoners were then committed to the sheriffs, with directions to keep them in the Clink till night, and then to transfer them to Newgate. In order that the city might be enveloped in darkness, orders were given that the costermongers, who then, as now, sat with candles at their stalls, should put them out. But the people stood with lights at their doors, and greeted, prayed for and praised the Confessors as they passed.

Some days after Bonner came to Newgate, and in the chaper

erformed the ceremony of degrading them, on which occasion e rejected the renewed request of Rogers to be allowed to see his wife. On the 4th of February Rogers was led forth to be burnt in Smithfield. Immense crowds were assembled in the streets, who cheered and applauded him as he went along repeating the fifty-first Psalm. Among them he beheld his wife and his ten children, one of them an infant at the breast. At the stake a pardon was offered him if he would recant; he refused it, and died with constancy England's protestant protomartyr.

As we shall unfortunately have more of these horrible *autos da fe* to narrate, we will here describe the manner of them. A large stake or post was fixed in the ground, with a ledge or step to it, on which the victim was set, standing stript to his shirt, that he might be visible to all the spectators. He was fastened to the stake with chains, but his arms were left at liberty. Faggots and bundles of reeds were then piled around him, to which fire was set, and he was thus consumed.

The next day (Feb. 5) Hooper, whom it was unwisely determined to burn in his own diocese, was taken to near St. Dunstan's in Fleet-street, where he was committed to the charge of six men of the royal guard, who were to conduct him to Gloucester. Having eaten a hearty breakfast at the Angel-inn St. Clements, he mounted the horse prepared for' him. To prevent his being recognised on the road, he 'was made to wear a hood under his hat, which covered the greater part of his face ; and he was never taken to any of the inns at which he had been in the habit of stopping. His coming being known, a large multitude of people met him within a mile of Gloucester, who loudly lamented his fate. His guards took him to a private house, and kindly allowed him to pass the next day in solitary devotion. Sir Anthony Kingston, one of his former hearers, and now one of those appointed to conduct his martyrdom, came in and saluted him, but he was so absorbed in prayer that he did not hear him. Kingston burst into tears, and when he drew his attention urged him to save his life and recant; but his arguments were of no avail, and he retired thanking God that he had known the bishop, who had been the means of reclaiming him from sin. In the evening the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen came to receive him from his guards. They saluted him kindly, and were going to take him away to the city gaol; but the guards, whose hearts he had won on the journey, interceded, offering to be

answerable for him if left for this last night in his present lodging ; to this the magistrates consented. He retired to rest at *five* o'clock, and, having slept soundly for some hours ; arose **and** employed himself in fervent devotion.

At nine the next morning (Feb. 9) the sheriffs came with armed men to conduct him to the pyre. He walked between them, leaning on a staff, on account of the sciatica which had come on him in prison. As it was market-day about seven thousand people were assembled, but strict orders from the council not to permit him to address the people had been received*. The stake had been fixed near a great elm-tree in front of the cathedral, where he was wont to preach. The spectators filled the place around, the houses, and the boughs of the tree; the priests of the college stood in the chamber over the gate. When he arrived he knelt down and prayed: lord Chandos, who presided at this martyrdom, observing those who were nearest listening attentively to his prayers, ordered them to remove to a greater distance. A box containing his pardon was set before the victim. "If you love my soul away with it!" said he twice. "There is no remedy then," said Chandos; "despatch, quickly." Hooper then threw off his gown, desiring the sheriffs to return it to his host, to whom it belonged. He would fain have retained his hose and doublet, but the sheriffs, whose perquisites they were to be, would not suffer **him,** "such," says Foxe, "was their greediness." When he was fixed to the stake, one of his guards came and kindly fastened some bags of gunpowder about him to shorten his torments. The pyre was then inflamed, but most of the wood was green, and the wind blew the flames from him. At length it blazed up, but it sank again, leaving him all scorched; even the explosion of the powder did him little injury. His sufferings lasted for three quarters of an hour, during which he was seen to move his lips constantly in prayer, and to beat his breast, which he continued to do with one hand after his other arm had dropped off. At length his agonies came to their close.

Our limits do not allow us to enter into the interesting details of the martyrdom of Taylor, Saunders, Bradford, and others who at this time sealed their testimony to the truth with

* The martyrs were usually enjoined not to speak. Foxe says that the council used to threaten to cut out their tongues if they did not pledge themselves to be silent.

their blood*. Suffice it to say that they all died with the utmost constancv, especially those who were married, thus nobly refuting the slanderous assertions of their adversaries that sensual pleasure was the bait which allured them to the reformed creed.

It is remarkable that after the condemnation of Hooper and Rogers, the chancellor sat no more, but resigned the odious office to Bonner, of whom it has been truly said, by Mackintosh, -that he " seems to have been of so detestable a nature, that if there had been no persecution he must have sought other means of venting his cruelty." What Gardiner's motive could have been it is not easy to say ; perhaps as small matters often produce great effects, it was the shame and annoyance caused by the constant references of his victims to his own writings, and his own oaths, that induced him to devolve the task to one untroubled with shame or compunction. Certainly it was not humanity that actuated him. Another notable circumstance is this :—On the 10th of February Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar and confessor to the king, preached a sermon in which he condemned these sanguinary proceedings in very strong terms, as contrary to both the text and the spirit of the Gospel. Whether the friar in doing so acted from conscience or the directions of Philip, cannot be ascertained. If the latter was the cause, it must have been that Philip, seeing the horror caused by these barbarous executions, and knowing that they would be laid to his charge, and that he would thus lose all chance of obtaining the government of England, took this mode of clearing himself But the stratagem, if it was such, was of no avail; in a few weeks the piles were re-kindled, and every one knew that he had such influence over the queen that he could have ended the persecution at his pleasure.

The possessors of the church lands, as we have seen, seem to have cared little about religion or conscience in comparison with their houses and manors; but they now ran some risk of seeing their rights of possession disputed. A splendid embassy, headed by lord Montague, Thirlby bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Karne, was sent to Rome to lay the submission of England before the papal throne. But while they were on the

* Lingard disposes of Hooper and all these martyrs in the compass of half a page. " To describe the sufferings of each individual," says he, " would fatigue the patience and torture the feelings of the reader." Though it may seem uncharitable, we suspect that there were other reasons for this silence.

road pope **Pius** died; and his successor Marcellus, one of those excellent men whom chance rather than design seems to have placed on the seat of St. Peter*, followed him to the tomb within a few days after his elevation. The choice of the college now fell on the cardinal Caraffa, a man hitherto distinguished for the austerity of his manners. But when placed on a throne, under the name of Paul IV., he displayed his real character, and in pomp, in arrogance, and in nepotism he yielded to none of his predecessors. This haughty pontiff condescended to forgive the English nation the sin of their defection, and he confirmed the erection of Ireland into a kingdom; but he spoke strongly of the guilt of detaining any portion of the church property, and seemed determined to insist on its restitution. His pride, however, yielded, for a time at least, to the considerations of expediency.

While England was thus brought again within the papal fold, and the tortures of the heretics proved how sincerely her government had imbibed the spirit of Rome, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer lay in prison expecting the fate which they knew awaited them. In the beginning of March in the preceding year, they had been transmitted to Oxford, where they were required to dispute with a commission, presided over by Dr. Weston, on the subject of the eucharist and the mass. This disputation lasted for three days. The prisoners met with little but sophistry, insult, and derision; and as they steadfastly maintained their opinions, they were condemned as heretics, " themselves, their fautors and patrons." A grand mass was celebrated on the following Sunday, to which succeeded a procession, Weston carrying the deified wafer under a canopy. The commissioners then quitted Oxford; Cranmer, probably being regarded as an attainted traitor, was confined in the common gaol, which was named Bocardo; the other two prelates were kept in separate houses.

As there was no law at this time by which dcniers of the real presence could be burnt, the government was obliged to wait till parliament should have armed them with powers for the purpose. The prelates were therefore left in their prisons till the autumn of the following year (1555), when Brookes bishop of Gloucester came down by commission from the le-

* " I could not believe," wrote the archbishop of Salerno, " that Santa Croce could he made the pope; because ail his manners, and the path in which he walked, seemed to me to be the contrary to that by which **the papacy** is obtained/'

gate as papal sub-delegate, attended by two civilians, **Martin and** Storey, as the royal proctors. He opened his commission (Sept. 12) in St. Mary's church, seated on a scaffold ten feet high over the high altar. Cranmer was led in, habited in his doctor's dress: he took no notice of Brookes, but saluted the royal proctors. .Brookes observed that his present situation entitled him to more respect. Cranmer mildly replied that he meant no personal disrepect to *him,* but that he had solemnly sworn never to re-admit the bishop of Rome's authority into the realm. Brookes then addressed him, charging him with heresy, perjury, treason, and adultery. Martin followed in the same strain. Cranmer, being permitted to enter on his defence, knelt down and repeated the Lord's prayer; he then rose, and reciting the creed proceeded to deny the authority of the pope, and to inveigh against the practice of saying prayers in a foreign language. Speaking of his book on the eucharist, he maintained that it was conformable'to the decisions of the church for the first thousand years. "If from any doctor who wrote within that period," said he, "a passage can be brought proving the authorized prevalence of a belief in thccorporal presence, I will give over." He objected to the witnesses who appeared against him as being perjured men, who had before sworn to renounce the pope. The next day he was cited to appear in person before the pope within eighty days, and was then sent back to his prison.

On the 30th of September Brookes sat again, aided by "White of Lincoln and Iloliman of Bristol. Ridley was brought before them. He took off his cap, but when the commission in the name of the pope and legate was read he put it on again. He was remonstrated with, and on the whole was treated with civility. Five articles, two of which related to transubstantiation and the mass, were offered to him to subscribe. He refused, and he repeated his protest against the authority of the court. Ridley was then removed, and Latimer was brought in. The venerable man was clad in a threadbare frieze gown, fastened round his hips by a common leathern girdle ; he had a nightcap on his head, covered by a handkerchief, over which was a tradesman's cap with flaps buttoned under his chin. His Testament was suspended from his girdle, and his spectacles from his neck ; he held his hat in his hand. White treated him with courtesy, and exhorted him to be reconciled to the church ; Latimer, having obtained permission to sit, proceeded to refute his arguments, and he quoted from a sermon lately

published an instance of the manner in which Scripture was perverted in support of the church of Rome. "What clipping of God's coin is this!" added he in his usual manner. These words caused a laugh, which increased when it was made known that Brookes himself was the preacher. "Was it yours, my lord?" said Latimer. "Indeed I know not your lordship, neither did I ever see you before, neither yet see you now through the brightness of the sun shining between you and me." The merriment was redoubled at this simple address: Latimer, who felt its unsuitableness to the occasion, then said, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter; I answer upon life and death. 'Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep!'" After some more conversation he was required to subscribe the five articles. He refused, protesting at the same time, like Ridley, against the authority of the court.

The next morning Ridley was again brought before the court. He remained covered, but his cap was taken off by order of bishop White. He gave in a written answer on the subject of the five articles, and, having again refused to subscribe them, he was excommunicated as an impugner of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. Latimer was next brought in; he was exhorted to return into the bosom of the catholic church; he asserted that he never was out of it, but he reprobated those who artfully confounded it with the Romish church, which last he said ought rather to be called diabolical. He then refused to subscribe, and was excommunicated.

Some days after the mockery of degradation was undergone by the two martyrs. When Ridley was forced to put on the Romish vestments, he said, alluding to the indignities offered to Christ, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." When it was over he gave Brookes a supplication, which he requested him to present to the queen. It was on behalf of some tenants of the see of London, to whom he had given leases which Bonner refused to allow; and of his sister, whose husband he had placed in a situation of which Bonner had deprived him. At the name of his sister tears checked his utterance. "This is nature that moveth me," said he, "but I have now done."

The following morning (Oct. 16) the martyrs were led from their prisons to the pyre in the old city-ditch, opposite Baliol college. As Ridley passed by Bocardo, he looked up, hoping

to catch a last view of Cranmer; but he was at that moment engaged in an argument with De Soto, a Spanish dominican, and some others. He afterwards, it is said, went up to the roof of the prison, whence he had a view of the pyre, and on his knees with outspread hands prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope in their agony. When the prisoners arrived at the fatal spot they embraced each other, and Ridley said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the fire or else strengthen us to abide it." They kissed their stakes, knelt and prayed, and then conversed together. Dr. Smyth, a man who always thought with those in power, then mounted a pulpit and preached from the text, "Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth me nothing," and the sort of charity which his discourse contained may be easily conjectured. When he had concluded Ridley craved permission of lord Williams of Thame, who presided, to make a reply. Permission was refused, and they were ordered to make ready for death. Ridley distributed parts of his clothes and various little articles among his friends. When Latimer was stript he appeared arrayed in a new shroud, and he who had lately been enfeebled by age and infirmity now "stood bolt upright," says Foxe, "as comely a father as one might lightly behold." When they were fastened to the stakes Ridley's brother-in-law attached bags of gunpowder to them. A lighted faggot was then thrown at their feet. "Be of good comfort, master Ridley," then said Latimer, "and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, light in England such a candle as I trust shall never be put out." He washed his hands, as it were, in the flames and then stroked his face with them, and crying "Father of heaven, receive my soul!" speedily expired. Ridley's sufferings were greatly protracted; the bottom of the pyre being composed of furze, with faggots "heaped upon it, the flame beneath was at first strong, and it burned his lower extremities, but it then subsided. In agony lie cried, "Oh, for Christ's sake let the fire come unto me!" His brother-in-law heaped on more faggots; the victim became enveloped in a dense smoke, whence he kept crying, "I cannot burn; oh, let the fire come unto me!" Some of the faggots were then removed, the flame sprang up, the smoke cleared off, and it was seen that on one side his shirt was not even discoloured. He turned eagerly to the flame, the gunpowder exploded, and he ceased to exist.

The arch-persecutor Gardiner soon followed his victims to

the tomb. He had been suffering from disease of late. On the 21st of October, however, when the parliament met, he addressed it, and displayed even more than his usual powers. But the effort was too much for him; he returned to his house, where he died on the 12th of November. He is said to have shown some penitence; for on our Saviour's passion being read to him, when they came to St. Peter's denial he bade them stop there, for, said he, "I have denied with Peter, I have gone out with Peter, but I have not yet wept bitterly with Peter;" words however rather ambiguous. He was, as his whole life shows, a worldly-minded ambitious man, of unscrupulous conscience, proud and arrogant, false and artful. The reformers charged him with looseness and incontinence of living. He was, however, an able statesman, and there is something not unworthy of respect in his conduct during the late reign.

The parliament, owing either to the want of Gardiner to manage it, or to the horror caused by the late sanguinary proceedings, or out of aversion to the Spanish alliance, was much less compliant than was wished. The queen's zeal had already led her to give back to the church such portions of its lands as were in the possession of the crown; but she wished to do more, and to restore the tenths, first-fruits, &c. which had been transferred from the pope to Henry VIII. by the act which made him supreme head of the church. This measure passed the lords without opposition, but the resistance in the commons was vigorous, the numbers being 193 for, 126 against it. As a revenue of 60,000l. a year was thus abandoned, the commons were naturally indignant at being called on to grant considerable supplies. "What justice is there," said they, "in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refuses to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?" The ministers were finally obliged to be content with much less than they originally demanded. The commons refused to pass a bill of penalties against the duchess of Suffolk and those who had sought refuge abroad against persecution, and another to disable certain persons from acting as justices of peace; for it was known that their aversion to persecution was their offence. Parliament was dissolved on the 9th of December.

When Philip found that the queen's pregnancy had been all an illusion, and that there remained little or no hope of offspring, and saw the utter impossibility of his ever acquiring the affections of the nation, he readily complied with his father's desire of returning to Flanders. He took his leave of

the queen on th& 4th of September, and on the 25th of the following month the emperor made to him the famous resignation of his dominions. Mary meantime beguiled the tedium of his absence by persecuting her heretical subjects and by re-establishing the friars in their houses; the Grey Friars were replaced at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Shene, and the Brigittins at Sion. Westminster again became an abbey, and the house of the knights of St. John rose from its ruins. She doubtless, in her blind fanaticism, reckoned it as not her least merit in the sight of God that in the course of this year not less than sixty-seven impugners of the real presence, of whom four were bishops and fifteen were priests, had perished in the flames.

Cranmer still lay in prison. He had written a very manly letter to the queen, wherein he stated his reasons for denying the pope's authority. To this, by her direction, Pole wrote a reply ; it was in his usual vague declamatory style, well-seasoned with invective, but containing a memorable attestation of Cranmer's merciful exercise of his authority. " Nor does it at all avail," says he, " to excuse you, that you have slaughtered no one, but have been benign and gentle to all, for I hear this asserted by some. But these know not what they say, nor do you perhaps know whether you have slain any one, because you did not enter Christ's fold with this design, nor after you entered it are conscious to yourself of having sought the blood of any." The pontiff meantime, as soon as the eighty days were expired, condemned him, collated Pole to the primacy, and issued a commission for Cranmer's degradation.

On the 14th of February (1556) Bonner of London and Thirlby of Ely took their seat in the choir of Christ-church at Oxford as papal commissioners. Cranmer was led in ; the commission was read, dwelling as usual on the papal impartiality, and stating what ample time had been given to the ac* cused to proceed with his appeal and defence. " My lord," cried Cranmer, " what lies be these! that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should procure witness and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless falsehood." When the commission was read, the various Romish vestments, made of canvas by way of insult, were produced, and he was arrayed in them ; a mock mitre was placed on his head, and a mock crozier in his hand. The brutal Bonner then began to scoff at him. " This is the man," cried he, " that hath despised the pope and now is to be judged by him! This is the man

that hath pulled down so many churches, **and** now is come to be judged in a church! This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament, and now is come to be condemned before that sacrament!" And so he ran on, though Thirlby kept pulling him by the sleeve to remind him of a promise he had made him to treat the archbishop with respect. When they went to take the crozier from him, Cranmer held it fast, and drew from his sleeve an appeal to the next free general council. Thirlby, who was a man of gentle nature and had been very-intimate with the primate, shed floods of tears, declared that he sat there against his will, and implored him to recant; but the vulgar-minded Bonner could not conceal his exultation when he saw his metropolitan degraded. "Now you are no longer My Lord," said he, and he continued to speak of him as "this gentleman here."

Cranmer was now civilly degraded, and might be burnt; but his enemies would have him morally degraded also. Every engine was therefore set at work to induce him to recant. The dean of Christ-church visited him, and invited him to the deanery. He was there treated with the greatest courtesy, and was induced to play a match at his favourite game of bowls. The conversation, in which John de Villa Garcia, a Spanish friar, lately made professor of theology, bore a leading part, turned much on his condition and prospects; he was assured that the queen felt favourably toward him. "But then," it was added, "her majesty will have Crannier a catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." To these various temptations he at length yielded, and he certainly was induced to make a recantation of some kind, but the matter is involved in great obscurity.

There are in fact not less than six recantations preserved which Cranmer is said to have subscribed. Of these, the fifth alone contains an unequivocal assent to the doctrines of popery; and it has been well asked, if he signed this, why require him to sign the last,—a vague inflated document evidently the composition of Pole? Most of these papers were, from the ambiguous terms employed in them, ("catholic church," for instance,) such as might have been subscribed with some reserve of conscience; but sure we are that Ridley and Latimer would never have put their hand to them. The love of life, it is not to be denied, led Cranmer into duplicity, and we have his own assertion that he had written or signed papers containing "many things untrue."

Aware of his duplicity, or determined that it should **not**

save him, the government had sent down the writ for his execution, but his fate was concealed from him. On the day before he was to die, Dr. Cole, who was to preach at his death, visited him. "Have you continued," said he, "in the catholic faith wherein I left you *1*" "By God's grace," replied Cranmer, still dissembling, "I shall be daily more confirmed in the catholic faith." Early next morning (Mar. 21) Cole came again, and asked if he had any money; being answered in the negative, he gave him fifteen crowns. He exhorted him to constancy in the faith, and Villa Garcia then came and urged him to sign a seventh recantation, which he would be required to make in public. Cranmer wrote two copies of it, one for himself and another for the friar, but he signed neither. Between nine and ten o'clock he was led forth to be burnt in the place where his friends had suffered, but as the morning was wet the sermon was to be preached in St. Mary's church* He walked thither—now, it would seem, aware of his fate—between two friars, who mumbled psalms as, they went; and as they entered the church they sang the *Nunc dimittis,* which must have assured him that his time was come. He was placed on a platform opposite the pulpit, "and when he had ascended it," says one who was present, "he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly, which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance." Cole then commenced his sermon, by assigning reasons why in the present ease a heretic, though penitent, should be burnt, and when he had gone through them, he added, "There arc other reasons which have moved the queen and council to order the execution of the person here present, but which are not meet and convenient for every man's understanding." He then exhorted Cranmer, and assured him that masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. He concluded by calling on all present to pray for the prisoner. All knelt. "I think," says the writer, "there was never such a number so earnestly praying together; for they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion and hope of continuance; they that loved him before, could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side." Cole then called on Cranmer to perform his promise and make a confession of his faith, so that all might understand that he was a catholic indeed. "I will do it," said Cranmer, "**and that with a good will.**"

He rose, put off his cap, and briefly addressed the people; then drawing from his sleeve **a** written prayer repeated it aloud. Having concluded it he knelt down and repeated **the** Lord's prayer, in which all joined kneeling also. He then rose, and calmly and gravely addressed the people, exhorting them "not to set overmuch by the false glosing world, to obey the king and queen, to love one another like brethren and sistren, to give imto the poor." He then declared his **belief** in the creed, and in all things taught in the Old and **New** Testaments. "And now," said he, "I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth ; which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death and to save my life if might be; and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue; and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand when I come to the fire shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist with all his false doctrine." At these words murmurs were heard. Lord Williams charged him with dissembling. "Alas, my lord," said he, " I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and until this time never did I dissemble against the truth ; I am most sorry for this my fault, but now is the time in which I must strip off all disguise." He would have spoken more, but Cole cried out, " Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

He was now hurried away to the stake; he stripped himself with haste and stood in his shirt; when he took off his caps his head appeared quite bald, his beard was white and flowing. He again declared "that he repented his recantation right sore, whereupon the lord Williams cried 'Make short, make short!' Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part **of** his body, when his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.' " His sufferings were short, as the fire soon blazed fiercely; his heart was found entire amidst the ashes. " His patience in the torment," adds this writer, "his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or **the**

testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man,—his friends for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity whereby we are bound to one another*."

Thus terminated the mortal career of Thomas Cranmer, a man in our opinion possessed of every virtue but firmness. His talents were not of a high order, and the modesty of his temper made him defer too implicitly to the opinions of others ; but we doubt if he ever, except in the matter of his recantation, acted against his conscience, though, as in the case of Joan Bocher, his conscience was not always well-informed. His recantation we feel hardly inclined to regret, it afforded such occasion for the display of the dignity of virtue and the ennobling influence of sincere repentance. "Let those," says a writer, whose beautiful reflections we love to quote †, "let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate; others, who are not so certain of their own steadiness, will consider his fate as perhaps the most memorable example in history of a soul which, though debased, is not depraved by an act of weakness, and preserves a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and in general its inseparable companion."

The very day of Cranmer's martyrdom, Pole, who had now at length taken priest's orders, said his first mass, and the next day he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Out of decorum he had deferred the ceremony while Cranmer lived, and surely the same feeling might have induced him to defer it a little longer. Many people applied to him the words of the prophet to Ahab concerning Naboth : " Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" Along with the primacy Pole retained for some time the see of Winchester; and when at length he gave it up to White, he made him covenant to pay him 1000/. a year out of it. Money is said to have been employed at Rome to have this contract, which savoured of simony, allowed. The queen also gave him several estates belonging to the crown. The following year, however, the vindictive pontiff, who was Pole's personal enemy, revoked his legatine commission, and proposed transferring it to old friar Peto, who was now the queen's cou-

* The extracts above are from the narrative of a catholic who was present : it is given by Strype in his Life of Cranmer.

† Mackintosh, ii. 327.

Fessor, and whom he made a cardinal for the purpose. But Mary firmly supported Pole ; the pope's messenger with the hat and letters was stopped at Calais, and the course of puhlic events at this time impeded all further proceedings.

Philip, who was now at war with France, was anxious to obtain the aid of England. For this purpose he came over in March 1557. He assured the queen that it would be his last visit if he was refused. Mary wastfof course most desirous of gratifying him, but Pole and other members of the council were decidedly opposed to engaging England in a war for Spanish interests. Fortunately for Philip, just at this time, Thomas Stafford, grandson to the last duke of Buckingham, sailed with a small force from Dieppe, landed and seized the old castle of Scarborough, and put forth a proclamation stating that he was come to deliver the nation from its present thraldom to the Spaniards. But no one joined him, and he was obliged to surrender on the fourth day (April 28) to the earl of Westmoreland. He was brought up to London and beheaded, after being made to confess that the king of France had aided and encouraged him in his enterprise. The resistance of the council, whom the queen had in vain menaced even with a dismissal, was now overcome, and war was declared against France.

The queen, who two years before had had recourse to sundry unjust and violent modes of raising money, put some of them now again in practice, especially that of privy seals, that is, letters addressed to persons of substance requiring them to lend the sums specified in them to the crown. To victual a fleet she seized all the corn that could be come at in Norfolk and Suffolk ; and having by the aid of impressment raised an army of ten thousand men, she sent it under the earl of Pembroke to join that of Philip in the Low Countries. In order to secure herself against disturbances at home, she put into the Tower such of the gentry as she most suspected, and they were taken thither by night or muffled up that they might not be recognised.

The Spanish army, when joined by the English auxiliaries, numbered forty thousand men. The duke of Savoy, who commanded it, laid siege to the town of St. Quintin. The constable Montmorency advanced to its relief; but failing in his attempts to throw succour into the town, he was attacked on his retreat by the besieging army, and defeated (Aug. 10) with a loss of three thousand men. The English fleet meantime made

descents on various parts of the coast of France, The Frencli, however, soon had ample revenge on the English queen for her share in the war. The duke of Guise, who had been recalled from Italy, resolved to attempt surprising Calais on a plan which had been suggested by the admiral Coligni. In the month of December he assembled at Compeigne an army of twenty-five thousand men, with a large battering train; and while it was expected that he would attempt the recovery of St. Quintin, he suddenly marched for Calais, and on New Year's Day (1558) he was seen approaching that town. Calais was surrounded by marshes, impassable during the winter, except by a dyke defended by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam-bridge. The French carried the former by a vigorous assault, and the latter was soon also obliged to surrender; the same was the fate of another castle named the Risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour. Batteries were now opened on the town and castle, and the governor, lord Wentworth, was obliged to capitulate (Jan. 7). Guisnes surrendered shortly after ; and thus, after a possession of two hundred years, was lost the only acquisition of Edward I I I . The loss was in truth a real benefit to England, but neither the queen nor the people viewed it in that light: it was regarded as a stain on the national character, and it augmented the already great unpopularity of Mary. She was herself so affected, that when on her death-bed she said to her attendants, "When I am dead and opened ye shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Parliament when assembled (Jan. 20) made a liberal grant. A fleet was equipped, and sent to make an attempt on the port of Brest in Brittany; but it failed to achieve its object, A small squadron of ten English ships, however, lent such valuable aid to count Egmont, in his attack at Gravelines on a French force which had invaded Flanders, as enabled him to give it a total overthrow.

The inauspicious reign of Mary was now drawing to its close. She was suffering under disease; she felt that she had lost the affections of even that portion of her people who agreed with her in religious sentiments, by her subserviency to the Spanish councils and by her arbitrary taxation, while her cruelties had drawn on her the well-merited hatred of the protestants. She had also the mournful conviction that she had exercised cruelty to little purpose, as the heresy had been hardly checked by it; and she knew that her successor, how-

ever she might now dissemble, secretly held the reformed doctrines, and would probably re-establish them. Finally, her husband, for whom she had forfeited the affections of her subjects, and for whom she felt such extravagant fondness, was negligent, if not unkind. Her mind is also said to have been kept in a constant ferment by the paper-war that was carried on against herself and her religion by the exiles at Geneva.

While such was the state of her mind and body she was attacked by the epidemic fever then prevalent, and after languishing for three months she breathed her last (Nov. 17), during the performance of mass in her chamber, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, who was ill of the same fever, died the following day.

These two exalted personages are striking examples of the evil influence of false religion on the mind and heart. Mary was a woman of virtue, and not devoid of mental powers. On more than one occasion she had exhibited great energy of character. She was constant and sincere in friendship; she was devout, charitable, and just*. But unfortunately her religion was a gloomy sanguinary superstition, which taught that the offering of holocausts of those who dared to use the noblest faculties which the Deity had given them was an acceptable service to a God of mercy, and that, promises made to such persons were not to be observed. And hence her character will evermore remain in history as that of a cruel sanguinary bigot. Apart, however, from religion, the death of the innocent and amiable Jane Gray will always prove that the nature of Mary was harsh and unrelenting.

The cardinal was a man of letters, polished in manners and virtuous in mind, generous, humane, and to a certain extent liberal in feeling. Yet religion made him a traitor to his sovereign and benefactor, a scurrilous libeller, and a persecutor even unto death of those who dissented from his creed. For

* In 1557 lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, seized two gentlemen named Hargil, father and son, with whom he was at variance, and with the aid of his servants put them privately to death in his own house, andhuried them in a pit fifteen feet deep. The murder, however, came to light, and he and four of his servants were found guilty. All the interest made with the queen to save him was of no avail; she would only grant him the favour to be hung with a silken rope. It is to he observed that Lingard takes no notice of this act, so creditable to his heroine ; either not approving of her con-* duct, or not willing to let it he thought that a catholic could commit a crime, or fearful of offending the catholic descendants of the criminal.

though it may be true that he did not urge on the prosecution, he always assented to it; and not a week before his death, live persons, the last of the victims whom his own certificate had given over to the secular arm, were burnt in his diocese.

With the deaths of Mary, Pole, and Gardiner, ended for ever the dominion of popery in England. The cruelties perpetrated by them were even of advantage to the reformed faith. The English nation is naturally averse from cruelty, and the sight of the constancy and even exultation with which the martyrs met their fate, while it caused pity and admiration for the sufferers, inspired a natural favour toward the religion which enabled men to die thus cheerfully, and raised doubts as to the truth of the system which required the aid of the stake and faggot. Hence many who were catholics at the commencement of Mary's reign were protestants at its close; and hence lier successor found so little difficulty in establishing the reformed faith. The number who perished in the names during the four years of the persecution was little short of three hundred *, of whom more than a sixth were women, and some were children and even babes †. There were live prelates and twenty-one of the other clergy among the victims. We find eight gentlemen noticed, but none of the nobles or knights who had obtained the spoil of the abbeys.

* Speed says 274, Burnet 284, Collins 290. Lord Burleigh (Strype, Ecclcs. Mem. chap, lxiv.) states the number who perished in this reign by imprisonments, torments, famine and lire at 100, of whom 290 were hurnt. We should he glad to know on what authority Dr. Lingard says that " *almost* 200 persons perished in the flames for religions opinion." It is not his usual oraele the veracious Sanders, for he exultingly says there were some hundreds : his words deserve to be quoted : " Legibus etiam autiquis," says he, " de puniendis hscreticis iterum zelo prhieipe Christiano dignissimo renovatia, non solum ille [Cranmer], seel *aliquot* pseudoprophetarum cera*tnrhe* sunt sublatæ." p. 231.

f Lord Burleigh further says that there'were more than 60 women and 40 children among the sufferers, and that of the former " some were great with child, out of whose bodies the child by lire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burnt." Dr. Lingard rejects this as resting solely on the authority of Foxe, who he says was refuted by 'larding and Persons : he does not find it convenient, it would seem, to notice lord Burleigh's testimony.

CHAPTER IX.

ELIZABETH.

1558-1565.

ELIZABETH was proclaimed immediately on the death of her sister. Bonfires and illuminations testified the joy of the people and their hopes of happier days. A deputation of the council repaired next day to Hatfield to convey to the new queen the tidings of her accession. She fell on her knees, and said, " This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Acting under the advice of sir William Cecil, who had long been in communication with her, she declared her intention of continuing most of the late queen's counsellors in their offices*. The necessary regulations were forthwith made respecting public affairs, and on the 23rd the queen set out for London. She was met at Highgate by the bishops, to all of whom, except Bonner, she gave a gracious reception. She lay that night at the Charter-house, the residence of lord North, and proceeded next day (Nov. 25) to the Tower. The thoughts of the change in her condition since she had entered that royal fortress a prisoner awoke her religious feelings, and she fell on her knees and returned thanks to Heaven.

One of the earliest measures adopted had been to send to inform foreign princes of the death of the late and the accession of the present queen. Lord Cobham was appointed to convey the tidings to king Philip, expressing at the same time the queen's gratitude for the friendship he had shown her during the late reign. Philip in return, through his ambassador the duke of Feria, offered his hand to Elizabeth, assuring her that he would obtain the requisite dispensation from Rome. But every motive, both public and private, operated in the queen's mind against this match. The nation was so adverse to the Spanish connection that by continuing

* Those whom she retained (who of course were catholics) were archbishop Heath, chancellor; marquess Winchester, treasurer ; earls Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, Pembroke; lords Clinton and Howard of Effingham; sirs Thomas Cheyncy, William Petre, John Mason, Rich. Sackville; and Dr. Boxall- To these she added the following protestants : marquess Northampton ; earl Bedford; sirs Thomas Parry, Edw. Rogers, Antony Cave, Francis Knolles, William Cecil, Nicholas Bacon.

it she would forfeit her popularity; and as Philip and she were related in the same degree as her father and Catherine of Aragon had been, it would be in effect acknowledging that her mother's marriage was not valid and her own birth not legitimate. She therefore declined the proposed union in the most civil terms.

Her accession was also notified at Rome, but the intemperate old man who occupied the seat of infallibility replied, that as England was a fief of the Holy See it was great presumption in her to assume the title and authority of queen, and that being illegitimate she could not inherit: however, if she would renounce all title to the crown and submit entirely to his will, she should be treated with all the lenity consistent with the dignity of the Holy See. These impotent assumptions were of no effect: Elizabeth little heeded the authority of the pontiff, and she had commenced the changes she intended in religion long before his answer could arrive.

The prudence of Elizabeth, and of her chief adviser Cecil, led them to proceed very cautiously. The first step was to put an end to the persecution; these therefore who were in prison for their religion were released on their own recognizances.

On the other hand, the late queen's obsequies were performed (Dec. 13) according to the rites of the Romish church. White, bishop of Winchester, preached the funeral sermon, but as he took occasion to deliver an inflammatory discourse, he received an order to keep his house. When intelligence arrived (Dec. 23) of the death of the emperor Charles V. a solemn dirge and requiem were ordered to be performed for the repose of his soul. But Elizabeth forbade the host to be elevated in her own chapel, and she directed that a part of the service should he performed in English. Many of the reformers had already returned from exile; they were favourably received at court, but preaching was prohibited without the royal licence. Archbishop Heath, seeing the course matters were taking, resigned the seals, which were committed to sir Nicholas Bacon with the title of lord-keeper.

The 15th of January, 1559, was the day appointed for the coronation. On the 14th the queen left the Tower and proceeded through the city in a splendid carriage, preceded by the trumpeters and heralds, and followed by a train of nobles, ladies and gentlemen on horseback, all richly attired in crimson velvet. The shouts of the joyous multitudes filled the air

as she passed along;, and the companies of the city displayed their feelings and their taste in the manner of the age by erecting gorgeous *pageants*, as they were named, across the streets. On one appeared the eight Beatitudes, suitably habited, each of which was appropriately ascribed to the queen. At the conduit in Cheapside another exhibited the opposite images of a decayed and a flourishing commonwealth ; from a cave beneath issued Time, leading forth his daughter Truth, who presented an English bible to the queen; Elizabeth took the book, pressed it to her heart and lips, and said she thanked the City more for it than for ail the cost that had been bestowed on her, and that she would often read it over. At the end of Cheapside the recorder met her and presented her with a purse containing 1000 marks in gold, which weighty gift she received in both her hands. The giants Gog and Magog reared their huge forms over Temple Bar holding out to her their Latin verses ; and a child, "richly arrayed as a poet," pronounced a farewell in the name of the corporation of London.

The coronation took place next day. Heath and some other bishops did not appear, but the greater part gave their attendance, arrayed in scarlet like the temporal nobles, and the ceremony was performed in the usual manner by Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle. On the following morning, it being usual on such occasions to release prisoners, as the queen was on her way to her chapel one of the courtiers presented to her a petition, beseeching her that now this good time four or five principal prisoners more might be released ; these were the four Evangelists and St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, so that they could not converse with the common people. She replied with great gravity that it were better first to inquire of themselves whether they would be released or not.

The queen was now twenty-five years of age. In person she was above the middle size, well-formed and majestic. Her skin was fair, her hair yellow inclining to red, her eyes bright and lively, her nose rather aquiline. Her manners were affable, graceful and dignified; her mind was highly cultivated; she could express herself with grace and ease in Latin, French and Italian, and in the school of adversity she had learned wisdom. Such was the woman whose destiny it was to sway the British sceptre with a dignity unknown to antecedent or succeeding monarchs.

On the 25th the parliament met. The same causes, namely influence on the part of the government, the zeal of those who favoured it, and the depression of those of opposite sentiments, which had given a catholic parliament in the beginning of the late reign, now returned one zealous for the Reformation. Its first act was a recognition of Elizabeth as the "lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown," lawfully descended of the blood-royal according to the order of succession settled in the 35th Henry VIII. The queen, in all things superior to her predecessor, did not, like her, ostentatiously seek a declaration of the validity of her mother's marriage, and thus throw obloquy on her father and revive the memory of events that were better forgotten. All that was requisite was implied in the words "lawfully descended of the blood-royal." Bills for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the crown, and for re-establishing the supremacy, were introduced and carried in spite of the strenuous opposition of the bishops. By the last the queen, who was styled Governess (not Head) of the Church, was invested with the whole spiritual power, to make or repeal canons, alter discipline and ceremonies, suppress heresies, *etc.*, without consulting parliament or convocation. "Whoever refused to acknowledge the supremacy was declared incapable of holding office; whoever denied it, or sought to deprive the queen of it, was to forfeit his goods and chattels for the first offence, to incur a *praemunire* for the second, the third was treason. The queen was to nominate directly to bishopricks, and the bishops were forbidden to alienate the revenues of their sees or make leases for more than twenty-one years. But as an exception was made in favour of the crown, the church derived but little advantage from this well-meant measure.

A bill for restoring the English liturgy was next brought in; but the matter was considered of so much importance, that it was deemed advisable that it should be previously disputed between the two religious parties. Eight champions were chosen on each side; the most distinguished of the Romanists were bishops White and Watson, dean Cole and archdeacon Harpsfield; of the Protestants, Scory, Jewel, Aylmer, Cox, Grindal and Home. The archbishop of York and lord-keeper Bacon presided; the place was Westminster Abbey; the questions proposed were, Whether it is not against the Word of God and the custom of the ancient church to use an unknown language in the public service of the church;

whether every church has not a right to appoint rites and ceremonies, so it he done to edification; whether it can be proved from Scripture that there is a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass.

On Friday, the 31st of March, the dispute began in the presence of the privy council and both houses of parliament. Though it was to be managed in writing, and ten days' notice had been given, the Romish party said they had nothing •written, alleging want of time ; but they offered to give some extemporary arguments for the retention of a foreign language. Their motives for acting thus were sufficiently ob- "vious, hot their offer was accepted. Dean Cole then rose, well-provided with papers of notes, and, prompted by his colleagues, delivered some of the poor arguments by which this absurd practice is defended, well-seasoned with abuse of the reformers; he concluded by observing that nothing is more inexpedient than to bring religious rites down to the level of the vulgar, for that *ignorance is the mother of devotion.* An able reply was read by Dr. Horne, which drew forth great applause. The Romanists saying they had more arguments to urge, the debate was adjourned to the following Monday, on which day they raised various objections ; they refused to begin, alleging that the protectants would have the advantage by speaking last: the assembly broke up ; White and Watson were committed to the Tower for contempt; three other bishops and three of their divines were heavily fined, in conformity with the arbitrary mode of proceeding which extended to all matters in that age.

The Act of Uniformity, as it is styled, was now introduced and passed; the bishops and eight temporal peers alone dissenting. This act directs that king Edward's second service-book, as altered by the committee of divines appointed for the purpose, should alone be used. The penalties imposed ou those ministers who should use any other service were,—forfeiture of goods and chattels for the first offence, a year's imprisonment for the second, imprisonment for life for the third. A fine of one shilling was imposed on those who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holidays.

The Reformation was thus finally and effectually established. The parliament concluded its labours by the grant of a subsidy, followed by a respectful but urgent address to the queen, praying her to make choice of a husband. She thanked them **for** their zeal, but assured them that she regarded herself as

solemnly espoused to her kingdom at her coronation, and that she viewed her subjects as her children, and desired no fairer remembrance of her to go down to posterity than this Inscription on her tomb : " Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

The new liturgy came into use on St. John the Baptist's day. The oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops and clergy. Of the prelates, Kitchen of Llandai? alone would take it; the others were deprived of their sees, as also were about one hundred dignitaries and eighty parish priests: the great body of the clergy took the oath without hesitation. No fires were kindled for the recusants; they remained at their liberty till the following winter, when they began to attack the reformation openly. For this several of them were committed to prison. Bonner was confined in the Marshalsca, where he remained for the rest of his life, indulging to the last in the pleasures of i he table, to which he was devoted. Tunstal passed the short remnant of his days at Lambeth, where he met with every attention ; the same palace was the domicile of Thirlby ; Bourne was sent to reside with the dean of Exeter ; Heath spent the remainder of his life at his estate at Oobhani in Sarrrey, where the queen often visited him. Some died, others went abroad. The places of the deprived prelates were supplied by the most eminent protestants. Dr. Matthew Parker, a man of great reputation for learning and piety, who had been chaplain to tile queen's mother, was selected for the see of Canterbury. He was consecrated (Dec. 17) by four of the bishops who had been deprived in the late reign.

Having thus brought the domest'e affairs of the country to the close of the first year of Elizabeth's reign, we will now turn our eyes to its foreign relations.

The late queen had left her successor a legacy of a war with both France and Scotland ; but negotiations for a general peace had been commenced at Cercamp, and were now continued at Cateau-Cainbresis. The differences between the kings of France and Spain were easily arranged, but Philip, as bound in honour, insisted on the restitution of Calais to his English ally. To this the French cabinet was by no means disposed to assent, and Philip's zeal cooled when he found he had no prospect of the queen's hand ; he, however, offered to continue the war on account of it provided she would engage not to make peace for six years. But to the prudence of Elizabeth and her ministers, *he possession of Calais, even if it could be recovered, seemed

so inadequate to the cost likely to he incurred, that they rejected the proposal, and the English envoys were ^directed to make peace on any reasonahle terms. It was therefore agreed that Henry should retain Calais for eight years, and if he did not then restore it he should pay 500,000 crowns, and the queen's title should remain; but that if during that time Elizabeth made war on France or Scotland she should forfeit Calais, which Henry, on the other hand, should restore immediately if *he* were the first to break the peace. It was plain that this was only a decent pretext for abandoning Calais, and the judicious saw in it grounds for admiring the queen's good sense and prudence. A general peace was now concluded (April 2), and Philip, giving up till thoughts of the queen of England, married the French king's daughter Elizabeth, who had been betrothed to his son Don Carlos.

One difference of no small moment remained between Elizabeth and the king of France. Following the unnatural practice then so common, he had caused the dauphin and the queen of Scotland to be married in 1558, though the prince had not passed his fifteenth year, and on the death of Mary he made them assume the arms of England; for according to the papal rules Elizabeth was illegitimate, and the queen of Scots was the next heir on the hereditary principle. When Elizabeth's ambassadors complained, it was replied that Elizabeth styled herself queen of France, and that Mary, as being of the blood-royal of England, had a right to bear its arms. But this was all mere evasion ; the quartering the arms of France with those of England was no new device of Elizabeth's, and at most it could only be regarded as a piece of national vanity; whereas the act of the dauphin and queen, as it was not done in Mary's reign, evidently showed an intention of disputing the throne of England with Elizabeth. The settlement of this point, however, was reserved, and the young royal pair signed as parties the peace of Catcau-Cambresis.

Elizabeth was fully aware that it was the secret intention of the court of France to endeavour to make good the claim of Mary to the crown of England. She knew that application had been made at Rome to have her excommunicated, which had only been prevented by the influence of king Philip. As it was reckoned that *her* catholic subjects would aid her rival, policy suggested the expediency of forming a connection with Mary's protestant subjects. Hence arose the great interest which the court of England found it necessary to take in the

internal affairs of Scotland. We must therefore enter somewhat minutely into the history of that country at the present conjuncture.

The moderate temper of the queen-regent of Scotland made her indisposed to persecute. The reformed doctrines therefore gradually advanced, and many of those who fled from the tyranny of the fanatic queen of England found a refuge in the northern kingdom. There is a sternness and a self-sufficiency in the Scottish character unknown to the English, and nowhere is this more manifested than in the progress of the Reformation in the two countries. In England it was conducted with mildness and decorum, merely cutting off superfluities and abolishing unscriptual rites and practices ; in Scotland it was wild, destructive and fanatic. Moreover, while the English protestants only sought toleration from their bigoted queen, their Scottish brethren would be content with nothing short of the utter abolition of the old religion. On the 3rd of December, 1557, their leaders, the carls of Argyle, Morton and Glencairn and other nobles, met at Edinburgh and entered into a private association styled the Congregation of the Lord, binding themselves to struggle to the uttermost against " Satan in his members the antichrist of their time." This convention remained for some time a secret. Meantime the primate Hamilton seized a priest named Mill, and had him tried and condemned for heresy at St. Andrew's, but it was with difficulty a civil judge could be got to pronounce sentence on him, and on the day of the execution the shops were all shut; no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate was obliged to furnish one himself. Mill died of course with constancy ; the people raised a pile of stones on the spot in commemoration of him ; the clergy removed the stones, but still the pile was renewed. Soon after, when the image of St. Giles, the patron saint of Edinburgh, was carried in procession, the people, as soon as the queen-regent withdrew, fell on and drove off the priests, seized the idol, threw it in the mire and broke it to pieces.

The lords of the Congregation, emboldened by these manifest indications of the popular feeling, and by the tidings of the death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth, ventured to petition the regent for the reformation of the church and of the " wicked, scandalous and detestable lives" of the prelates and clergy. The regent temporised till she had obtained the matrimonial crown for the dauphin, and might have conceded some of

their demands, but that she received directions from her brothers, the Guises, who now directed everything at the court of France, to check the new opinions. As usual, she submitted her own good sense to their will. She had the principal reformed teachers cited before the council at Stirling. Such numbers of their followers came to protect them that she feared an insurrection; but on a promise, as is said, that rio harm should befall their ministers, the people dispersed. Sentence, however, was passed on them as rebels on their non-appearance. The people enraged resolved on opposing the regent and the clergy with arms.

While matters were in this state the celebrated John Knox returned to Scotland. Knox, a man of stern unbending nature, actuated by principle alone, far above all sordid selfish considerations, but narrow in mind and only moderately learned, had adopted in their utmost extent the rigid principles of Calvin, the apostle of Geneva. Gospel truth (in his own sense of the term) he held to be paramouut to all considerations, and all the laws of society should yield before it. Hence Knox was found to vindicate even the murder of cardinal Beaton. This daring man now (May 11) ascended the pulpit at Perth and poured forth a torrent of declamation against the tenets and practices of the church of Rome. When he concluded a priest had the folly to prepare to celebrate mass, but the people, who had been wrought up to a high degree of fanaticism by the eloquence of Knox, rushed forward, seized and destroyed his holy implements, then tore the pictures, broke the images and overthrew the altars. They thence proceeded, their numbers increasing as they went, to the convents of the grey, black and white friars, where they drove out the inmates and pillaged and destroyed the buildings. The precedent was followed at Cupar in Fife, which was *reformed,* as the phrase was, in a similar manner.

The regent on receiving the intelligence advanced with what troops she had toward Perth. She was joined by Arran (now duke of Chatelherault in France), Argyle, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and other lords of the reformed party, while Glencaim and others led their retainers to the support of the Congregation. They were so formidable in numbers, and evinced such a determined spirit of fanaticism and intolerance, that the regent, dubious of the event of a conflict, agreed to an accommodation. She was then admitted into Perth. But it was soon asserted that she had violated **the**

conditions; the Congregation, now joined by Argyle and the prior, again took arms; Knox became their animating spirit, and Anstruther, Scone, Stirling and other places were *reformed* as Perth had been. They advanced to Edinburgh, where they were admitted by the people, who had already reformed their city. The queen took refuge at Dunbar ; but the usual causes having acted to increase her strength and diminish that of her adversaries, a new accommodation was agreed to, and she regained possession of Edinburgh (July 12). Soon after troops came from France to her support, and she stationed them at Leith, which she had fortified.

Henry II. of Prance, having lost his life by an accident *at* the tournament celebrated in honour of his sister's marriage with the duke of Savoy, was succeeded by the dauphin under the title of Francis IL, and the power of the Guises was now without limits. The young sovereigns styled themselves king and queen of England. The design of making Scotland, and eventually England, a dependency of France, and of putting down the Reformation, was still retained. Additional troops were collected to be sent to the former kingdom. The Congregation saw that if not supported by England they ran risk of being crushed; they therefore sent Maitland of Lethington and Robert Melvill in secret to London. Cecil stated to his royal mistress the various reasons which not only justified but rendered imperative on her the support of the applicants. Her scruples about treating with the subjects of another prince gave way. She concluded a treaty with the lords of the Congregation, promising never to desist till the French had evacuated Scotland. Admiral Winter was sent with a fleet of fifteen sail to the firth of Forth, and an army of eight thousand men was assembled on the borders.

The French troops had surprised Stirling and were laying Fifeshire waste when the appearance of Winter's fleet forced them to return to Leith, where they were besieged by the congregationalists. A treaty for peace was now set on foot at Newcastle, whither Elizabeth sent Cecil and Wotton to meet the French ministers. While it was going on the queen-regent died (June 11, 1.560). It was then removed to Edinburgh, and it was finally agreed that the French should evacuate Scotland; that twelve persons, seven to be selected by the queen, five by the parliament, should govern the kingdom, and that war or peace should not be made without the consent of the parliament. By a separate treaty with Elizabeth, Francis

and Mary were to renounce the title of king and queen of England. These princes, however, refused to ratify the treaty, under pretext that the Scots had not fulfilled the conditions, and that Elizabeth continued to support them.

In France itself at this time the protestants formed a numerous party. Their heads were the prince of Conde', the admiral Coligni and his brother Andelot. The persecution against them, which had been begun by Francis I., was still kept up, and from the furious bigotry of the Guises was likely to be aggravated. Community of interest naturally made them look to the queen of England, and Throgmorton her ambassador entered into communication with them. An attempt was made to seize the young king at Amboise, but it failed, and the hopes of the reformers were crushed for a time. But the aspect of affairs in France soon underwent a considerable change. Francis, who was a puny delicate youth, died (Dec. .5), and the queen-dowager, Catherine de' Medici, became regent for the minority of her son Charles IX.; the king of Navarre, whom the Guises had thrown into prison, was liberated and made lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the prince of Conde, who had been condemned to death, was also set at liberty; the constable Montmorenci was recalled to court, and a counterpoise to the power of the Guises was thus formed.

The widowed queen, finding the court where she had ruled no longer an agreeable abode[1], retired to that of her uncles in Lorraine. She still persevered in refusing to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth. Her subjects sent praying her to return to her own kingdom; her uncles urged her to the same course; the ill-feeling which prevailed between ber and the queen-mother assured her that she could never expect happiness in France. She therefore assented to a departure, and her minister D'Oysell was sent to England to ask a safe passage for himself and for his royal mistress to Scotland. Elizabeth received him in the presence of her whole court, and in a tone of strong emotion refused both requests unless the treaty of Edinburgh were ratified. "Let your queen," said she, "ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or by land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a relation, or a neighbour." When Mary was informed of this refusal she remonstrated in very spirited terms with Throgmorton against the conduct of Elizabeth. Another envoy, however, was sent to London, and as Mary intimated her intentions of being guided by the advice of her council in Scot-

land, Elizabeth declared herself content to " suspend her conceit of unkindness ;" and in answer to the report that was made of her having sent a fleet to intercept her, she assured her that she had only at the desire of the king of Spain sent two or three small barks to sea in pursuit of some Scottish pirates.

Mary, accompanied by her uncles and many lords and ladies of the court of France, proceeded to Calais, where she embarked (Aug. 14, 1561), Just as she was leaving the harbour a vessel was lost in her sight. " Good God," cried she, "what an omen for a voyage!" She stood leaning with both arms on the poop, and the tears streamed from her eyes as she regarded the country she was leaving. She continually repeated, " Farewell, France! farewell, France!" When it was growing dark, and she was summoned down to supper, her tears flowed more plenteously,and she cried, " It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee ; I shall never see thee more." A bed was prepared for her on the poop, and she directed the steersman to awake her at daybreak if the coast of France were still in sight. The man called her as desired. She gazed till the coast receded from her view. " Farewell, France," said she ; " i t is over : I shall never see thee again." The English squadron met and saluted her. It searched the baggage-ships for pirates, and detained one which was suspected. On the third day a dense fog came on which obliged them to cast anchor in the open sea, and the next day (Aug. 19) the queen landed at Leith. Though she came before the appointed time, and the due preparations had not therefore been made to receive her, the people all crowded down to the port to evince their loyalty ; but the queen and her retinue could get no better conveyances to the palace of Holyrood than the paltry horses of the country, and these ill-caparisoned. " Are these," cried she, "the pomps, the splendours, and the superb animals on which I used to ride in France *V*[3] In the evening a concert of barbarous and discordant music, performed before her windows to testify the joy of her subjects, grated the ears of Mary and her French attendants.

The young'queen was now in her nineteenth year. Her person was tall and elegant, her face handsome if not beautiful*; her abilities were considerable, her manners were highly

* 'We express ourselves thus, because in some undoubtedly genuine portraits of Mary her face'is not by any means what we should consider beautiful.

polished. She had been brought up in a court where the serpent too frequently lurked beneath the roses; treachery, falsehood and cruelty hiding themselves under the covert of honeyed words and wreathed smiles, and where dissoluteness of manners prevailed to a degree elsewhere unknown. Sfie had also been reared-in a bigoted adherence to the tenets and practices of popery. She was come to a country poor and semi-barbarous, where deeds of violence and treachery were openly enacted; where the Reformation had breathed its sternest spirit, little mitigated by the Gospel precepts of peace and charity; where the reformed clergy, led by the fanatic Knox, sought to deprive mankind of most of the innocent pleasures of life, and viewed the masks, the dances, the banquets in which the queen naturally took delight, as sinful abominations.

Between a sovereign and a people of such opposite characters, long-continued harmony could hardly be expected to prevail. Yet Mary's reign was for some years happy and prosperous. For this she was indebted to her following the advice of her uncles, and giving her confidence to her half-brother the prior of St. Andrew's (whom she raised to the dignity of earl of Mar, and soon after to that of Moray or Murray), the head of the protectant party, and a man of honour, probity, and ability. She also held occasional conferences with the rugged Knox, and bore his uncourteous animadversions with no little patience. Yet all the while her fixed design was the overthrow of the reformed religion. In 1562, when some zealots presented a petition for the suppression of the Romish worship, she angrily replied that she hoped before another year to have the mass restored throughout the whole kingdom. On the 10th of May in the following year (1563), her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, read ber letters to the council of Trent, professing her submission to its authority, and promising if she succeeded to the throne of England to subject both kingdoms to the Holy See. We are further assured that she was a subscribing party to a Holy League concluded at Bayonne in 1565 for the extermination of the protestants. Surely it is not possible that the intentions ot Mary with respect to religion could have escaped the knowledge of Elizabeth and her wise minister Cecil; and was it not therefore their duty to guard against her having the power to carry these designs into effect ?

The queen of Scots, we have seen, laid claim to the throne

of England; and supposing the divorce of Henry VIII. not to have been legal, and the power of parliament to limit the succession* not paramount, her claim was irresistible. The catholics in general took this *view* of the case. On the other hand, Henry, by his will, sanctioned by parliament, devised the crown after his own children to the issue of his younger sister, the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk; and many of the protestants, such as Cecil and Bacon, favoured this line. The general feeling, however, was on the side of the elder or Scottish branch, and Elizabeth herself seems to have viewed the queen of Scots as her true heir, though she was probably secretly determined to keep the matter in uncertainty as long as she lived. By an act of great harshness and even cruelty she at this time put it nearly out of her own power to exclude the queen of Scots..

The lady Catherine Gray, next sister to the lady Jane, had been married to the son of the earl of Pembroke, but on the fall of her family that time-serving nobleman had caused them to be divorced. Catherine was afterwards privately married to the earl of Hertford, son of the Protector. Her pregnancy revealed the secret, and Elizabeth, who could not bear that others should enjoy those delights of love from which she excluded herself, sent the lovers to the Tower. As they were unable to prove their marriage the primate pronounced a divorce. But their keepers allowing them to meet, the birth of a second child was the result. Hertford was heavily fined, and detained in prison till his unhappy wife sank under the ill-treatment she received, and died. The legitimacy of their children was acknowledged in a subsequent reign.

Shortly after her arrival in Scotland, Mary sent Maitland of Lethington to Elizabeth to propose a friendly alliance, but at the same time requiring to be declared successor to the throne. Elizabeth insisted on the execution of the treaty of Edinburgh; she declared that in such case she would do nothing to prejudice the rights of Mary ; but she said (hat her own experience when she was at Hatfield had convinced her how dangerous to the present possessor of power it was to have a designated successor, who would thus become a rallying point for the disaffected. This was a subject on which all through her reign Eli-, zabeth was remarkably jealous, and though, as we have said, she secretly favoured the hereditary principle, she never would declare herself. The two queens notwithstanding kept up an amicable intercourse by letters, and at one time proposed a per-

sonal interview at York, which, however, did not take place, in consequence of Elizabeth's vanity and jealousy, according to those writers who take a delight in assigning little paltry motives to the actions of this great princess. To us the conduct of Elizabeth toward Mary at this period seems to have been as cordial and friendly as was consistent with her station as the head of the protestant party in Great Britain, and the obstinate retention by Mary of her claim to the crown of England.

It was a curious circumstance that the rulers of the two British kingdoms should be both young women, both handsome, both single. Their hands were therefore naturally objects of ambition to foreign princes, and the disposal of them matter of solicitude to their subjects. The English parliament were particularly anxious that their sovereign should marry, as her having issue would secure a protestant succession, and preclude the collision which might ensue between the hereditary claims of the descendants of Margaret and the parliamentary title of those of Mary Tudor, the daughters of Henry VII. But the masculine and arbitrary temper of Elizabeth had early brought her to a secret determination never to give herself a master; and though she gave her parliament fair words and coquetted with some of her suitors, there does not appear any reason to suppose that she seriously thought on marriage. We will here enumerate her principal suitors at this time.

When Philip of Spain had given up all hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth himself, he put forward the pretensions of his cousin Charles archduke of Austria, in the design of counterbalancing the influence of France in the British island. Some of Elizabeth's leading nobles were strongly in favour of this match, and it continued for some years to be the subject of discussion. Eric king of Sweden, Adolf duke of Holstein and some other princes also sought her hand. The Scottish parliament in 15G0 prayed her to marry the earl of Arran. Catherine de' Medici at a later period offered her son the duke of Anjou to the English queen.

The females of the royal family in England had at all times matched with subjects, and we have seen the parliament petition the late queen to marry a subject. It need not surprise us therefore to find nobles aspiring to the hand of Elizabeth. The earl of Arundel, though several years her senior, long cherished hopes; sir William Pickering, a man possessed of beauty of person, cultivation of mind and great taste in the

arts, was for some time thought to stand high in the favour of the maiden queen. But all were eclipsed by the charms of lord Robert Dudley.

Dudley was son to the infamous Northumberland. He had been committed to the Tower with the rest of his family, but he was early set at liberty ; and by the graces of his manners and his ready assiduity he won the favour of both Philip and Mary, by whom he was frequently employed. At Elizabeth's entrance into London he appeared in her train as master of the horse, and wealth and honours were gradually showered on him. Dudley, we must observe, was at this time a married man, having espoused Amy the heiress of sir John Robsart; and few we should think but such writers as Sanders and Lingard will ascribe wantonness *to* Elizabeth. In fact, with all her dignity and greatness of mind she was by nature a coquette ; she loved admiration, and she had inherited her father's partiality for handsome attendants ; like him too she was apt to indulge in a coarse and what might seem to us an indelicate familiarity in language and action, which malicious minds could easily misinterpret. Moreover, at this time she had not the remotest thought of marrying.

Of this Dudley perhaps was not aware, and he may have thought that his wife was the only obstacle to his gaining the hand of the queen. This throws great suspicion over the death of that lady, which occurred at this time (1560). He sent her, on what account is not known, under the charge of sir Richard Verney, one of his retainers, to a mansion named Cunmor Hall in Berkshire, held by another of his dependents named Anthony Foster. Her death took place shortly after, owing it was said to an accidental fall down stairs. Suspicions of foul play naturally arose, and Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, a pious minister who resided near the place, wrote to secretary Cecil and to Knolles praying that inquiry might be made. Whether it was done or not we have no certain information, but Dudley appears to have been fully cleared in the queen's mind, though by his enemies and the public he continued to be in some sort "infamed for the death of his wife," as Cecil expressed it*.

The hand of the other British queen was also sought by many. The archduke Charles was a suitor to her also ; Philip offered her his son Don Carlos; the king of Navarre would, it is said, willingly have divorced his heretical queen Jane

* See Craik's Romance of the Peerage, vol. i., where there are original letters which tend to prove his innocence.

d'Albret to marry the queen of Scotland, to whom Catherine proposed a union with another of her sons. Some of the petty princes of Italy also aspired to the widowed queen.

Mary was differently situated from Elizabeth; the latter had only her own inclinations to consult, while from the circumstance of differing in religion from the great bulk of her subjects, who looked up to Elizabeth as their protectress, Mary could not safely venture on any match which would not meet the approbation of that princess, who, as well as the Scottish reformers, was extremely adverse to her marrying any one but a protestant. It was a delicate matter for Elizabeth to manage, as it seemed almost unwarrantable interference in the concerns of an independent sovereign. Still the safety of England and of the protestant religion was paramount to all considerations. In November *1563* Cecil drew up instructions on this subject for Randolf, the English minister at Edinburgh, in which he stated the reasons that ought to influence Mary in her choice, viz. the mutual affection of the parties; the approval of her own subjects; the friendship of Elizabeth, who he said would not be satisfied at a foreign match. He was desired to hint that "nothing would content Elizabeth so much as Mary's choice of some noble person within the kingdom of England having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance*, and therewith be agreeable to both queens and both their nations." Accordingly Randolph suggested lord Robert Dudley, accompanied, it would seem, with some favourable prospects respecting the succession. Mary made an evasive reply, alleging that her friends would hardly agree that she should "embase herself so far as that." Dudley himself, who aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, felt no great inclination for the Scottish match; but the negotiations for it still went on, and ou the 5th of February 1565 Randolph wrote that Mary was inclined to marry him. But now Elizabeth began to fluctuate. "I see," writes Cecil, "the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester † the Scottish queen's husband; but

* At this part is added in Elizabeth's own hand-writing," Yea, perchance such as she could hardly think we could agree unto."

† In 1564 Elizabeth, with a view to his marriage with Mary, created Dudley earl of Leicester and baron Denbigh. "It was done,"says Melvill, "with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial (mantle), he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him; the French ambassador and I standing by." Could this be anything but playfulness, like her father's putting his arm round sir Thomas More's neck, like Napoleon's pinching his favourites' ears? She had said of him to

when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded I see her then remiss of her earnestness." In these words, written from one minister to another where there could be no intention to deceive, we have the key to Elizabeth's conduct in this intricate business.

In the mean time Mary had turned her thoughts to another English subject. Margaret Tudor queen of Scots had by her second husband the earl of Angus a daughter, whom Henry VIII. gave in marriage, with an estate in England, to Matthew Stuart earl of Lennox when he was driven out of Scotland by the regent Arran. Lord Darnley, therefore, Lennox's eldest son, was on the father's side of the blood-royal of Scotland, on the mother's of that of England, and being a protestant might prove a formidable rival to Mary for the English crown. Mary with a view to this had kept up a correspondence with the earl and countess of Lennox. In the autumn of 1564, probably by Mary's invitation, the earl went to Scotland to try to obtain a reversal of his attainder and the restoration of his estates and honours ; Elizabeth not merely giving her permission, but recommending him strongly to Mary, whom at the same time she warned to take care of offending the Hamiltons, the present possessors of Lennox's estates. Lennox was received with great • distinction by his royal kinswoman ; she effected an accommodation between him and Chatelherault, the head of the house of-Hamilton; and by inducing lady Lennox to drop her claim on the earldom of Angus, she prevented any opposition from the potent house of Douglas. In the month of December Lennox was restored by act of parliament to his titles and estates.

A marriage between Mary and Darnley had been for some time in treaty between the former and Lennox ; rumours of it were instantly spread, and it may also be that the English ministers, and possibly Elizabeth herself, were not displeased at it. Mary was desirous of seeing Darnley, and Elizabeth when applied to made no difficulty of letting him go to Scotland. He reached Edinburgh on the 13th of February 1565, and on the 16th he waited on the queen at Wemys castle in Fife. " Her majesty," says Melvill, " took well with him, and said he was the

Melvill a little before, that " she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married had she ever minded to have taken a husband. But being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished the queen her sister might marry him as meetest of all others with (for) whom she could find it in her heart to declare her second person."

lustiest [handsomest] and best-proportioned lang man that she had seen ; for he was of high stature, lang and small, even and brent up (straight) ; well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises." He was in effect a tall well-made youth of nineteen years, who danced, played the lute, and had the showy accomplishments of the age. He pleased the eye of Mary; she took no time to ascertain the qualities of his mind, but fell violently in love at once. He offered her his hand and heart without delay; she affected anger at his presumption, but secretly determined to espouse him.

There was a man named David Rizzio or Riccio, an Italian, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. He remained in the queen's service on account of his skill in music ; she raised him to the post of her French secretary, and made him her favourite.* As the graces of the crown mostly passed through his hands, he was courted by the nobility ; wealth came to him from various sources, which he displayed with the usual vanity of an upstart, and his insolence augmented in proportion. The nobility therefore hated and despised him at the same time ; a suspicion also prevailed that he was a secret agent of the pope.

With this man did Darnley condescend to ally himself in order that he might employ his influence over the queen's mind in his favour. This indisposed the protestant nobles to Darnley ; the open indifference which he manifested on the subject of religion alarmed them. Murray prognosticated that unkindness to England would be the result, and in sorrow withdrew from court. The queen, however, was resolved to persevere; an agent was despatched to Home for a dispensation, and Lethington was sent to inform Elizabeth and ask her consent. But the knowledge which the council had now of the state of feeling in both kingdoms made them view the match as fraught with peril, and letters of recall were sent (Apr. 23rd) to Lennox and his son, which they treated with neglect, almost with contempt. On the 1st of May the council met and determined that this marriage would be dangerous to the protestant religion and to the queen's title, and that it was necessary to provide for war with Scotland if need should be. The able Throgmorton was sent to Edinburgh to make known these resolutions, and in case of failure he was to urge the protestants to oppose the marriage unless Darnley promised to adhere to the reformed religion.

Murray, as we have seen, had withdrawn from court in

disgust; but the queen, who knew of what importance it was to gain his approbation of her marriage, ordered him to repair to her at Stirling. She there employed all her arts and eloquence to induce him to sign a paper recommending the marriage. He hesitated to do so, alleging that he feared Darnley would be an enemy to Christianity. "She gave him," says Melville, "many sore words; he answered with humility, but nothing could be obtained from him." A convention of nobles met a few days after (May 14); the gifts and blandishments of Mary had more effect on them than on her brother, and many gave their assent to her marriage. As, however, some hesitated, another convention was appointed to meet at Perth.

Darnley now mortally hated Murray as the chief obstacle to his ambition; and religious and political motives caused Murray to resolve to prevent the marriage if possible. The former is said to have formed a plan to assassinate the latter; Murray is charged with a design, in conjunction with Chatelherault, Argyle, and other nobles with whom he was associated, to seize Darnley and his father, and deliver them up to the warden of the English marches. Each party, it is added, received information of the designs of the other, and Mary, taking advantage of the popularity which the good government of Murray had procured her, assembled a force, and advancing to Stirling, where the confederate lords were, obliged them to disperse and retire to their homes.

Mary had conferred on Darnley the titles of earl of Ross and duke of Albany, dignities appropriated to the royal family, and the dispensation being now arrived, and the banns duly published, she gave him her hand (July 29) in the chapel of Holy rood House. The ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Romish church; Darnley, however, withdrew during the performance of mass. She had agreed to give him the title of king, but wished to defer it till parliament should meet or till he should have attained his 21st year; but the vain headstrong youth would have it then or never, and she was obliged to consent to his being proclaimed the evening before the marriage-day*. On the day succeeding it he was again proclaimed, and though all the lords were present no one said Amen; his father alone cried "God save his queen!"

* "She can as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will," writes Randolph to Leicester, "as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself."

Immediately after her marriage Mary outlawed Murray; she set at liberty lord Gordon and made him earl of Hurtley, and she recalled lord Sutherland and Hepburn'lord Bothwell, who were in exile—all sworn foes to Murray. When Thornworth came, sent by Elizabeth, to insist that she should do nothing against the Reformation in England, she gave an ambiguous reply; she did the same when warned not to make any change in Scotland; and when, as instructed, he urged her to drop her displeasure against Murray, she desired that there might be no meddling in the affairs of Scotland. She was in fact inveterate against her brother. She lost no time in collecting a force, with which she drove him and the other lords to seek refuge in Argyle. They soon after appeared in arms in the western counties; the queen in person led her forces against them, riding at the head of her troops with loaded pistols in her girdle. The lords made a rapid march to Edinburgh, but as the people there did not join them as they had expected, and the queen pursued them closely, they retired to Dumfries, still followed by their implacable sovereign, and finding resistance hopeless, they crossed the borders and sought refuge in England. Murray and Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning repaired to London. In the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, Elizabeth, it is said, made them declare that she had not excited them to take arms against their sovereign. When they had done so she called them traitors, and ordered them to quit her presence*. They retired to the northern marches, where Elizabeth secretly supplied them with money, and interceded for their pardon with their queen. Chatelherault was forgiven on condition of his retiring to France, but Mary declared to Randolph that she would rather lose half her kingdom than show mercy to Murray. The king and her chief counsellors, Huntley, Athol and Bothwell, were all hostile to him; so also was Rizzio, though he had, says Melvill, "sued him earnestly and more humbly than could be

* Such is the account given by Melvill and the other Scottish writers. Lord Burleigh (Raumer, Elizabeth and Mary, p. 70) says that Elizabeth asked Murray "if he had ever undertaken anything against the person of his queen. This he most solemnly denied, and implored her to conserve the amity between her majesty and his sovereign." In conclusion, "she spoke very roundly to him before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear that she would not for the price of a world maintain any subject in any disobedience against a prince."

believed, with the present of a fair diamond," for his interest in his behalf. But what most weighed with the queen was a message from her uncles desiring her not to pardon the banished lords. This was brought by Clernau, also, it is said, the bearer of a treaty lately concluded at Bayonne for the extirpation of protestantism, to which she readily affixed her signature*. A parliament was summoned for the 12th of March 1566, in order to attaint the rebel lords and to take steps towards the re-establishment of popery.

CHAPTER X.

ELIZABETH (CONTINUED).

1566-1571.

THE execution of those projects, however, was prevented by the perpetration of a deed which proved pregnant with calamity to the royal house of Scotland. Mary had now ceased to love her husband; the first fervour of her affection being over, she saw that he was devoid of every estimable quality, brutal in temper, and addicted to the grossest intemperance. She therefore gave no heed to his urgent demand of the crown-matrimonial; she treated him with neglect and even aversion; all her favour was monopolized by Rizzio, with whom the jealous Darnley now suspected her of improper familiarity. "It is a sore case," said he one day (Feb. 10) to his uncle Douglas, "that I can get no help against that villain David." "It is your own fault," was the reply; "you cannot keep a secret." Soon after, a league, confirmed by the king's oath and signature, was formed between him and the lords Ruthven, Morton, Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington: *they* were to put Rizzio to death, and procure him the crown-matrimonial; *he* was to bear them * scathless', to obtain an amnesty for the banished lords, and to secure the protestant religion.

This compact was made on the 1st of March, and on the night of the 9th (Saturday) Ruthven, having risen from his bed of sickness for the purpose, and cased himself in his ar-

* See Mackintosh, iii. 71.

mour, the associates were brought by Darnley up a private staircase which led to the apartment where Mary, now six months gone with child, was sitting at supper with llizzio and her natural sister Lady Argyle. The king went in and stood by her chair with his arm round her waist. Ruthven entered pale and haggard, supported by two men. He required that llizzio should -quit the room ; the queen said it was her will he should be there. llizzio ran behind her for safety ; a tumult ensued; the table was overturned; llizzio was dragged out and despatched in the antechamber with fifty-six wounds. The queen meantime was interceding for him, and a very indelicate conversation took place between her and her husband in the presence of Ruthven respecting his resumption of his conjugal rights. She then sent to learn the fate of Rizzio, and when she found that he was dead, she said," No more tears ; I must think of revenge;" and she never was heard to lament him more. Bothwell and Huntley, when they learned what had occurred, made their escape from the palace by a window.

On Monday (the 11th) Murray and his friends came to Edinburgh. Mary embraced and kissed her brother when she saw him, saying that " if he had been at home he would not have allowed her to be so discourteously handled." He was affected even to tears. Mary now tried her arts on her weak, unstable husband, and she actually succeeded in prevailing on him to abandon his confederates and make his escape with her the following night out of the palace. They fled to Bunbar. The king issued a proclamation denying all knowledge of the conspiracy. Bothwell, Huntley, and other nobles repaired with their followers to Dunbar, and on the 19th the queen re-entered Edinburgh at tbe head of eight thousand men. The murderers of Rizzio were obliged to fly into England. The contempt and hatred which Mary felt for her worthless husband she could not conceal; her whole confidence was now given to Bothwell, between whom and Murray she effected a reconciliation.

On the 19th of June the queen was delivered of a son. Sir James Melvill was immediatelyi,despatched with the tidings to Elizabeth. When he arrived, the queen, who had just recovered from a severe illness, was at her favourite palace of Greenwich. She was dancing after supper : Cecil whispered the news to her; she instantly stopped and sat down, resting her cheek on her hand. At length she gave vent to her feelings in these words : " The queen of Scots is mother of

a fair son, while I am but a barren stock." What could be more natural, what more blameless than such language? Yet those who will see nothing but duplicity in the conduct of Elizabeth, ascribe to dissimulation the cheerful countenance with which she received Melvill next morning, and the readiness with which she assented to his request that she would be godmother to the infant prince.

The alienation between Mary and her husband increased from day to day. He found himself generally shunned; for to show hirn any attention was a sure mode of losing the queen's favour. In his vexation he formed the absurd project of quitting the kingdom and going to the Continent; but the silly plan came to no effect. Meantime the queen's visible partiality for Bothwell gave occasion to rumours injurious to her character, and an incident which occurred in the following October added strength to suspicion. She went to Jedburgh to hold a justiciary court for suppressing the disorders of the borders. Bothwell, whom she had made warden of the marches, preceded her by some days, and being wounded in the hand in a scuffle with one of the borderers named Elliott, was conveyed to his castle of Hermitage. The queen having passed some days in great anxiety on his account, took the sudden resolution of going herself to see him. Though the weather was bad and the roads in a wretched state, she rode with a few attendants to Hermitage, a distance of twenty miles, and having assured herself that his life was in no danger, returned the same day to Jedburgh. Her bodily exertion, combined with mental uneasiness, threw her the next day into a fever, and for some days her life was despaired of; the vigour of her constitution,, however, triumphed over the disorder.

After her recovery the queen took up her abode at the castle of Craigmillar near Edinburgh, and here the measure of a divorce was discussed by Maitland and others; she made no objection but her unwillingness to prejudice her son. On the 17th of December the ceremony of the young prince's baptism was performed at Stirling, and though the king was in the castle, owing to his own caprice or to the coldness of the queen, he was not present at it. On the other hand Bothwell was appointed to receive the French and English ambassadors, and to regulate the ceremonial of the christening. Through his influence Morton and the other murderers of Rizzio were pardoned on the 24th, on which day the king left the court and retired to his* father's house at Glasgow, where in a few days

he was attacked by the small-pox. The queen, when she heard of his illness, sent her own physician to attend him.

On the 20th of January (1567) Bothwell and Lethington went to Morton's residence at Whittingham, and Bothwell proposed the murder of the king to him, saying, " it was the queen's mind that he should be taken away." Morton objected, being, as he said, but just come out of trouble on a similar account; but finally agreed provided he had the queen's hand-writing for his warrant. This, however, they were unable to procure; either they did not venture to propose such a thing to Mary, or she was too prudent to commit herself.

From the time of Rizzio's murder up to the present date the queen had shown no affection to her husband, and on the 20th she wrote to her ambassador at Paris complaining of him and his father. The next day she set out for Glasgow. While there she feigned the utmost fondness for the king, yet her letters at the same time to Bothwell display the most ardent love for that nobleman. Her object was to get ber husband into her power, and in this she succeeded, and brought him with her to Edinburgh (31st). Pretending then that the situation and noise of Holyrood House would be injurious to him in his delicate state, she placed him in a lone house without the city named the Kirk-of-Field, and she had a chamber fitted up for herself under his, in which she sometimes slept. On Sunday night (Feb. 9) she stayed with him till *tan* o'clock, and then recollecting that she had promised to give a mask at the palace on the occasion of the marriage of one of her servants, she took leave of him. At two in the morning a loud explosion was heard, and daylight revealed the Kirk-of-Field in ruins. The dead body of the king was found at a little distance in the fields without any marks of violence ; the house it appeared had been blown up with gunpowder.

On the 12th a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000/. for the discovery of the murderers. A paper was found fixed on the gates of the Tolbooth (16th) naming Bothwell and his accomplices, and accusing the queen of being privy to it; voices to the same effect were heard in the silence of the night. The council called on the accuser to appear; a second placard announced that he would, and that with four witnesses, if Bothwell and two of the queen's servants, who were named, were taken into custody. The council made no reply. Lennox wrote to Mary urging that the persons accused should be brought to trial. She evaded compliance; and

though every tongue named Bothwell as the murderer, she continued to give him daily proofs of her favour. She bestowed on him (Feb. 15) the superiority of the port of Leith, and (Mar. 19) made him governor of the castle of Edinburgh. Still the popular voice was so strong, and a letter from archbishop Beaton her envoy at Paris showed her so plainly the ill report there was of her on the Continent, that she saw no way of eluding the demand for a trial. It was therefore fixed for the 12th of April, thus giving Lennox but fourteen instead of forty days, the usual time, to prepare for the prosecution. The accused meantime were at liberty, and Bothwell himself actually sat as a member of the privy council which arranged the manner of the trial.

It was evident that anything but impartial justice was intended. Lennox feeling his weakness had applied to Elizabeth for aid, and that princess, in a letter which does her honour, entreated of Mary not to precipitate the proceedings in this manner: "For the love of God, madam," says she, "use such sincerity and prudence in this matter, which concerns you so nearly, that the whole world may have reason to declare you innocent of so enormous a crime; which if you committed it you would be justly cast out of the ranks of princesses, and not without reason made the reproach of the vulgar, and sooner than that should befall you I would wish you an honourable grave; than a spotted life. You see, madam, that I treat you as my daughter," etc. All was in vain, Lennox did not venture to appear; no witness or evidence was produced, for Bothwell came to his trial so well attended by armed men that it had been dangerous to do so; he was of course acquitted. Mary then affected to regard him as fully cleared, and when she went to open the parliament he bore the sword of state before her. Lennox fled into England. Still numerous placards showed that the public were by no means satisfied of Bothwell's innocence:

The strongest possible proof of Bothwell's influence over the queen's mind was given at this time. Mary, a most bigoted papist, who never for a moment had swerved from her purpose of destroying the protestant religion, who had lately, as is said, subscribed the treaty of Bayonne, assented to an act of parliament repealing all laws adverse to the reformers, and giving their religion the safeguard of the law. Bothwell's object evidently was to gain the support of the protestants, whose creed he had always professed. He now went a step further; on the

day of the dissolution of parliament he invited all the nobles to sup at a tavern. He had the house filled and surrounded with his armed dependents ; after supper he opened to them his design of marrying the queen; he said he had her own consent, and he wished them to subscribe a bond recommending the marriage and pledging themselves to maintain it. Some were already in the secret, some were gained by promises, others yielded to fear ; all subscribed the bond.

Three days after (Apr. 22) Mary went to Stirling to visit her son : as she was on ber return she was met near Linlithgow by Bothwell at the head of a large body of armed men ; he dispersed her train, took the bridle of her horse and led her and some of her attendants, among whom were Huntley, Lethington and Melvill, to Dunbar; the person who conducted Melvill told him it was done with the queen's consent, and her own letters prove that it had been all arranged between her and Bothwell. It may increase our disgust at this proceeding to know that Bothwell was at this time the husband of Huntley's sister; but means had been devised to dissolve the union. The queen had restored the archbishop of St. Andrew's to his jurisdiction, and, to quiet her catholic scruples, Bothwell had commenced a suit for a divorce on the ground of consanguinity in his court, while lady Jane Gordon was prosecuting a collusive *one against him for adultery in the protestant court; sentence was easily procured in both courts. A report was also put forth that Bothwell had offered personal violence to the queen at Dunbar ; and when Craig, a minister at Edinburgh, was commanded to publish the banns (for she was now going to marry Bothwell) he refused on that ground, and when obliged to do so he declared from the pulpit that "he abhorred and detested the marriage as hateful in the sight of the world."

Mary was conducted by Bothwell to Edinburgh (May 3); she appeared before the court of session, and declared that though Bothwell's insolence in seizing her had at first excited her indignation, his subsequent conduct had been so respectful that she forgave him, and was resolved to raise him to the highest honours. She then created him earl of Orkney, and on the 15th she was married to him publicly according to the rites of the protestant church, an additional proof of his influence over her mind.

We need not inform our readers that the question of Mary's participation in Bothwell's crime (for of *his* guilt no one has ever doubted) is one which has been disputed from her **own**

time down to the present. After duly weighing the evidence, our own most decided conviction is that she was guilty of the murder of her husband, and went to Glasgow for the sole purpose of luring him to his destruction, and that her whole conduct in the transaction proves her to have been capable of the commission of the blackest crimes without feeling a pang of remorse*.

But her guilt was not to go unpunished; the Reformation had exalted the moral sense of the people, and the dead silence which prevailed when she appeared in public showed what were their thoughts. Bothwell too was not kind, he surrounded her with his creatures and exercised the whole royal authority. His great object was to get the young prince into his power (doubtless for the worst of purposes), but the firmness of the earl of Mar, who had charge of the royal infant, and whom Melvill conjured to save him "from the hands of those who had slain his father," prevented him from accomplishing his boast " that he would warrant him from avenging the death of his father."

The insolence of Bothwell, the danger of the prince, the reproaches of foreign nations at length roused the Scottish nobles. Argyle, Athol, Morton, Lindsay, Glencairn, Mar, Lethington and others met at Stirling and entered into an association for the defence of the prince. The queen on her side put forth a proclamation (May 28) calling on her subjects to arm and meet her husband on an appointed day. They came but slowly and ill-affected; and the queen fearing for her safety was conducted by Bothwell to Borthwick castle, from which, however, he was soon forced to fly to Dunbar on the appearance of lord Home with a body of troops. Mary accompanied his flight in male attire. Having collected what troops she could, she advanced to Carberry Hill near Edinburgh (June 15) ; the lords led their forces out against her. Le Croc, the French ambassador, vainly sought to mediate. She offered pardon. " We will be satisfied," said Morton, " with the pu-

* " The suffering innocence of Mary," says Laing, " is a theme appropriated to tragedy and romance, and her vindication consists entirely of popular arguments and the misrepresentation of facts; of declamation, fiction, invective, rihaldry,and the grossest abuse. But the sober voice of impartial history from Thuanus to Hume and Robertson, has deduced her guilt from the moral evidence which her conduct affords, and from a calm and accurate investigation of facts." Any one who reads this writer's dissertation on the murder of Darnley and rises with a doubt on his mind of Mary's guilt, may

nishment **of the murderer of** the late king." "As **to pardon," said** Glencairn, "we have not *come* here to ask pardon for any offence we have done, but rather to grant pardon to those who have offended." , Finding such to be their temper and failing in her efforts to rouse her own troops to action, Mary took a farewell (a final one*) of Bothwcll and surrendered to a chief named Kirkaldy of Grange, who had assured her of the obedience of the lords, provided she dismissed Bothwell and would engage to govern by their advice. The lords received her with great respect and conducted her to Edinburgh. The unhappy woman was assailed as she went along with maledictions and the foulest epithets ; for the Scots are a stern unrelenting people, and the populace had not a doubt of her guilt. When she rose in the morning, the first object that met her view was a white flag displayed before her window, on which was portrayed the body of her husband beneath a tree, as it **had** been found, and her infant son on his knees saying "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord †!"

Mary had pledged herself to give up Bothwell, yet that very night a letter from her to him was brought by the bearer to the lords, in which she called him her "dear heart whom she would never forget nor abandon for absence." They saw therefore that she was not to be trusted, and next day (June 1(i) they sent her a prisoner to the castle of Lochlevin, situated on a small island in a lake ; whose owner, William Douglas, was related to Morton and married to Murray's mother. The lords soon had convincing proof of the queen's guilt. Bothwell sent one of his servants to fetch him a casket which he had left in the castle of Edinburgh ; the messenger was seized, and the casket was found to contain letters and sonnets in the queen's handwriting which proved her guilt beyond contradiction. Nothing however could prevail on the infatuated woman to give up the partner of her crime. "She avoweth constantly," writes Throgmorton, "that she will live and die with him, and saith that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom or the lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to go as a simple damsel with him, and that she will never consent that he shah fare worse or have more harm than herself."

To restore Mary to power was therefore out of the question.

* They had been exactly a month married. So little did they gain by their crime.

† "The women be most turious and impudent against the queen, and **yet** the men be mad enough," writes Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July 14.

Some would have been content if she resigned her crown to her son and retired to France or England ; others required her trial and condemnation, but would have been satisfied with her perpetual imprisonment;-a third party, more stern, demanded her capital punishment as the penalty due to her crimes, and as the only mode of assuring the safety of the realm. It was finally concluded to be content for the present with her resignation. Lord Lindsay, a man of rough brutal manners, was sent to her (July 25), and under the threat of instant death if she refused, he made her sign her own abdication and consent to the coronation of her son ; an appointment of Murray to the regency ; and that of certain others if he should refuse. She subscribed with tears, but Lethington and some of her other friends had secretly directed sir Robert Melvill to assure her that her resignation was void and might be revoked when she was at liberty.

Four days after (29th) the prince was crowned at Stirling by the title of James YI. On the 11th of August Murray returned from France, whither he had retired some months before; he visited his unhappy sister ; she burst into tears at the sight of him. He spoke the truth freely and plainly. " Sometimes," says Melvill, " she wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her inisgovernment; some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate." He could only then leave her to God's mercy, but next morning he assured her of her life and of the preservation of her honour as far as in him lay ; liberty he said it was not in his power to give her, nor would it be good for her to have it at present. She then took him in her arms and kissed him. On the 22nd he was proclaimed regent.

It may be asked how did the queen of England act all this time? the reply is highly to her honour. Elizabeth's notions of the majesty of kings were high, and she was little pleased with the example of subjects rising up against their sovereigns. She moreover regarded Mary as a kinswoman and as the presumptive heiress of her crown. On the intelligence therefore of her captivity she despatched Throgmorton to Scotland to exert himself in her behalf; she menaced; she even proposed to the French government to put a stop to all traffic with the rebels, as she styled them, and their abettors. " No council," writes Cecil, " can stop her majesty from manifesting her misliking of the proceedings against the queen of Scots." She ran the risk of seeing the lords throw themselves into the arms

of France, and when the Hamiltons, Huntley, and others confederated against the regent and in favour of the queen, she gave them encouragement through Throgmorton.

We must now relate the fate of Bothwell. He fled to his dukedom of Orkney, where he hired some ships with the intention of passing over to Denmark; but Kirkaldy of Grange and Murray of Tullibardine, who were sent in pursuit of him, captured all his vessels but one in which he escaped to Norway; where (as he had no papers to produce and his ship had once been commanded by a noted pirate,) he was detained a prisoner, and when his portfolio, containing the proclamations of the council for his apprehension, *etc.* was found, he was sent to Copenhagen. He was imprisoned in the castle of Malmo in Scania, where he died bereft of reason in 1576.

On the loth of December, the Scottish parliament met; all the late proceedings were pronounced lawful and were confirmed. The contents of the casket were produced and read, and Mary was declared to have been accessory to the murder of her husband. The acts of 1560 in favour of the protestant religion were ratified, and it was now finally established.

But though Huntley and several of Mary's partisans attended this parliament and supported the measures introduced, their jealousy of the regent soon arrayed them again in arms. They opened a communication with Mary, who appointed the duke of Chatelherau.lt to be her lieutenant. Murray meantime visited her again, and she proposed, in order to quiet all fears respecting Bothwell, to marry his half-brother George Douglas, son to the lady of Lochlevin, a youth eighteen years of age, for whom she had begun to spread her snares. Murray objected to his humble birth, so far beneath her rank. It was all, however, but a scheme of Mary's to conceal her real design. On the 25th of March, 1568, having changed clothes with the laundress who used to come from a village near the lake, she got into the boat; she had nearly reached the shore when one of the boatmen went to raise her muffler, saying, " Let us see what sort of a dame this is!" She put up her hand to prevent him; its whiteness raised their suspicions; they refused to land her, and carried her back to the island, but did not betray her. On the 2nd of May she was more fortunate; while lady Douglas and her eldest son were at supper, a youth called the little Douglas stole the keys of the castle. Mary hastened to a boat that lay ready; Douglas locked the castle gate on the outside and flung the keys into the lake as they rowed

across it. On the shore Mary was met by George Douglas, lord Seaton, and others. She mounted a horse and rode to lord Seaton's house of Niddry, and having rested there for three hours, she mounted again and rode to Hamilton, where she was received by the nobles of her party at the head ot three thousand of their followers. Her first act was to protest against the instruments she had been compelled to sign when in prison, which were pronounced illegal by the nobles present, many of whom had declared the direct contrary in the late parliament.

Murray was meantime at Glasgow, with only his ordinary train: some of his friends advised him to fly to Stirling, but he was too prudent to take such a course. He amused the queen for a few days by negotiation, during which time he assembled a force of about four thousand men, with which he resolved to give her battle. Though the royal troops were double the number, their leaders wished to wait the return of Huntley and Ogilvie, who were gone to the north to assemble their vassals. Meantime they proposed to place the queen for security in the castle of Dumbarton; but on their way thither (May 13) the regent brought them to action at a place named Langside Hill, and routed them in the space of a quarter of an hour. Mary, who from an adjacent eminence viewed the fight, saw at once that all was lost; she turned, urged her horse to speed, and having failed in an attempt to reach Dumbarton rode without halting to Dundrennan Abbey near Kirkcudbright on the Solway Firth, a distance of sixty Scottish miles. Lord Herries and a few others, among whom was the French ambassador, accompanied her flight.

What was this wretched princess now to do? To make her escape to the Highlands was difficult if not impossible, and the toils and privations she might have to undergo when she reached them were not easy to appreciate; to escape to France was equally difficult; and pride forbade to appear as a fugitive where she had reigned a queen, and the prospect of being shut up in a nunnery (the course which the French government had proposed for her) was probably not an agreeable one; an ignominious death in all probability awaited her if she fell into the hands of her enraged subjects. There remained but one course, a flight into England. Elizabeth had of late exerted herself warmly in her favour and might be disposed to assert her cause; she therefore directed Herries to write (May 15) to Mr. Lowther, the governor of Carlisle, to know if she might

come thither in safety. She did not, however, venture to wait for a reply ; fearing to fall into the power of her enemies she embarked next day with lord Herries and about twenty attendants in a fishing-boat and landed at Workington. The gentry of the vicinity conducted her with all due respect to Cockermouth, whence Lowther brought her to Carlisle. She had little or no money, and not even a change of clothes when she landed in England.

Mary lost no time in writing to Elizabeth ; assuming, as she did on all occasions, herself to be an innocent and injured person, she required to be admitted to the queen's presence and to be restored to her authority by force. The English council took the case into most grave and solemn consideration ; they weighed the arguments on all sides ; they viewed the dangers likely to arise to England and to protestantism in general; they saw equal peril in suffering Mary to go to France or Spain or return to Scotland ; they decided that she should be detained *for the present in* England. They certainly may have been swayed by secret prejudice, they may have fancied danger that was but imaginary, but beyond question they did what they believed to be right, and they must have known what the dangers to be apprehended really were far better than *we* can do. Leaving then declamation to the advocates of Mary, we hesitate not to say that in our opinion the council acted under the circumstances wisely and well.

To Mary's request of a personal interview it was replied, that till the murder of Darnley and the subsequent events were explained, Elizabeth could not with honour admit her into her presence ; but that if Mary cleared herself on a judicial inquiry, the queen would chastise her rebellious subjects and restore her by force of arms. Mary and her fast friend lord Berries long struggled against the proposed inquiry ; at length she consented that Elizabeth " should send for the noblemen of Scotland that they might answer before such noblemen of England as should be chosen hv her, why they had deposed their queen." Mary was now (July 28) at lord Scroop's castle of Bolton in Yorkshire, whither she had been removed from Carlisle.

It may be here noticed as an instance of the duplicity of which Mary was capable, that she, the most bigoted of Catholics, who when in power would not even listen to the Scottish reformed clergy, now affected great veneration for the English liturgy, was often present at the protestant worship, chose a

protestant clergyman for her chaplain, listened with attention and apparent pleasure while he exposed the errors of popery, and seemed on the point of becoming; a convert*.

On the 4th of October, the Conference, as it was termed, was opened at York. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler were the English commissioners; Mary was represented by Lesly, bishop of Ross, lord Ilerries, and five other persons; on the part of the king and parliament of Scotland appeared the regent, the lords Morton and Lindsay, and others; among their assistants were Lethington and the illustrious George Buchanan. Mary's*agents commenced by demanding justice for the various indignities and injuries offered to her, from the first revolt to her flight into England. Murray was now in a difficult situation; if he produced the proofs which he had of the queen's guilt, he cut off all hope of reconciliation; if he did not, he in effect allowed that he was a rebel. He took refuge in forms and verbal distinctions; his defence therefore was feeble, and Mary's advocates had plainly the advantage. Finding that he must advance, lie was anxious to ascertain if Elizabeth would secure him against the consequences, in case of his making the accusation and proving its truth. With this view he privately laid before the commissioners the letters, sonnets, and marriage contracts of Mary to Bothwell. Of the genuineness of these documents they declared themselves convinced, and they wrote to that effect to the queen †. Elizabeth now deemed it advisable to have the conference more at hand; it was removed to Hampton Court with Mary's full approbation, who still reckoned that Murray

* Robertson says it is impossible to believe she was sincere, but lie adds, " nor can anything mark more strongly the wretchedness of her condition and the excess of *her fears* than that they betrayed her into dissimulation, in a matter concerning which her sentiments were at all other times scrupulously delicate." What *fears* could those have been but the dread of the proofs which she knew could be given of her share in the murder of her husband? Robertson would seem to hint that, like Elizabeth in her sister's reign, she feared death on account of her religion. This is quite idle, and is an instance of the desire of even this writer to make a suffering saint of the guilty queen*

† " They showed us," said they, " one long and horrible letter of her own hand, as'they say, containing foul matter, abominable to be thought of. The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Both well; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such, that as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder is so abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed."

would not venture to produce his strong evidence. Cecil and Bacon, with lord Clinton and the earls of Leicester and Arundel, were added to the commission. Lennox now came forward and openly charged the queen with the murder of his son. Murray was obliged to proceed in his charge and produce his proofs. When Herries and Lesly saw the blow which they had long warded off at length struck, they refused to answer unless their mistress " were allowed to justify herself in the presence of the queen of England, the whole nobility of the kingdom, and the ambassadors of foreign states." But it was now too late to object to the present mode of proceeding. They in effect confessed that the evidence now produced could not be refuted. " The objections," says Hume, "made to the authenticity of these papers are, in general, of small force ; but were they ever so specious they cannot now be hearkened to, since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation of her enemies."

We may now assume that Elizabeth and her ministers had not the slightest doubt of Mary's guilt. Still, though the queen dismissed Murray with kindness, and gave him a loan of 5000/. for the expenses of his journey, she would not sanction the principle of the right of the people to depose their sovereigns, by treating with him as regent, or acknowledging the young king of Scotland. As Bolton was in a part abounding with catholics, Mary was now removed to Tutbury in Staffordshire, a seat of the earl of Shrewsbury's ; but liberty was offered to her if she would resign her crown, or associate her son with her in the government, Murray to have the regency during the prince's minority. She refused, justly alleging that such an act would be a confession of her guilt. She demanded to be allowed to go to France; but Elizabeth was too apprehensive of the danger of that course, and though she knew that Mary's presence in England might cause much mischief, she chose it as the lesser evil, in reliance on her own fortitude and address.

Yet at this very time some of the leading English nobility were engaged on the side of Mary. During the conference at York the subtle Lethington hinted to the duke of Norfolk a match between him, now a widower, and the queen of Scots. Norfolk listened to the offer, but he stated that the letters which he had seen with Murray made him hesitate. A communication seems to have been opened with Mary, who showed

no disinclination to the propossd alliance. At Hampton Court Murray himself made the same proposal to Norfolk. Those who will allow the regent no virtue say that he was insincere, and that his only motive was to secure his life, as Norton, one of Norfolk's partizans, intended to waylay and murder him on his return home through the north. But we may surely as well suppose that he was also actuated by an honest desire to see his sister married to an English nobleman of the highest rank and a protestant, and the peace and happiness of the two kingdoms thus permanently secured.

After Murray's departure Norfolk associated himself with the earls of Leicester, Arundel, Pembroke and others, both catholic and protestant; sir Nicholas Throgmorton also engaged warmly in the project. A letter was written by Leicester to the queen of Scots, and signed by the rest, recommending Norfolk to her for a husband, but stipulating for a renunciation of all claims to the throne of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her heirs, for a perpetual league between the two kingdoms, and for the establishment of the protestant religion in Scotland. Mary returned a favourable reply, and the confederates went on strengthening themselves. It is said too that the kings of France and Spain were secretly consulted and gave their approbation. The previous consent of Elizabeth, however, was all along supposed; but they seem to have reckoned on making their party so strong that she would not venture to refuse it.

It seems strange to see so many of her principal nobles (even Leicester included) thus as it were in a conspiracy against Elizabeth. But jealousy of Cecil and Bacon, who were known to favour the claims of the house of Suffolk, was at the bottom of it with some ; others, and even Norfolk himself, may have thought the measure really good for the country; the catholics looked to the re-establishment of their religion by means of it.

The affair, however, could not be expected to remain long a secret from the queen and Cecil. Elizabeth took the duke one day (Aug. 13, 1569) to dinner at Farnham ; "Be careful," said she to him, "of the pillow on which you are about to lay your head." He understood the allusion, and replied, "I will never marry a person with whom I could not be sure of my pillow." Soon after, Leicester (whom Norfolk is said to have urged in vain to reveal the whole to the queen) fell sick, or feigned sickness, at Titchfield, and when Elizabeth came to

visit him he told her all he knew. The queen then taxed Norfolk with his designs, and charged him to abandon them. He readily promised, spoke disparagingly of the Scottish match, affirming that his English estates were nearly as valuable as the kingdom of Scotland, and that when he was in his own tennis-court at Norwich he thought himself a petty prince. Finding himself looked coolly on he soon after left the court without permission and retired to Norfolk. He soon, however, repented of this step and was returning, but he was arrested and sent to the Tower (Oct. 9). Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were also put in custody.

Meantime rumours of a meditated rise in the north prevailed. Sussex, the lord president, summoned the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland before him ; their excuses, however, satisfied him, and he dismissed them. The reports growing stronger, the queen wrote (Nov. 10) summoning the two earls to court; but they had gone too far in treason to venture on that course. In conjunction with Radcliffc, Sussex's own brother, with Leonard, uncle of lord Daeres, and the families of the Nortons, Markeufields, Tempests, and others, they had been in constant communication with Mary and with her friends in Scotland ; they had also arranged with the duke of Alva, Philip's vicegerent in the Netherlands, for the landing of a body of Spanish auxiliaries ; and one of his ablest captains, Ciappino Vitelli, had been sent over to London on some trifling embassy, to be on the spot to take the command of them when they should land.

Northumberland being a timid irresolute man, his more energetic followers employed the following expedient to rouse him. At midnight one of his servants rushed into his chamber crying out that his enemies Oswald, Ulstrop, and Vaughan were surrounding the place with armed men. He rose in a hurry and fled to a lodge in his park; next night he went to Brancespeath, a seat of the earl of Westmoreland's, where a large number of those who were in the secret were assembled. A manifesto was immediately put forth in the usual style, expressive of the utmost loyalty to the queen, but declaring their intentions to rescue her out of the hands of evil counsellors, to obtain the release of the duke and other peers, and to re-establish the .religion of their fathers. They marched to Durham (Nov. 16), where they purified the churches by burning the heretical bibles and prayer-books. At Ripon they restored the mass; on Clifford-moor they mustered seven thousand

men. Richard Norton, a venerable old gentleman, who had joined them with his five sons, raised in their front a banner displaying the Saviour with the blood streaming from his five wounds. Finding that the catholics in general were loyal to the queen, and that Sussex was collecting an efficient force at York, they fell back to Hexham (Dec. 16). Here the footmen dispersed; the earls, with the horse, about five hundred in number, fled to Naworth and thence into Scotland.

Northumberland was taken and delivered to the regent, who confined him in Lochlevin Castle, and some years after he was given up to the English government, and was executed at York. Westmoreland made his escape to Flanders, and he died in 1584, commandant of a Spanish regiment. Numerous executions, as was to be expected, took place. The queen of Scots had been, for greater security, removed from Tutbury to Coventry.

Soon after Leonard Dacres collected about three thousand men at his castle of Naworth; the queen's cousin Carey lord Iiuntsdon* advanced from Durham with an equal number against him. They engaged on the banks of a stream named the Chelt (Feb. 22, 1570), and about three hundred fell on each side. The rebels were defeated; Dacres escaped to Scotland and thence to Flanders, where he died in poverty.

Elizabeth and Cecil were now fully conscious of the danger of having Mary in England, for, as that wise minister plainly saw, the horror inspired by her guilt would gradually soften down and give place to pity. Negotiations had been therefore set on foot with her and with the regent for her return to Scotland: indeed it is said there was a private treaty with Murray for giving her up to him. But the regent's sudden death put an end to all these projects. He was assassinated (Jan. 23, 1570), as he was riding through Linlithgow, by one Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, from motives of private revenge.

Like all other personages at this time, Murray appears in two opposite lights in the narratives of the opposite religious parties. His great abilities are, however, acknowledged by all; by the people he was long remembered as "the good regent," and his moral virtues were extolled by his catholic countrymen who were abroad. His zeal for the protestant religion seems to have been sincere, and he was altogether as free from defect as it was possible for a public man to be in those times

* He was the son of Mary Boleyn.

and in such a country as Scotland. But the advocates of **his** sister have, from his own time down to the present day, sought to make him the scapegoat for her sins, assuming, as Mackintosh says, " that she did nothing which she appears to have done, and that he did all that he appears to have cautiously abstained from doing."

The Scots and Kers border chiefs and partisans of Mary having made an inroad into England, Sussex invaded Scotland. The regency was soon after committed to the earl of Lennox, the young king's grandfather.

We can hardly conceive it possible for any one who reads with attention the various collections of state papers relating to this period of our history, to escape the conviction that there was an extensive conspiracy of the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, his vicegerent in the Netherlands, and in which the heads of the catholic party in France also shared, of which the object was the dethronement and probably the death of Elizabeth, the elevation of Mary in her place, and the overthrow of the protest ant religion. It is also certain that Mary knew and fully approved of this conspiracy, and secretly corresponded with the heads of it; that her catholic partisans in both England and Scotland were ready to take arms in support of it; that Norfolk was aware and approved of the measure, at least so far as related to the liberation of the queen of Scots and his own marriage with her; and it is probable that Arundel, Pembroke, and other nobles also knew of and favoured it. It is very remarkable that not two months after Mary's flight into England the English ministry got secret information to that effect; for sir Henry Norris* wrote to Cecil from Paris (July 7, 1568), that the night before he had had a private meeting with the French provost-marshal (at the desire of the latter), who said " he wished I should advertise that the queen's majesty *did hold the wolf that would devour her †;* and that it is conspired betwixt the king of Spain, the pope, and the French king that the queen should be destroyed, whereby the queen of Scots might succeed her majesty ;" with more to the same effect, mentioning particularly the name of Arundel. There is every reason to suppose that it was Catherine de' Medici herself who caused the information to be thus conveyed to Elizabeth, out of jealousy to Mary, or

* He was son to Norris who suffered death on account of Anne Boleyn, One of Elizabeth's first cares had been to promote this family.

† Id quodaiunt, *teneo lupum auribus.*—Ter. Phorm. iii, 3, 20.

through fear of seeing Britain under one head and perhaps closely united with Spain*.

We have noticed these particulars (and we could increase them to a great extent), to show that Mary was not the meek suffering saint that her admirers make herf. They will also serve to prove that Elizabeth was not actuated by pure malignity and female petty revenge in her treatment of her; she only *did hold the wolf that would devour her,* and acted from the great principle of self-preservation. The zealous and intolerant Pius V., just at this very time, as if to prove to the world that Elizabeth was justified in acting as she did, published (Feb. 25) his celebrated bull, *Regnans in excelsis,* in which, in the tone of a Gregory or an Innocent, he pronounced " the *pretended* queen of England" excommunicate and deprived of all title to her pretended kingdom, absolved all her subjects from their allegiance, and forbade them, under pain of excommunication, to obey her. Copies of this bull were forwarded to the duke of Alva, for distribution in the sea-ports of the Netherlands, and by him some were transmitted to the Spanish ambassador at London. On the morning of the 15th of May one of them was found affixed to the bishop of London's gate. Strict search was made ; a copy of the bull was discovered in the chambers of a student of Lincoln's Inn, who confessed that he had gotten it from & gentleman of good property named John Felton, who lived in Southwark. Felton when arrested owned that it was he who had posted it on the bishop's gate, and gloried in the deed ; he was tried, found guilty, and executed as a traitor; by himself and the more zealous Romanists he was viewed as a martyr. The bull, however, produced no immediate effect. "The time," says Lingard, "was

* " The cardinal (of Lorraine) showed the queen-mother how hurtful to the crown of France would the union of the isle of Britain he; and thought meet that she should advertise the queen of England to take order thereto, *which the queen-mother failed not to do.* This the queen (Mary) *told me herself,* complaining of the cardinal's unkindly dealing."—Melvill, p. 239.

† The love of power and the passion for revenge were leading traits in Mary's character. " She told me," writes Knolles in 1568, " she would rather that all her party were hanged than submit to Murray, and if she were not retained she would go into Turkey rather than not be revenged on him." Her dissimulation too was extreme; while she was writing to Elizabeth in this strain, " I wish you knew what sincerity of love and affection are in my heart for you," she prays the pope " to forgive her for writing loving and soothing letters to Elizabeth; she desires nothing more than the re-establishment of the catholic religion in England."

gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes;" a change for which, he might have added, the world is indebted to the reformers. Elizabeth is said to have applied to the emperor to use his influence to have it revoked, as she knew not what its effects might be on enthusiasts and bigots*.

The very day that Felton was arraigned the duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower, and was suffered to reside in his own house, under the mild custody of sir Henry Neville. He expressed his sorrow for what he had done, and bound himself not to proceed in the affair of his marriage without the queen's knowledge. Yet even while in the Tower he had carried on a correspondence with Mary, and now that he was at large he still kept it up.

Elizabeth, urged by the foreign ambassadors, and anxious herself to get rid of her dangerous captive, if it could be done with safety, sent Cecil and sir William Mildmay in October to Chatsworth, where Mary now was, to try if any accommodation could be effected. It was proposed that she should resign all claim to the throne of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her issuef; marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, and no one else without that of the states of Scotland ; send her son to be educated in England, etc. The earl of Morton and some others came to England as commissioners on the part of the young king. But nothing could be finally arranged, and the two queens and their friends made mutual charges of insincerity.

In the beginning of the year 1571, Elizabeth rewarded, in some slight degree, her most able and faithful minister sir William Cecil, by raising him to the peerage under the title of baron Burghley or Burleigh.

* " *She persuaded herself,"* says Lingard, *i"* that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion and domestic treason." She *knew* very well it was.

† The term *any issue* was used, and Mary insisted on the insertion of the word *lawful.* It is very plain, unless we believe the popish lies about Elizabeth, that the omission (like the employment of *natural* for *lawful* on a similar occasion) was caused by the queen's prudery, but Mary could not let slip the occasion of indulging her spite. She got, however, a reply that must have stung her. " Although," said Elizabeth, " we might make ourselves to be herein touched in honour, yet considering she may peradventure measure other folks' dispositions by her own actions, we are content," &c.

CHAPTER XL

.ELIZABETH (CONTINUED).

1571-1587.

T H E important relations between the queens of England and Scotland have hitherto occupied our attention almost exclusively. We must now take a view of the state of religious parties in England and on the continent.

The first ten years of Elizabeth's reign were termed her "halcyon days" as being free from disturbance domestic or foreign. From the moment of the arrival of the queen of Scots in England this tranquillity was at an end. Henceforth the authority, and even the life, of Elizabeth was assailed by conspiracies founded in religious fanaticism, and renewed without ceasing.

In those days religion was a matter of paramount importance in politics, and the strength of parties in a state was to be estimated by the number and influence of those who agreed in religious sentiments. There were three parties of this kind now in England; the catholics, the churchmen, and the puritans, as those who affected an extreme purity in religion, and held that the Reformation had not gone far enough, were named.

It is the opinion of Hume, that " of all the European churches which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much reason and moderation as the church of England." "The fabric," he adds, "of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire ; the ancient liturgy was preserved so far as was thought consistent with the new principles ; many ceremonies become venerable from age and preceding use were retained; the splendour of the Romish worship though removed had at least given place to order and decency; the distinctive habits of the clergy according to their different ranks were continued ; no innovation was admitted merely from spite and opposition to former usage ; and the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient superstition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and interests of society, had preserved itself in that happy medium which wise men have always sought,, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain."

The advantages of this moderation were felt in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; the catholics in general made little scruple of attending the church service, where, though they

might regret the absence of some things, there was little to offend them. Had they been left to themselves they would probably have been gradually weaned from their superstitions; but the court of Rome on the one hand, by sending missionary priests about to assure them that such conduct was impious; and the rigid intolerant puritans on the other, by urging measures of severity against them, equally contributed to make them remain in their old faith.

The puritans, though as a party they first acquired strength in the present reign, may be regarded as coeval with the Reformation. They were those men of an ardent, uncompromising (often self-sufficient) temper, who thought they could never recede too far from the churcli of Rome. The clerical habits, the surplice, tippet and square cap, retained in the Anglican church, were abominations in their sight; they viewed with equal horror the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage, of the organ in the divine service, and the practice of kneeling at the communion. When the excellent Hooper was to be raised to the see of Gloucester in Edward's reign he positively refused to put on the episcopal robes ; and he was committed to the Tower according to the practice of the age. Bucer, Peter Martyr and other foreign divines were consulted on the occasion. At length he consented to wear the robes at his consecration and during cathedral service, but only on these occasions. When the Marian persecution forced so many of the reformers to fly they were received with great kindness by the Calvinists abroad, and this confirmed them in their desire for simple, anti-Romish forms. The more learned and pious portion of the clergy in Elizabeth's reign may be reckoned of this party ; the better part of the protestant gentry belonged to it, as was evinced by the composition of the houses of commons^ it was favoured by Leicester and Walsingham among the ministers, and Burleigh himself was not adverse to it. The puritans were in fact the main support of protestantism in England, and the most determined foes of the queen of Scots. But archbishop Parker unwisely employed persecution againsfcthem ; they gradually seceded from the church, and many of them maintained the supremacy of the spiritual over the civil authority in terms more befitting a Gregory or an Innocent than the asserters of the rights of conscience.

_ The church party was the weakest of the three. Its chief supports were the queen herself and the primate. Elizabeth regarded her spiritual supremacy as the brightest jewel in her

crown, and would not be dictated to on that head. She was also partial to the splendour of public worship, and she had a lurking tendency to some of the Romish doctrines. She long kept a crucifix with tapers burning before it in her chapel, she inclined much to the doctrine of the real presence *, and was with difficulty restrained from prohibiting the marriage of the clergy.

Such was the state of parties in England; in France and Flanders the protestants, though the minority, were numerous and active. Persecution to no small extent had been employed without effect against them ; Charles V. had hanged, beheaded, buried alive or burnt 50,000 protestants according to Father Paul, 100,000 according,to Grotius, in the Netherlands; and Francis I. and his successor had laboured to suppress the Reformation in France. In the summer of the year 1565 a meeting at the desire of the pope took place at Bayoune between Charles IX. and his sister the queen of Spain ; the former was accompanied by his mother, the latter by the duke of Alva. Festivities occupied the day; at midnight Catherine and Alva, it is said, sat in secret conclave to discuss the mode of suppressing protestantism. To cut off its chiefs openly or secretly was Alva's plan. "One salmon's head," he would say, "is worth a thousand frogs." The principle was perhaps agreed on ; the mode was left to the course of events.

In 1568 Alva was sent with a large army to the Low Countries, where he exercised such tyranny and cruelty as eventually drove the people to insurrection. In France the protestants, named Huguenots, were headed by the king of Navarre, the prince of Condc, the admiral Coligni and other nobles ; the Guises were at the head of the other party ; the queen-mother and the king played them against each other. Recourse was frequently had to arms, and Elizabeth had on more occasions than one assisted the Huguenots with money, and even with men.

In the beginning of this year (1571) a parliament met after an interval of five years. The puritanic party were strong in it, and some members, especially Strickland and Paul Went-

* It cannot therefore be true that she eluded Gardiner, as is said, in her sister's reign by these well-known verses, which really belong to Dr. Donne:

" He was the Word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it;
And what that Word did make it
That I believe and take it."

worth, ventured to express themselves very firmly in opposition to the crown. Though the question of the queen's marriage was left untouched, the greatest zeal was manifested for her person and authority, and the first act passed was one making it treason to affirm that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that the laws cannot limit and determine the right to the crown and the succession ; to maintain that any person except the *natural issue** of her body is or ought to be her heir or successor, was made an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment, and the second time by *praemunire.* It was also made treason to publish papal bulls, absolutions, etc. ; to reconcile any one or be reconciled to the church of Rome. To import crucifixes, *agnus Dei,* or other popish trumpery, subjected the offender to the penalty of a *praemunire.*

The weak, ill-advised duke of Norfolk it was soon discovered was persisting in his treasonable projects. Mary's agent the bishop of Ross ; Ridolfi, an Italian trader, the medium of communication of Mary and Norfolk with Alva and the pope ; and the duke's secretary and two of his confidential servants, being arrested, it appeared from their confessions that a plan had been arranged that the duke of Alva should land with ten thousand men at Harwich, where he was to be joined by Norfolk and his friends, and they were to march to London and force the queen to consent to Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots, and to repeal the laws against the catholics. Norfolk, who knew not of the discoveries which had been made, was summoned before the council; he denied everything ; and the queen, who (as she always declared) would have pardoned him if he had confessed his guilt, committed him to the Tower (Sept. 7). On the 16th of January (1572) he was brought to trial before the lord steward and twenty-six peers. The trial was conducted with perfect fairness according to the mode then in use ; he defended himself with spirit and eloquence, but the peers unanimously pronounced him guilty. In various supplicatory letters which he wrote to the queen the duke acknowledged the justice of the verdict.

The conduct of the queen on this occasion tends much *to* elucidate her character, as it proves her aversion from blood-

* The employment of the word *natural* in this act originated, like the omission of *lawful* above mentioned, in royal prudery. " But the papistical libellers put the most absurd interpretation on it, as if it Was meant to secure the succession for some imaginary bastards by Leicester. And Dr. Lingard is not ashamed to insinuate the same suspicion." Hallam, i. 202.

, sied, and will incline us to believe that her behaviour in a similar case some years later was not mere hypocrisy. Norfolk's guilt was great and clear, yet she could not bring herself to put him to death. Burleigh writes to Walsingham (Feb. 11) thus: "I cannot write to you what is the inward cause of the stay of the duke of Norfolk's death, only that I find her majesty diversely disposed. Sometimes, when she speaketh of her danger, she concludes that justice should be done. Another time, when she speaks of his nearness of blood, of .his superiority of honour, *etc.* she stayeth. On Saturday she signed a warrant for his execution. On Monday all preparations were made and concourse of thousands yesterday morning; but suddenly on Sunday late in the night she sent for me and entered into great misliking that the duke should die the next day, and said she was and should be disquieted, and would have a new warrant made that night to the sheriffs to forbear." Again (Apr. 9) she signed a warrant, but she revoked it after midnight.

The queen's repugnancy to shed the blood of her kinsman and the first of her nobles was such that even Leicester gave it as his opinion that no execution would take place. But Burleigh and the other ministers pressed it; the commons when they assembled petitioned for it; the preachers were importunate ; and plots to liberate the prisoner were detected. A third warrant was not revoked, and on the 2nd of June, nearly five months after his trial, the duke was led to execution.

On the scaffold Norfolk acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and declared his attachment to the protestant faith. He died with constancy and resignation amidst the tears of the bystanders ; for his noble birth, his popnlar and engaging manners, and his munificent temper had endeared him to the people. His ambition united to weakness of character made him a tool in the hands of an artful woman * and the wily court of Rome, and brought him to an untimely end. lie certainly never dreamed of dethroning or injuring queen Elizabeth, by whom the necessity of his death was sincerely lamented †.

Abundant proofs had now been given of the share of the

* Though she had never seen him, her "political love-letters," as they have justly been called, are conceived in terms of the strongest affection.

† "The queen," writes Burleigh (June 6), "is somewhat sad for the duke of Norfolk's death." Two years after, when his sister lady Berkeley knelt to ask a favour of her, "No, no, my lady Berkeley," said she in haste, "we know you never will love us for the death of your brother."

queen of Scots in all the conspiracies against Elizabeth; Burleigh and other ministers had long been of opinion that nothing but her death would give security to the nation. The parliament resolved to proceed against her by bill of attainder, but the que#n positively forbade it. A bill was then introduced and passed to make her incapable of the succession, but the queen defeated this also by a prorogation (June 25).

In Scotland the lords of Mary's party had in the preceding year (Sept. 4) seized and put to death the regent Lennox. The earl of Mar succeeded, but he died shortly after and Morton was appointed regent. The lords of the queen's party laid down their arms on receiving an indemnity; and the regent, with the aid of sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, reduced the castle of Edinburgh, which was held out by Kirkcaldy of Grange and Lethington. The former was tried and executed; the latter died in prison by his own hand, as was generally believed.

On the eve of St. Bartholomew an atrocity without parallel in history was perpetrated in the French capital. All the leaders of the protestant party had been invited thither on the occasion of the marriage of the young king of Navarre, their ostensive head, with Margaret, sister of Charles IX. The marriage was celebrated on the 18th of August; four days after, the admiral Coligni was fired at and wounded from the window of a house belonging to a dependent of the duke of Guise. Next day (23rd) the king, the qucen-mothcr, and the court came to visit him. After midnight the tocsin sounded and the protestants were fallen on and massacred in their beds. The admiral, his son-in-law, Teligni, Rochefoucauld, and nearly one thousand more of the nobles and gentry, and five thousand other protestants perished. The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde only saved their lives by a change of religion. Similar massacres were perpetrated at Orleans, Rouen, Lyons, and other cities in the course of the succeeding month. They closed with one at Bordeaux on the 4th of October. The number of victims immolated to the demon of fanaticism is variously estimated at from 10,000 to 100,000; the duke de Sully gives the number at 70,000, the accurate and veracious Thuanus at 30,000 *. Medals were struck and an annual

* Dr. Lingard says that if we say about fifteen hundred " we shall perhaps not be far from the real amount"!! He must surely know, that however a monkish chronicler might mistake, a man like Thuanus was not capable of falling into such an enormous error.

procession of thanksgiving was appointed to commemorate it at Paris. The tidings were, received with every demonstration of joy at Madrid and in the camp of Alva. At Rome the pope and cardinals went to return thanks to Heaven for this event in the church of St. Louis, the canonised -king of France.

What the connexion of this atrocious deed was with the meeting at Bayonne, how long it had been premeditated, and by whom, and whether the young king was guilty or not of the fiendish dissimulation with which he has been charged, are questions into which we cannot now enter. We incline, however, to think that Charles really was deceived, and was made to believe that the Huguenots had formed a dangerous conspiracy, which could only be repressed by anticipating it.

The French ambassador in England, La Mothc Fenelon, was instructed to make this excuse to Elizabeth. He repaired to Woodstock, where the court was then residing. When admitted to an audience, he was led through rooms in which a silence like to that of the tombs prevailed. The lords and ladies habited in deep mourning took no notice of him as he passed. Elizabeth herself, however, listened to his excuses with calmness ; she then showed how inadequate they were, and expressed her desire that the king should institute an inquiry, and if the charge was found to be a calumny punish the authors of it. Her opinion of the king's intentions, she said, would be regulated by his conduct on this occasion. Only two days before the massacre Fenelon had proposed to her a marriage with the duke of Alem;on, Charles's youngest brother, though he was a youth of but seventeen years. She let the treaty still go on, and when Charles soon after had a daughter born to him, she accepted the invitation to stand godmother, and sent the earl of Worcester, a catholic nobleman, to represent her at the christening.

This temporising policy was forced upon Elizabeth by the circumstances of the times. Every day gave fresh proof of the determination of the catholic powers to exterminate the reformers. Should they succeed in France and the Netherlands, England might be the next object of attack,, and the claim of the queen of Scots be supported by foreign armies; it was therefore the interest of the English queen to neutralize, if nothing more, the court of France. Burleigh, Walsingham, and the other statesmen believed the death of Mary to be absolutely necessary for the safety of Elizabeth. Sandys bishop

of London, writing at this time to Burleigh on the state of affairs, suggested as one of the precautionary measures, "forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head :" and Henry Killigrew was sent (Sept. 7) into Scotland to propose to the then regent Mar to deliver her up to him and his party, provided "they should give good assurance to proceed with her by way of justice, as they had already many times offered to do." It is assumed that the upright character of Mar was the cause of this measure not being carried into effect; but as he died, and was immediately succeeded by Morton (Nov. 9), we may, with perhaps more probability, ascribe it to Elizabeth's aversion from bloodshed.

The apprehended storm, however, did not burst upon England. The Huguenots quickly recovered from the stupor into which the massacre had thrown them, and resumed their arms ; Elizabeth connived at money and men being sent to them out of England. In a similar underhand manner she aided the prince of Orange and the protestants of the Netherlands. Charles IX. died of pulmonary consumption (1574) ; the duke of Anjou, who had been elected king of Poland, succeeded him under the name of Henry III. ; the king of Navarre and prince of Conde made their escape, resumed the protestant religion and became the heads of the Huguenots ; they were also joined by the duke of Alencon, now Anjou, and the king gave them most favourable terms (1576); the catholics in return formed the LEAGUE headed by the Guises in concert with the king of Spain.

During all this time the utmost tranquillity prevailed in England, the queen of Scots, hopeless of aid from her own country (where the regent Morton merely ruled under Elizabeth), or from the catholic princes, seems to have abstained from her machinations, and the catholics, in general connived at in their private worship, remained at rest. Elizabeth, in those stately progresses which she was in the habit of making every year, found the means of extending her popularity, and endearing herself to all orders of her people. Commercial and maritime enterprise much engaged the public mind. A trade was established with the Levant; the Russian trade, which had commenced in the late reign, was maintained; various efforts were made to reach the east by the north of Europe or America, and so early as 1567, Martin Frobisher penetrated to the sea afterwards named Hudson's Bay. Other adventurers pursued a more lucrative but less honourable

course. John Hawkins, for example, a gentleman of Devon, fitted out vessels with which he proceeded to the coast of Africa, and seizing the inoffensive natives, sold them for slaves to the Spaniards in America.

But the man who most distinguished himself at this time was Francis Drake. The father *of* this great navigator was a man in humble circumstances in Devon, who, having embraced the reformed doctrines in the time of Henry VIII., found it necessary, on account of the Six Articles, to remove to Kent. In the reign of Edward VI. he got into orders, and was made vicar of Upnore, near Chatham, on the Med way. He put his son Francis to a neighbour of his, the master of **a** bark, who *on* his death left his ship to the youth. In 1507 Drake sold his bark and went and joined Hawkins, then about to sail on an expedition to America; but in the bay of St. Juan de Ulloa they were attacked by a superior Spanish force and defeated. Drake thus lost his all, but "by playing the seaman and the pirate" for some years he retrieved his fortune. A divine in the navy having satisfied him as to the lawfulness of his design, he set sail with a man of war named the Dragon and two pinnaces in 15/2, and attacked and took the town of Nombre de Dios on the isthmus of Panama. Having been informed by some Cimarrons (runaway negroes) of the approach of a caravan of mules with treasure from Panama, he waylaid and plundered it. As he was roaming over the isthmus under the guidance of the Cimarrons, they showed him from the top of a mountain the Pacific Ocean. He fell on his knees, made a vow to visit that sea, and implored the divine aid for his enterprise.

On the 13th of December, 1577, Drake sailed from Plymouth with five ships, carrying one hundred and sixty-three men. Having on his way taken the crews and stores out of two of his ships, which he then turned adrift, he passed Magellan's Straits with the remaining three. A violent tempest then came on and dispersed them; one returned through the straits, another was lost; Drake with the third proceeded along the coast of Chili and Peru, making descents and plundering the ships which he found in harbour, or on sea; for as an enemy had never appeared in these seas the Spaniards were without suspicion. As the alarm was now given, he feared to return by tire way he came; he therefore boldly stretched across the ocean westwards, and reached the Moluccas, whence he proceeded to Java, and thence to the **Cape** of

Good Hope. He landed at Plymouth on the 3rd of November, 1580, after an absence of three years all but six weeks. He then went round to the Thames, and his ship was laid up at Deptford, where the queen condescended to partake of a banquet on board, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood. The amount of his plunder was 800,000l., a tenth of which was divided among the officers and crew of the ship. A large sum was afterwards paid ever to a Spaniard who represented himself as the agent for those who had been plundered, and the queen learned, when too late, that instead of being given to the real owners, it was employed for the payment of the troops in the Netherlands.

The treaty for a marriage with the duke of Anjou still went on. In 1578 this prince sent over one Simicr, a man of wit and capacity, as his agent; and Simicr made himself so agreeable to Elizabeth that Leicester began to fear that she would overcome her aversion to marriage, and he himself thus lose his influence with ber. He therefore, to injure Simier in her opinion, gave out that he had bewitched her by magic arts; Simier in revenge informed the queen of a matter which Leicester had studiously concealed from her, namely, that he had been privately married to the widow of lord Essex. Elizabeth, who had such a strange aversion to marriage in others as well as in herself, was so enraged, that, but for the intercession of lord Sussex, his personal enemy, she would have sent him to the Tower. Leicester was then accused of having employed one Tudor, of the queen's guard, to assassinate Simier. It happened too that as the queen was rowing one day in her barge on the Thames, in company with Simier and some others, a shot was fired by a young man in a boat which wounded one of her bargemen. A design to murder herself or Simicr was at once supposed ; but the young man having proved that the piece went off by accident he was pardoned at the gallows. Elizabeth said on this, as on several other occasions, that she would believe nothing of ber people which parents would not believe of their own children.

Anjou himself came over soon after, and had a private interview with Elizabeth at Greenwich ; and it is rather curious, that though she was such an admirer of personal beauty, and the duke's face had been sadly disfigured by the small pox, she was so far pleased with him that she seems to have had serious thoughts of marrying him. After a month or two she directed

Burleigh, Sussex, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham to confer with Simier on the subject.

The acquisition of the crown and dominions of Portugal by Philip of Spain in 1580, made the court of France most anxious for a close connection with that of England. A Splendid embassy was sent thither (1581) to treat of the marriage. Elizabeth's heart was certainly in favour of the duke; marriage-articles were actually agreed on, and the union was to take place in six weeks. A clause, however, Was added which would enable her to recede if she pleased.

The truth is there was a violent struggle in the queen's breast between prudence and inclination. Anjou had certainlv made an impression on her heart, and her pride was gratified at the prospect of an alliance with the royal house of France. On the other hand her good sense suggested to her the folly of a woman in her forty-ninth year marrying a young man, and her subjects in general and several of her ministers were adverse to a connection with the blood-stained house of Valois; and now indeed, as there was so little prospect of her bearing children, they were little anxious for her marriage at all. An honest hut hot-headed puritan of Lincoln's-inn, named Stubbs, wrote a book, entitled "The Gulf in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." The queen caused him and the printer, and one Page who circulated it, to be prosecuted, under an act passed in her sister's reign, and they were sentenced to lose their right hands. *The sentence was executed on Stubbs and Page, and the former, loyal in the face of injustice and cruelty, instantly took off his hat with his remaining hand, and waving it over his head, cried "God save the queen!" A person of much higher rank than poor Stubbs also wrote against the marriage; sir Philip Sidney, the gallant warrior and accomplished scholar, addressed an able and elegant letter to the queen on the subject.

Anjou was at this time in the Netherlands. The people of the provinces in revolt had some years before (1575) offered the sovereignty, of which they declared Philip deprived, to the queen of England; she had prudently declined it at that time, and when it was again offered to her (1580) she persisted in her resolution. It was then proffered to the duke of Anjou; and his brother permitted him to accept it, and secretly supplied him with money. He entered the Netherlands with about fifteen thousand men, and he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Cambray; Elizabeth had on this occasion proved **her**

Tegard for him by sending him a present of 100,000 crowns. At the close of the campaign he came over to England, where his reception from the queen was most flattering, A few day[e] after the anniversary of her accession (Nov. 22), she, in the presence of her court, drew a ring from her finger and placed it on his in token of pledging herself to him. The affair was now regarded as decided; the envoy from the Netherlands wrote off instantly, and public rejoicings were made at Antwerp and other towns. But Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, who were strongly opposed to the match, remonstrated earnestly with the queen, and when she retired her ladies of the bed-chamber fell on their knees and with sighs and tears conjured her to pause, representing the evil consequences that might ensue. She passed a sleepless and uneasy night; next morning she had a long conversation with the duke, in which she exposed her reasons for sacrificing her inclinations to her duty to her people. He withdrew deeply mortified to his apartments, where he flung away the ring, exclaiming against the fickleness of women and islanders. He however remained in England till the following year (1582), the queen still giving him hopes. When he departed (Feb. 8) she made him promise to return in a month; accompanied him as far as Canterbury; and sent Leicester and a gallant train to attend him even to Brussels. He was now made duke of Brabant and earl of Flanders, but attempting some time after to make himself absolute he was drtven out of the country, and he died in France (1584) after a tedious illness, mourned by Elizabeth, who really loved him, though his character seems to have been %9 vicious as those of the rest of his family. A union with him would certainly have been productive of neither advantage nor happiness to the queen or her people.

The laws against *recusants*, as the catholics were now called, were at this time put into more rigorous execution than heretofore. We are uo advocates for persecution, but we require in justice that the queen and her council should be judged by the maxims and practice of the sixteenth and not by those of the nineteenth century, and not be condemned for employing the means then in use for counteracting the plots of the pope and king of Spain for overthrowing the protestant religion in England, and depriving the queen of her crown and life. The laws passed for the security of the queen and the reformed religion were certainly most severe, and to our ideas most unjust; but er mplaint ill became the catholics, who had never,

where they had the power, shown the least symptom of a tolerating spirit, and if they chose to violate these laws their punishment was merited on their own principles.

There were two classes of Romish priests who sought the glory of martyrdom in England, the Jesuits and the Seminary-priests. The former society, the most able support of the pretensions of the papacy, had been founded in the time of Charles V. ; in blind obedience to the mandates of its General or chief, who resided at Rome, it most strongly resembled the Assassins of the East, and so many murders were at this time perpetrated or instigated by Jesuits, that we fear their principles justified every crime committed in the cause of Rome. The Serninary-priests were a better sort of men. Fearing that when queen Mary's priests, as the catholic clergymen who still lingered in England were called, should die off, the people there would conform to the protestant religion for want of teachers of their own, William Allen, who had been a fellow of Oxford, conceived the design of forming seminaries on the continent for the education of missionaries to be sent to England. The pope approved of the project and contributed money. Allen opened the first seminary at Douay in 1568; others were afterwards established at Rome, Valladolid and elsewhere. Zealous English catholics secretly sent their children to be educated at them, in order that they might return as missionaries to teach the doctrines of their church, and inculcate, what the English government regarded as rebellion, that the queen should be deposed as a heretic.

The first who suffered was a priest named Maine, in Cornwall (1577). He was charged with having obtained a hull from Rome, denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass in a private house. lie was executed at Launceston as a traitor. Mr. Tregian, the gentleman in whose house he was taken, suffered the penalty of a praemunire, his estate was seized, and he remained in prison till his death. The next year, Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, were executed for denying the supremacy.

In 1580 the Jesuits made their first appearance in England. Persons and Campian, both formerly members of the university of Oxford, where they had professed protestantism, but who were now members of the society of Jesuits, came over, and under various disguises, as soldiers, as protestant ministers and so forth, went through the country confirming the catholics in their religion. A chief part of their commission was to

quiet the minds of the scrupulous by giving them the sense put by Gregory XIII. on the bull of Pius V., namely, that it was always binding on Elizabeth and the heretics, but not on the catholics till they could put it in execution, that is to say, they were to obey the queen until they were able to dethrone her. The notions on this head, however, advanced by Persons, were so offensive to many catholics, that they had thoughts of seizing him and giving him up to the government. Campian, a far better man, put forth papers offering to dispute on the points in controversy before the universities.

A diligent search was set on foot, and after a year's pursuit Campian was taken and committed to the Tower. According to the barbarous practice of the age he was pat to the rack, and he revealed the names of several of those who had received him into their houses. Campian and twelve other priests were indicted on the 25th Edw. III. According to the printed trial nothing could be more unfair than the manner in which the trial was conducted, nothing more feeble than the evidence given*. They were, however, found guilty, and Campian and two others were executed forthwith, and seven of the remainder some months after. It is impossible not to feel pity for the fate of these upright, pious men, but we must at the same time recollect that however they might disguise it from themselves, their ultimate object was the overthrow of the government; there was probably not one of them who did not deem it his duty to dethrone Elizabeth and to place Mary on the throne. They would not in fact have been Jesuits or even catholics, if they did not; and if sincerity and purity of motive are to excuse conspiracy, governments will often find it difficult to justify themselves in punishing rebels.

Affairs in Scotland at this time caused some uneasiness to the English cabinet. Morton, though his vigorous rule kept the country quiet, gave great offence by his harshness and avarice. He at length resigned his authority (1578) into-the hands of the king, now in his thirteenth year, and the royal child seemed to administer the government; but Morton soon recovered his influence. The following year, however, the Guise party sent Stuart lord of Aubigny over to Scotland, and his amiable manners soon won the heart of James, who created him* earl and afterwards duke of Lennox; another favourite

* Hallam (i. 198) is of opinion that the account of the trial was " compiled by a partial hand."

was Stuart of Ochiltree, afterwards earl of Arran. These two combined against Morton, and at their impulsion he was brought to trial (1581) for the murder of the king's father. He was found guilty and executed, in spite of the exertions of Elizabeth, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Orange to save him. His execution proves the boldness and ambition of Arran, not the fhjal piety of James *.

The Jesuits resolved to take advantage of the death of Morton and the influence of the catholic Lennox. Waytes, an English priest, and then Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, appeared at Holy rood-house. James received them favourably, and as he complained of want of money it was hoped by supplying him with it to gain him over to their projects. Persons and Creighton repaired to Paris, where they secretly consulted with the duke of Guise, the papal nuncio, the provincial of the Jesuits, the Spanish ambassador, Mary's agent the bishop of Glasgow, and Dr. Allen the founder of the seminaries. It was agreed that Mary and James should be associated in the throne, and the pope and king of Spain be solicited to supply James with money †. The plan was communicated to Mary, who approved of it, as also it is said did Lennox and Arran, and James himself. But the Raid of Ruthvcn, as it was called, disconcerted all these projects. James was seized by the earl of Gowrie in concert with some of the leading protestants, and forced to dismiss Lennox and Arran, the former of whom retired to France, where he died soon after; the latter was cast into prison. Whether the English council were cognisant of the Raid or not is uncertain. They knew of the consultation in Paris and of its objects, and how vital it was to England that the supreme power in Scotland should be in the hands of protestants. Sir Henry Carey and sir Robert Bowes were sent to congratulate James on his deliverance from the counsels of Lennox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the late seeming violence; and to procure the recall of the earl of Angus. James readily

* Elizabeth justly said to the bishop of St. Andrews, "I wonder that James has had the earl of Morton executed, as guilty of the death of the king his father, and that he requires Archibald Douglas to be given up in order to treat him in the same manner. *Why does he not desire his mother to be given up in order to punish her for that crime?"*—Castelnau, Letters to the Queen of Scots in 1584.

† "It is probable," says Lingard, "that other projects, with which we are unacquainted, were also formed." No doubt the dethronement of Elizabeth was one.

assented to the return of Angus, and he dissembled his resentment against his captors. Mary at this time wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, of which no notice seems to have been taken; for the queen was well aware of her machinations *.

By a bold effort James succeeded (1583) in freeing himself from the restraint in which he was held. Most of the opposite party quitted the kingdom, and Arran recovered his influence, Elizabeth, desirous of knowing accurately ttie character of the young monarch, sent the aged and sagacious Walsingham on an embassy to his court. James, who had been the pupil of the illustrious Buchanan, and had naturally good parts, shone in conversation, and Walsingham conceived an opinion of his abilities beyond what they were entitled to. The tyranny of Arran soon (1584), however, caused his downfall, and the English party regained their ascendency in the Scottish council to the great satisfaction of Elizabeth. On Arran[1] s return to power, the conclave at Paris had proposed that James should invade the northern counties while Guise should land with an army in the south of England to liberate Mary and dethrone Elizabeth. It would appear to be the knowledge of this plan that made the queen take no notice of a renewed proposal of Mary for transferring all her authority to her son if she were set at liberty. For Creighton, being taken by a Dutch cruizer on his return to Scotland at this time, tore his papers and threw them into the sea, but the wind blowing them back they were put together, and revealed the plan for invading England. He was given up to the English government, and being menaced with the rack made a full disclosure of the plot.

The government had so many proofs of the foreign and domestic conspiracy in favour of the queen of Scots, that they found it needful to have recourse to every possible expedient for discovering those concerned in it. In a moral point of view the employment of spies may be reprehensible, but in times of danger no government has yet been found to abstain from this mode of discovering and thwarting the designs of their enemies; and never did ministers better know how to

* " If the queen of Scotland," said she to Castelnau in January 1583, " had had any one else to deal with she would have lost her head long ago. She has a correspondence with rebels in England, agents in Paris, Rome, and Madrid, and carries on plots against me all over Christendom, the object of which (as messengers who have been taken confess) is to deprive me of my kingdom and my life."

manage it than Cecil and Walsingham. Spies were now employed, informers were listened to, the more questionable expedient of sending counterfeit letters in the name of the queen of Scots or of the exiles to the houses of suspected catholics, was, it is said, resorted to. The information thus gained led to the arrest of two gentlemen named Throgmorton; the lord Paget and Charles Arundel immediately fled to France; the earl of Northumberland (brother of the late earl) and the carl of Arundel (son of the late duke of Norfolk) were called before the council and examined. A letter to Mary on the subject of a rising having been intercepted, Francis Throgmorton was put to the rack; he owned to having concerted the plan of an invasion and a rising of the catholics with Mendoza the Spanish ambassador; on his trial he denied it; after his condemnation he again confessed it; on the scaffold he denied it once more. Mendoza, however, was ordered to depart the kingdom. He retired to Paris, where he gratified his malignity by publishing lies of the queen and her ministers, and by aiding every plan for raising a rebellion in England.

It is gratifying to observe at this time the affection which the people displayed for their glorious queen. The French ambassador writes thus: "Queen Elizabeth has told me that several conspiracies, directed by the Jesuits, have been, by the goodness of God, discovered. Latterly, when she has appeared in public, whole crowds of people fell on their knees as she passed, prayed in various ways, invoked upon her a thousand blessings, and hoped that all her wicked enemies might be discovered and punished. She often stopped and returned thanks for all this love. When I was alone with her (she rode on a good horse) amidst all this crowd she said to me, * You see that all do not wish me ill.'" A further proof of this affection was given by the zeal with which men of all ranks pressed forward to subscribe a bond of association framed by Leicester and some others of the council for her security. Its purport was to defend her person, to avenge her death or any injury done her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants for whose advantage or at whose suggestion any evil should befall her. The queen of Scots saw plainly that she was the person aimed at, and to remove suspicion she begged to be allowed to subscribe the bond, but the permission was refused. She was at this time at Wingfield under the custody of sir Ralph Sadler.

When parliament met (Nov. 23) an act was passed "for **the**

security of the queen's person and continuance of the realm in peace." It enacts that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or "for any person pretending a title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if anything be compassed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person with the privity of any such person, a certain number of peers and others commissioned by the queen should examine and give judgement thereon, and all persons against whom such judgement should be published should be disabled for ever from claiming the crown. The object of this act was to obtain from the reluctant queen, in case of any rebellious movements, an absolute exclusion of Mary from the succession.

A most severe law was passed against the catholics. The Jesuits and priests were ordefed to quit the kingdom within forty days; those who remained beyond that time or returned should be guilty of treason; those who harboured or relieved them of felony; students at the seminaries were to be guilty of treason if they did not return within six months ; those supplying them with money to be liable to a praemunire, etc.

This bill was opposed by one Dr. Tarry, a civilian, who described it as "a measure savouring of blood, danger, and despair to English subjects;" for this he was committed, but he was released next day by the queen's order. Soon after he was sent to the Tower, being accused by Edmund Neville of a design to assassinate the queen. He confessed his guilt, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor.

Parry's confession was in substance as follows. He was in the queen's service from 16/0 to 1580, when having attempted to kill a man to whom he was in debt, and having obtained a pardon, he went to Paris, where he was reconciled to the church of Rome. At Venice, some time after, he hinted to a Jesuit named Palmio that he had found a way to relieve the English catholics if the pope or any learned divines would justify it as lawful. Palmio extolled the project (which was to kill the queen) as a pious design, and recommended him to the nuncio ; letters of safe conduct for Parry to go to Rome were sent by cardinal Como. He returned, however, to Paris, and there conversing with his countryman Morgan, the agent of the queen of Scots, he declared himself ready to kill the greatest subject in England in the cause of the church. "Why not the queen herself ?" said Morgan. But of this Parry now had doubts, as Watts an English priest and Creighton the Scottish Jesuit had assured him it was not lawful. The nuncio

Bagazzoni, however, confirmed him in his design, and he received after his return to England a.letter from cardinal Como in the pope's name commending his project and giving him absolution. He communicated this letter to "some in court," and he had various interviews with the queen, on which occasions (such is the force of natural feelings) he always went unarmed lest he might be tempted to injure her. A book which Dr. Allen had lately written, however, confirmed him again in his resolution; he communicated it to Neville; they arranged their plan; but lord Westmorland happening to die at this time, Neville, in hopes of getting the family estates, betrayed his confederate.

Without stopping to inquire how far this confession is true or false, we will only observe that the world had just had a convincing proof that the catholic party scrupled not at assassination. On the 10th of July, 1584, the great prince of Orange was shot by a man named Balthazar Gerard, who confessed that he had been kept for some time in the Jesuits' college at Treves by one of the brotherhood, who approved of his design and instructed him how to proceed. Philip II. had set a large reward on the prince's head, and his great general the prince of Parma sullied his fame by personally examining the qualifications of the assassins who presented themselves.

The Dutch were dismayed at the loss of their hero and at the rapid progress of the prince of Parma, and they sent again offering the sovereignty to Elizabeth. The matter was anxiously debated in the English council; the danger to the protestant interest was imminent; Philip was in the zenith of his power; the league was nearly triumphant in France; and if the Dutch were subdued England would certainly be attacked. Elizabeth boldly resolved to face the danger at once and, as the king of Sweden said when he heard of it, take the diadem from her head and hazard it on the chance of war. She declined the proffered sovereignty, but agreed to aid the States with a force of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be maintained at her expense during the war; the money thus expended to be repaid by the States when peace should have been concluded (1585).

The chief command was given to the earl of Leicester, who though by no means deficient in courage or talents, was totally without military experience, and he was to be opposed to the first general of the age. He landed at Flushing (Dec. 10), accompanied by the gallant young earl of Essex, his step-son,

and a company of nobles, knights, and gentlemen to the number of five hundred. The States, in the expectation of gratifying Elizabeth by honouring her favourite, bestowed on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, gave him a guard, and treated him nearly like a sovereign. But these proceedings were by no means pleasing to the queen ; she wrote in very angry terms to both him and the States, and was not appeased without difficulty. "We little thought," wrote she to the earl, "that *one whom we have raised out of the dust* and surrounded with singular honour above all others would with so great contempt have broken our commandment in a matter of so great weight." Leicester's first campaign (1586) was not very brilliant, neither was it quite so discreditable as it is represented by writers hostile to his memory. The most remarkable event of it was the death of his nephew sir Philip Sidney, the ornament of his age and country, equally distinguished in arms, in literature and in manners, the nearest approach perhaps to the ideal of the pertect knight that has ever appeared.

The unfortunate event thus occurred. The prince of Parma having sent some troops to the relief of Zutphen, which Leicester had invested, they fell in with an inferior force of the besieging army. Sidney was among the latter, and his horse being killed under him, he was mounting another when a musket ball struck him in the thigh. He turned and rode back to the main army ; loss of blood making him thirsty he called for drink ; a bottle of water was given him ; he put it to his lips, but seeing a wounded soldier looking wistfully at it, he said, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine," and handed it to him. After lingering for about three weeks he breathed his last with the utmost piety and resignation (Oct. 16). Leicester did not remain long after in Holland. On his return to the Hague he was assailed with complaints on his conduct by the States. He gave them fair words and then sailed for England (Dec. 3), where the case of the queen of Scots now called for his presence.

While Leicester was thus inglorious in the Netherlands, Drake, who had been sent to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, had had more success. He took St. Domingo, Carthagena, and some other towns, and returned with booty valued at 60,000l., and 240 pieces of cannon.

A league offensive and defensive was formed this year between Elizabeth and the king of Scots, for the mutual de-

fence of their dominions and their religion against the catholic power. The queen was to grant James a pension of 5000/. a year, equivalent to his claim on the English property of his paternal grandmother lately deceased.

In the summer of this year a conspiracy against the queen of the most dangerous character was detected by the sagacity of Walsingham. Some priests at Rheims, actuated by a fanatical hatred of Elizabeth, and regarding the deposing bull of Pius V. as inspired by the Holy Ghost, had worked themselves into a belief that her assassination would be an act meritorious in the sight of God. Three of these men, Dr. Gifford, his brother Gilbert, and one llodgeson, instigated a man named John Savage, who had served in the Spanish army, to the deed,, instructed him how to perform it, and sent him over with strong recommendations to the English catholics. About this time also, one Ballard, a seminary-priest, came from England to Paris, and stating there to the enemies of Elizabeth the readiness of the English catholics to rise if an invasion were made, for which the present was the time, as the best troops were away with Leicester in Holland, a plan for that purpose was devised, and Ballard was sent back to prepare the catholics. It does not appear that the assassination of the queen was determined on, though Charles Paget asserted that there was no use in invading England as long as she lived.

Ballard came over in the disguise of a soldier, calling himself captain Fortescue. He disclosed the project to Antony Babiugton, a young man of good fortune in Derbyshire, who had been recommended to Mary by Morgan and the bishop of Glasgow, and had been for some time the agent in conveying letters between her and them. Babington at once approved of the plot; but like Paget, maintained that there was no chance while the queen lived. Ballard then told him of Savage; but he objected to committing a matter of such importance to the hand of one man, and proposed to join with him five others for whose courage and fidelity he could answer. Ballard agreed, and Babington then opened his views to some catholic gentlemen, his intimate friends, who readily consented to join in them*. . The correspondence was renewed between

* They were Edw. Windsor, Thos. Salisbury, Chas. Tilney, Chidicok Tichbounie, Edw. Abingdon, Rob. Gage, John Charnock, John Travers, John Jones, Henry Dunn, and Barnwell, an Irish gentleman. Of these, Tilney,Tichbounie, Abingdon, Barnwell,and Charnock were appointed with Savage, to- murder the queen. Tilney and Tichbounie at first refused ; but their scruples were overcome by Ballard and Babington. Salisbury could not be induced to attempt her life.

Babington and Mary, who expressed her perfect approbation of the plan in all its parts. She was now at Chartley in Staffordshire, under the charge of sir Amias Paulet, a rigid puritan, but a man of strict honour.

The conspirators were in general vain thoughtless young men, as is proved by their folly of having a painting made of the six who were to murder the queen, with Babington in the midst of them; for, in reliance on each other's houour, they deemed themselves secure from discovery. But all their doings were well-known to Walsingham; a priest named Maud, who had accompanied Ballard to France, was in his pay, as also was Polly, one of Babington's confederates. Finally, when Gilbert Gifford was sent over to England to urge on Savage, he privately tendered his services to Walsingham. As Gifford was to be the medium for communicating with the queen of Scots, Walsingham wished Paulet to connive at his bribing one of his servants; but to this the scrupulous puritan would not consent: he, however, suffered a brewer's boy who served the house with beer to be the agent, and the letters were conveyed through a hole in a wail, which was stopped with a loose stone. Ballard and Babington being suspicious of Gifford gave him at first only blank letters; but finding that these went safe, they dropped all suspicions. The whole correspondence thus passed through the hands of Walsingham; all the letters were deciphered and copied, and the entire plot and the names of the actors were discovered. Walsinsham communicated what he had learned to no one but the queen.

Babington wished to send Ballard abroad to urge the foreign invasion, and had procured a license for him under a feigned name. He also intended to go himself for the'same purpose, and applied to Walsingham, affecting great zeal for the queen's cause. The minister kept him in hand, and even induced him to come to reside in the meantime at his house. Walsingham wished to carry on this secret mode of proceeding still longer; but the queen said that by not preventing the danger in time she "should seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God." Ballard therefore was arrested. Babington was then desirous that no time should be lost in killing the queen, and he gave his ring and some money to Savage, whose appearance was very shabby, that he might buy himself good clothes for the purpose. Finding soon after that the plot was known or suspected, the conspirators all stole out of London, and lurked for some days in St. John's Wood and other places about the city. But thev were taken in a short time and put into prison, where

they voluntarily made most ample confessions. They were tried, and sentenced to be executed as traitors. On the 20th of September, Ballard, Babington, Savage, and four others were hung in St. Giles's fields. After the ancient manner, they were cut down while still alive and their bowels taken out before their faces ; but the queen when she heard of this cruelty gave strict orders that the remainder should not he embowelled or quartered till they had hung to be dead.

When the conspirators were arrested, sir Thomas Gorges was sent from court with the tidings to the queen of Scots. She was on her horse ready to go hunting when he arrived. She wished to return to her chamber, but she was not permitted. She was soon after brought back to Chartley, and was then conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she at length reached Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire (Sept. 26). During her first absence from Chartley, her two secretaries, Nan, a Frenchman, and Curie, a Scot, were arrested and sent up to London ; her cabinets were at the same time broken open, and her extensive correspondence both in England and on the continent was discovered and seized.

Abundant evidence having been now procured against the queen of Scots, the question with the council was how she should be treated. Some were for keeping her in strict confinement, as it was reckoned that she could not live long, her health being in a declining state. But Burleigh and Walsingham knew that while she lived she would never cease to plot the ruin of the queen and the protestant religion ; and self-preservation urged them also, for if she were to succeed to the throne their lives they knew would be the forfeit of their loyalty to their queen. Leicester, who was in Holland, suggested the employment of poison, and sent a divine to Walsingham to justify this course ; but that upright statesman rejected it, protesting against all violence except by sentence of law. It was finally resolved to bring her to trial on the late act, and a commission of forty noblemen, privy counsellors, and judges, of both religions, was appointed to examine and give judgement on ber.

On the 11th of October the commissioners came to Fotheringay. Next morning they sent to Mary a letter from the queen, charging her with being accessory to the late conspiracy, and informing her of the commission appointed to try her. She read the letter calmly, denied the charges, and declared

that, being an absolute [independent] queen, she would not derogate from her rank by submitting to this trial. The following day, lord Burleigh, and the chancellor, and some others waited on her; they urged her "with fair words" to submit, at the same time assuring her that her refusal would not prevent them from proceeding. She still, however, persisted; but Hatton's speech, in which he made her obsene, that if she was innocent, as she asserted, she wronged her reputation by refusing a trial before honourable upright men, had some effect on her. She offered to answer before the parliament, or the queen in council, provided she were acknowledged next in succession. She at the same time declared that she would never submit to the law named in the commission. Burleigh told her they would nevertheless proceed in the cause next day. "Examine your consciences," said she, "be tender of your honour; God reward you and yours according to your judgement upon me."

Next morning (14th) she sent for some of the commissioners, and said that having well weighed Hatton's reasons she was willing to appear, provided her protest was received. They assented; the court was prepared; at one end of the room was placed under a cauopy a chair of state for the queen of England; opposite at some distance stood a chair for the queen of Scots; the commissioners sat on benches on each side, the law officers at a table in the centre.

The queen having taken her seat the chancellor addressed her; she renewed her protest: he replied, and the protest and reply were recorded. The case was then opened by Serjeant Gaudy, accusing her of participation in Babington's conspiracy. She denied all knowledge of him or Ballard. Babington's letters to her were then read; she defied them to prove that she had received them; parts of his confession were read, stating the substance of the letters he said he had received from her. Mention occurring in these of Arundel and his brothers, she burst into tears, saying, "Alas! what hath that noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake!" She then said that let Babington have confessed what he might, it was all a flat lie that she had thus written to him. Finally a letter of hers to Babington was produced, in which she commended and approved of his plot; she demanded a copy of it, asserted it was a forgery, and hinted at Walsingham as the forger. The secretary rose and defended himself with dignity, and the queen apologised.

In the afternoon the court resumed. A copy of a letter to her from Charles Paget concerning an invasion of England was read; she did not deny it. She was then pressed with the testimonies of her secretaries; Curie she said was an honest man, hut he was too pliant to Nau, of whom she did not think so well; they might have inserted things in her letters without her knowledge, and have received letters which they concealed from her. Burleigh then charged her with her intention of having her son carried to Spain, and of conveying her claims to Philip; this she did not deny. The substance of her letters to Englefield, Paget and Mendoza about an invasion in her favour was then read; she said she thought herself justified in so doing, but denied any intention *of* injuring the queen's life. The court was then adjourned.

Next day (16th) she renewed her protest, which was recorded. Her letters to Paget were again read, in which she recommended the invasion of England and placing her on the throne, and one from Allen in which he addressed her as his sovereign. She again denied all knowledge of Babington's plot, and asserted that he and her secretaries had accused her to save themselves. She finally required to be heard in a full parliament, or by the queen in council. She rose, and when she had conferred apart with Burleigh, Hatton, Walsingham and lord Warwick, the court was adiourned to the 25th in the star-chamber at Westminster.

It is impossible to read the full account of this remarkable trial without admiring the ability with which Mary sustained the contest against overwhelming evidence, and the ablest men in England. Her great anxiety seems to have been to clear herself from participating in the plot for assassinating Elizabeth; but there was only her simple assertion against the confessions of Babington and her secretaries, and the testimony of her own letter;' and unless we suppose that these men uttered needless falsehoods, and that Walsingham, one of the most honourable of statesmen, committed forgery for the sake of destroying her, we cannot give credit to her assertions of innocence*.

* The following passages occur in her letter to Babington: "The affairs being thus prepared, and forces in readiness both within and without the realm, then shall it be time *to set the six gentlemen on work"* "Taking good order *upon the accomplishment of their discharges,* 1 may be suddenly transported out of this place." "Now for that there can be no certain day appointed for the *accomplishment of the said gentlemen*s designment* . . . I

On the 25th the commissioners met again; the secretaries Nau and Curie attested on oath the truth and reality of the letters and copies that had been produced: the queen of Scots was then pronounced guilty of all that had been laid to her charge; at the same time a public declaration was made " that the said sentence did nothing derogate from James king of Scotland in his title and honour." Parliament met in a few days (29th); they approved and confirmed the sentence against the queen of Scots, and petitioned the queen to have it executed. She replied in most gracious terms, and promised to come to a speedy resolution. A few days after she sent advising them to consider the matter anew, and try if some way might not be found for preserving the queen of Scots' life without hazarding her own security. Both houses resolved "that there could be found no other sound and assured means." The queen's reply was rather ambiguous. The sentence, however, was published; the citizens forthwith illuminated their houses, the bells of the churches rang out joyful peals, and the same manifestations of the popular feeling were made all over the kingdom.

When this was notified to Mary, and it was added that while she lived the religion of England could not be secure, she gave God thanks, claiming to ho regarded as a martyr for the cause of the true church. Paulet now took down her canopy of estate and treated her no longer with the respect due to a royal personage. She wrote (Dec. 19) to Elizabeth making three requests, viz. that her remains might be sent to France for interment; that she might not be put to death pri vately, but in view of her servants and others, who might beai testimony to her faith in Christ and obedience to the church , that her servants might be allowed to depart and retain the legacies she should leave them. To this letter, which was written in a strain so pious and dignified that it drew tears from the eyes of Elizabeth, she received no answer.

The king of France sent a special ambassador, Bellievre, to intercede for Mary, but the queen set at nought his menaces and fully replied to his arguments. It is said indeed (but perhaps without sufficient warrant) that Bellievre had secret instructions to urge the execution of Mary. King James also sent sir William Keith to remonstrate with the queen, and he wrote to her with his own hand in very strong terms. He

would that they had . .. scout men .. . with good and speedy horses *so soon as the design shall be executed* to come to advertise me thereof."

afterwards despatched sir Robert Melvill and the Master of Gray for the same purpose, but the securities they offered for the queen's safety did not appear sufficient, and Elizabeth despised the menaces of the Scottish king. Gray it is said secretly advised her to carry the sentence into effect, saying *Mortua non mordet.* James then ordered a prayer to be put up in the churches for his mother, " that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of his truth and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." Yet even this cautious form was rejected, and the royal chaplains alone prayed for the captive queen. This, we should think, is quite sufficient to answer those who blame James for not taking arms in the cause of his mother.

The pride of Elizabeth made her assume a determined tone toward the French and Scottish ambassadors*; but she was in reality quite undecided. Her natural aversion to bloodshed, her respect to the kindred and royal blood of Mary, her apprehension of the catholic powers, and her fear of the judgement which posterity might pass on the deed, caused her to hesitate. On the other hand, those about her reiterated the dangers which would environ her while Mary lived; a conspiracy to murder her, in which the French resident Aubespine, a creature of the Guises, was said to be concerned, had been detected or invented; various rumours of the landing of foreign armies in England and of plots to set London on fire and kill the queen were spread; and the whole nation seemed to clamour for the execution of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth became pensive and solitary, and she was frequently heard to sigh and to mutter to herself these words, *Aut fer aut fori* (' Bear or strike'), and *Ne feriare fori* ('Strike lest you be struck').

The warrant meantime had been drawn out by Burleigh, and on the 1st of February (1587) the queen, who was then at Richmond, sent Howard, the lord admiral, with directions to the secretary Davison to bring it to her †. She signed it, and asked him if he was not heartily sorry to see it done; he

* " And I spake," writes the master to James, " craving of her that her life may he spared for fifteen days; she refused. Sir Robert craved for only eight days; she said * Not for an hour,' and so gied her away." " She answered in the tone of a lioness who has grasped her prey,' No, not an hour!' " says Sir Walter Scott. It is thus that history gains circumstances in its progress.

† The succeeding narrative rests on the evidence of Davison, of the truth of which there can be no reasonable doubt.

replied in terms which pleased her, and she then directed him to take it to the chancellor and have it sealed, and to send it down to the commissioners without delay, and not to trouble her any further on the subject, as she had now done all that could be expected of her. She also directed him to call as he went on Walsingham, who was ill, as "the grief he would feel on learning it would," she merrily added, "nearly kill him outright." She then complained of Paulet and Drury*, who she said might have eased her of this burden, and desired him and Walsingham to write to sound them.

Davison showed the warrant to Burleigh and Leicester, and at their request went to London without delay. Having seen "Walsingham and arranged with him about the letter they were to write, he proceeded to the chancellor, and got the warrant sealed. On his return to Walsingham he found the letter to the two knights ready. It hinted to them the queen's wish that they should put their prisoner secretly to death. They signed it and sent it off that evening. In the morning (2nd) William Killigrew came to Davison from the queen to say that if he had not been already with the chancellor he should not go till he had seen her again. Davison forthwith repaired to Richmond, and when the queen found that the warrant was sealed, she said, "What needeth that haste?" He replied that he had only done what he conceived to be his duty. He then asked her if she continued in her purpose; she said she did, "albeit she thought it might have been better handled, because this course threw the whole burden on herself." After some further discourse to the same effect she went to dinner. Davison then consulted with Hatton; they both went to Burleigh, who approved of Davison's intention not to proceed singty in the business, and it was agreed that the case should be laid before the whole council in the morning. Burleigh undertook to write the necessary letters, and Davison gave him the warrant.

Next day (3rd) the council met: they resolved to take the responsibility on themselves and send off the warrant at once, and in the afternoon they met again, signed the requisite letters to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and despatched Beale the clerk of the council with them. Next morning (4th) Davison waited on the queen; she told him with a smile that she had dreamt that the queen of Scots was executed, and that

* Sir Drue Drury had been lately joined in commission with sir Amias Paulet.

she had been greatly incensed with him for it. He said it was well he had not been near her when she was in that humour. He then seriously asked her if she did not intend to go through with it. She said Yes, with a solemn oath, but that "she thought it might have received a better form." Davison expressed his dislike of the course she hinted at; she told him wiser men than he were of a different opinion, and that it had been suggested to her by "one in great place" (evidently meaning Leicester). She asked him if he had heard yet from Paulet; he replied in the negative. On his return to London the same day he received a letter from him and Drury containing a flat refusal "to shed blood without law or warrant." When he reported this to the queen (6th) she complained of the "niceness of those precise fellows," adding that she could have done very well without them, as one Wingfield and others would have undertaken it. When Davison next saw her (7th), "she entered of herself," he says, "into some earnest discourse of the danger she lived in, and how it was more than time this matter were despatched, swearing with a great oath that it was a shame for us all that it was not already done, considering that she had for her part done all that law or reason could require of her, and therefore made some mention to have letters written to sir Annas Paulet for the hastening thereof, because the longer it was deferred the more her danger increased." Davison replied that he thought there was no need, the warrant being "so general and sufficient;" she said "she thought sir Amins Paulet would look for it," and so broke off the discourse, and Davison saw her no mare.

That very day (7th) the two earls with the sheriff of the county came to Fotheringay. They forthwith waited on the unhappy prisoner, and hade her prepare for death in the morning. She received the annunciation with the utmost composure, and requested that her almoner might be allowed to visit and prepare her for death. This being a thing unheard-of was refused*, but the services of the bishop or dean of Peterborough were proffered, which she of course declined. The earl of Kent in his zeal said, "Your life will be the death of our religion, as your death will be the life of it,"—words of which she artfully took advantage to make out that it was solely for her religion she suffered. She 'again denied all knowledge of Babington's conspiracy.

* There had as yet, we believe, been no instance in any country of suck a request being complied with.

When the earls were gone she ordered supper to be prepared. She supped sparingly as usual, and comforted her servants, who could not restrain their tears ; she drank to them ; they pledged her on their knees; they craved her pardon for any neglect of their duty, and she craved theirs in return. She then looked over her will and the inventory of her goods, and wrote some letters. She went to bed at her usual time, slept some hours, and then rose and spent the remainder of the night in prayer.

In the morning the que^n arrayed herself in her richest clothes. The sheriff entered her chapel, where she and her servants were at prayers, about eight o'clock, to summon her. She rose, took her crucifix in one hand and her prayer-book in the other. She gave her blessing to her servants, who were not allowed to follow her. The door dosed ; she was joined by the earls and her keepers, and descended the staircase. At the foot Melvill her steward met her, and bursting into tears lamented that he should be the bearer of such sorrowful tidings to Scotland. Sho bade him to rejoice rather than lament, as the end of her troubles was arrived, and to report that she died true to her religion, to Scotland and to France : " He that is the true judge of all secret thoughts," she added, " knoweth my mind how that it ever hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend inc to my son, and tell him that I have not done anything that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland. And so, good Melvill, farewell!" She kissed him and bade him pray for her. The earl of Kent reluctantly assented to her request that two of her maids and. four of her men might attend her. The procession then entered the hall, Melvill heaving the queen's train. The hall was filled with spectators, and there stood in it a scaffold two feet high covered with black. Paulet aided her to ascend it. She seated herself on a stool; the warrant was read out; she replied asserting the injustice of her sentence and denying all intention of injuring the queen. The dean of Peterborough then commenced a most ill-timed and even cruel address to her. She desired him not to trouble himself, as she was determined to die in the faith in which she had been- reared. The carls then directed him to pray; the spectators joined in the prayer; but Mary holding out the crucifix prayed in Latin with her servants out of the Office of the Virgin. " Madam," said the earl of Kent, " settle Jesus Christ in your heart and leave those trumperies." She took no heed, but continued her prayers. Her women then began to disrobe her; the ex-

cautioners went to assist; she said she was not used to employ such grooms, or to strip before so numerous an assembly. "When she was stript her women began to lament aloud. She reminded them of her promise and crossed and kissed them, bidding them to rejoice and not to weep, as they would now see the end of her troubles. She then crossed her men-servants, also bidding them farewell. She sat down again, and one of her maids fastened a Corpus Christi cloth over her face ; she was led to the block ; she knelt down, saying several times in Latin, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Iler head was severed at the second stroke ; the executioner held it up streaming with blood. "So perish all the queen's enemies!" cried the dean. "Such end of all the queen's and the Gospel's enemies !" said the earl of Kent standing over the body. All the rest were silent from pity or from horror.

Such was the end of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. Her conduct in the closing scene of her life jvyjis-xalmj-^ous and dignified; yet when we reflect on the crimes of which she must have been conscious, we could wish that she had shown more of the penitent and less of the saint and martyr oh this awful occasion. How different was her behaviour from that of the pure and innocent Jane Gray! The mind of Mary, however, had probably been so perverted by religion and example, that she looked on the murder of her husband as laudable revenge, and thought herself fully justified by natural law and religion (for which indeed she had the authority and example of the head of her church) in conspiring against the life of Elizabeth, a heretic and her political antagonist.

At the time of her execution Mary was in the forty-sixth year of her age. She had long suffered from rheumatism, and had lost the beauty for which she is celebrated. She is described by an eye-witness as "being of stature tall, of body corpulent, round-shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, with hazel eyes and borrowed hair." Ber own hair is said to have been "as gray as one of threescore and ten years old."

Whatever the wishes or suspicions of Elizabeth may have been, there seem to be no grounds for supposing that she actually knew of the warrant having been sent. According to Davison, when the intelligence of the execution arrived on the evening of the 8th, Burleigh and the other councillors thought it best not to tell her as yet. She heard it, however, he says, from some other quarter, and testified neither feeling nor dis-

pleasure. But in the morning, when the event was officially announced to her, she showed every symptom of grief and indignation. She shed tears; her voice was broken by sighs; she drove her councillors from her presence with reproaches; she put herself and her whole court into mourning. Davison was committed to the Tower and then brought before the Star Chamber, where he was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 marks and be imprisoned during pleasure, for contempt of the queen's majesty, breach of his allegiance, and neglect of his duty in acquainting the council with the warrant, and having it executed without her knowledge. The fine, which reduced him to beggary, was rigorously exacted, and the queen would never restore him to favour. Leicester and Hatton felt her displeasure also; even Burleigh was treated with such harshness that he craved permission to resign his offices and retire. It was only after making the humblest submissions that he succeeded in mollifying his incensed sovereign.

Though we do not regard the conduct of Elizabeth throughout this unhappy affair as being that vile tissue of hypocrisy it is generally styled, there certainly was in it much of which we cannot approve. It would have been, no doubt, the more generous course, though perhaps not the safer, to have spared Mary's life, yet we cannot deem it unjust to punish her capitally when she conspired against the life of a princess to whose throne she never had ceased to lay claim*. But Elizabeth should have proceeded openly ; she should not have thought of emulating the examples of private execution given by her ancestors ; or have attempted t'o shift the responsibility to others. She certainly deceived Davison to his ruin, and would have ruined Paulet and Drury also but for their own sense of religion and honour. Her memory has paid the penalty ; the execution of the queen of Scots, with all her crimes, remains a stain on the fair fame of Elizabeth.

* See Hallani, i. 215. It has been observed that the detention of Napoleon in 1815 is a case nearly parallel to that of Mary. Had he been kept in England, and had he there engaged in conspiracies against the life of the king, ne also might perhaps have been executed.

CHAPTER XII.

ELIZABETH (CONTINUED).

1587-1603.

THE king of Scots, when he heard of the execution of his mother, naturally expressed much indignation, and his language breathed revenge. But Elizabeth wrote to him with her own hand exculpating herself. Leicester also wrote to him, and Walsingham to his secretary Maitland, pointing out the folly and hazard of violent measures, and James allowed himself to be convinced and pacified. Nor is he to be blamed. He could have little affection for a mother whom he never knew, and who in her popish bigotry had proposed to give him as a hostage to the pope or king of Spain, and in her will had disinherited him in favour of the latter, unless he renounced his religion and became a catholic. He also well knew that his people would not support him in a war with Elizabeth, and that he might thereby lose all chance of the crown of England. The king of France viewed with secret satisfaction this diminution of the power of the house of Guise, and Philip of Spain was therefore the only prince who, under pretence of avenging Mary, might turn his arms against Elizabeth.

The queen, having ascertained that Philip was preparing a fleet for the invasion of England, sent out Drake to endeavour to destroy his shipping. He entered the port of Cadiz, where he burned one hundred vessels laden with stores and ammunition ; he thence sailed to cape St. Vincent and took the castle and three other fortresses ; then proceeding to the Azores he lay in wait for and captured the St. Philip, a richly-laden carack. These losses'caused the intended invasion to be deferred for a year, and their success inspired the English seamen with contempt for the Spaniards and their huge unwieldy ships. In Holland affairs were not so favourable. Sir William Stanley, a catholic, to whom Leicester had entrusted the defence of Deventer with a garrison of twelve hundred English, betrayed it to the Spaniards, and he and his men entered their service. His example was followed by an officer named York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen. Leicester himself on his return failed in an attempt to relieve Sluys; the ill-feeling between him and the states increased daily ; *they* suspected him of a design on their liberties, slighted his authority, and thwarted his plans; *he* was imperious and violent.

At length the queen deemed it advisable to remove him from a situation for which he was manifestly unfit. The States elected Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, governor in his stead, and the command of the English troops was given to lord Willoughby.

This year also the office of chancellor becoming vacant, the queen raised to that high dignity sir Christopher Hattori, the vice-chamberlain. The lawyers sneered at the appointment; but the court of chancery was not then what it has since become ; Hatton had good sense and honesty, and with the aid of two sergeants-at-law he discharged the duties of his office in such a manner as gave general satisfaction.

Though there had been no actual declaration of war between Spain and England, each party had for many years been injuring the other. Elizabeth aided the Dutch and countenanced the expeditions of Drake and other adventurers; Philip excited rebellion in Ireland, promoted conspiracies against the life and authority of Elizabeth in England, and was preparing to invade it in favour of the queen of Scots. After the death of that princess, he resolved to put forth his own claim to the crown as the descendant of John of Gaunt: the pope Sixtus Y. at his desire renewed the bull of his predecessor Pius V., and raised Allen to the dignity of cardinal, that, like Pole, he might proceed as legate to England when it should be conquered. The new cardinal forthwith published an Admonition addressed to the nobility of England, full of the grossest falsehoods and vilest calumnies of the queen, and composed in the vituperative style then familiar to the Romish writers. The wealth of the Indies was devoted by Philip to the building of ships and the purchase of stores, and in the spring of 1588 a fleet of one hundred and thirty-five ships of war, galleys, galleasses, and galleons *, from the different ports of his Spanish and Italian dominions rendezvoused in the Tagus, The prince of Parma meantime had ships and boats collected and built in the ports of the Netherlands for transporting a veteran force of thirty thousand men to the coast of England. It had been the advice of this able officer that Flushing should be first reduced to assure the fleet of a retreat in case of accident, but Philip would hear of no delay.

* The *galley* was a vessel impelled with oars ; it carried cannon on the poop and stern : the *galleasse* was a larger galley, with cannon also between the oars: the *galleon* was a large ship of war with cannon on the sides, poop, and stern. See Lingard, viii. 272.

While these immense preparations for her overthrow were being made the prince of Parma was amusing Elizabeth with a negotiation for terminating all differences. But the means of resistance were meantime not neglected; all the men from sixteen to sixty were enrolled and trained by the lords lieutenant of counties, who were directed to appoint officers and provide arms; one army of thirty-six thousand men under lord Huntsdon was to be assembled for the guard of the royal person; another of thirty-thousand men under Leicester was to be stationed at Tilbury to protect the city. The sea-ports were required to supply shipping according to their means. On this occasion the city of London set a noble example; being called upon to furnish five thousand men and fifteen ships, the citizens voluntarily pledged themselves to send double the number of each. The royal navy consisted of but thirty-four ships, but many noblemen fitted out vessels at their own expense, and the whole fleet numbered one hundred and eighty-one ships of all kinds, manned by 17,472 seamen. . The chief command was committed to Howard of Effingham, lord high admiral of England; the three distinguished seamen Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher held commands under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; a squadron of forty ships under lord Henry Seymour lay off Dunkirk to watch the motions of the prince of Parma.

The protestants of Europe naturally regarded with intense interest the approach of the contest which was probably to decide the fate of their religion; but the Dutch alone aided the queen in her struggle. The king of Scotland, though his interests were nearly as much involved in the contest as those of Elizabeth, hesitated till he had extorted most advantageous terms from Ashby, the English resident*. The king of France was little inclined, even if able, to aid the ambitious project of Philip though cloaked with zeal for religion, but the Guises prepared a body of their adherents to join in the invasion. Her own catholic subjects caused Elizabeth most apprehension †; her council were well aware of their readiness to rise

* He made the treaty on the 4th of August. The danger was then over, hut he could not have known it.

† Dr. Lingard says the catholics were one half of the population; Allen had said two-thirds. Cardinal Bentivoglio considered the real catholics to he but a thirtieth. Hallam, i. 239. Those who, like Lingard, exaggerate the number of the catholics, ought to perceive that they thus, in a great measure, justify the severities of the government toward them.

in favour of Mary when she was living, and it was feared that their zeal for their religion might prove too strong for their national feeling. Some even advised to seize and put the leading catholics to death, but the queen rejected this expedient with horror, and contented herself with confining a few of the most suspected at Wisbeach in the fens of Ely. The catholics to their honour justified her confidence in them; their nobles armed their tenantry in her service, and some fitted out vessels, giving the command to protcstants.

At length (May 29) the Invincible Armada *(Fleet)*, as it was proudly styled, sailed from the Tagus. It consisted of 130 ships, carrying 19,000 soldiers, 8000 seamen, and 2000 galley slaves, and 2630 pieces of cannon; its commander was the Juke of Medina Sidonia, aided by Juan de Recalde, a distinguished seaman. It also carried a corps of one hundred and eighty monks and friars of the different orders for the conversion of the heretics, and a supply of arms for the disaffected catholics. Off the coast of Gallicia it experienced a tempest, which obliged the admiral to remain for some time at Corufia to refit. "When the news reached England, the queen, thinking the clanger over for the year, sent word to the admiral to lay up the four largest ships, but he wrote requesting to be allowed to keep them even at his own expense. He sailed toward Spain, but finding the wind changed to the south, he returned with all speed to Plymouth lest the enemy should arrive before him. On the 12th of July the Armada put to sea, and on the 19th it was off the Lizard point in Cornwall, where it was seen by Flemming, a Scottish pirate, who hastened to Plymouth with the tidings. The admiral immediately got his fleet out to sea, though with great difficulty, as the wind blew strong into the port.

The instructions of the Spanish admiral were to avoid hostilities till he had seen the army of the prince of Parma safely landed in England;, he therefore rejected the advice of his captains to attack the English fleet, and the armada proceeded up the channel in the form of a crescent, of which the horns were seven miles asunder. The motion of this fleet, the greatest that had ever ploughed the ocean, was slow though every sail was spread, "the winds," says Camden, "being as it were tired with carrying them, and the ocean groaning under their weight." The plan adopted by the English admiral was to follow the armada and harass it, and cut off stragglers. During six days which it took the Spaniards to reach Calais

the annoyance was incessant, and several of their ships were taken or disabled, the superior seamanship of the English, and the agility and low build of their ships giving them great advantage over the unwieldy galleons and galleasses. At length (27th) the armada cast anchor near Calais, and the admiral sent off to the prince of Parma, requiring him to embark his troops without delay. But this it was not in his power now to do; his stores were not yet prepared, his sailors had run away, and the Dutch blockaded the harbours of Dunkirk and Nicuport. The armada itself narrowly escaped destruction: on the night of the 29th the English sent eight fire-ships into it; the Spaniards in terror cut their cables; the English fell on them in the morning when they were dispersed and took two galleons, and the following day (31st) a storm came on and drove them among the shoals and sands of Zealand. Here in a council of war it was decided, as the navy was now in too shattered a condition to effect anything, to return to Spain without delay. But the passage down the channel was so full of hazard that it was resolved in preference to sail round Scotland and Ireland, dangerous as that course appeared. The armada set sail; the English pursued as far as Flamborough Head, where want of ammunition forced them to give over the chase. Storms assailed the armada in its progress; several ships were cast away on the west and south coast of Ireland, where the crews were butchered by the barbarous natives, or put to the sword by orders of the lord deputy. The total loss was thirty large ships and about ten thousand men. Philip received the intelligence with great equanimity, ordered public thanks to God and the Saints.that the calamity was not greater, and sent money to be distributed among the surviving crews.

The queen of England had shown throughout the spirit of a heroine. She visited the camp at Tilbury (xlug. 9), rode along the lines on a white palfrey with a truncheon in her hand, and animated the soldiers by her inspiriting language*. When the danger was over she went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks,to Heaven. She then granted pensions to the disabled seamen; she bestowed her favours on the admiral † and his officers, and she had actually caused the warrant to be pre-

* Lingard, in his usual sneering manner, endeavours to cast an air of ridicule over the whole scene. The speech ascvihed to her could not, he says, have been spoken at Tilhury, as the danger was over. The letter of Drake to Walsingham (Hardwick Papers, i. 536) written the next day (Aug. 10), will show that the danger was by no means *thought* to be over.

† She afterwards created him earl of Nottingham.

pared appointing Leicester to the office of lord lieutenant of England and Ireland; hut the influence of Burleigh and Walsingharn prevented her from signing it, and as Leicester was on his way to Kenilworth after disbanding his army, he fell sick on the road and died at Cornbury Park in Oxfordshire (Sept. 4). The queen lamented him, but she caused his goods to be seized for payment of his debts to the crown*.

There is no character in history more enigmatic than that of Leicester. On the one hand, we find him for a space of thirty years retaining the favour of one of the most sagacious and penetrating of princesses (though he had enemies enough who would gladly reveal to her anything to his disadvantage), and also held in esteem by some of the most virtuous men of the time, and by the rigid sect of the puritans, and the object of Spenser's eulogy even when he was no more. On the other hand, he is portrayed to us as stained with every vice, a hypocrite, a tyrant, an adulterer, a poisoner by wholesale; in short, a monster, unredeemed by a single virtue. This last portrait, however, which cannot be correct, appears in the most suspicious quarter, namely, a book called Leicester's Commonwealth, written by the Jesuit Persons. The charges there made against him are in fact so atrocious as totally to destroy their credibility.

Leicester's, in truth, seems, like all others, to have been a mixed character. He was a zealous friend, and a faithful observer of his promise ; he was generous, and as a statesman sufficiently acute, and we have no right to assume that he was not sincere in his religious profession. At the same time he was insolent, rapacious, and tyrannicalj and in his younger days very licentious in his conduct with the other sex. It is, however, mere calumny to accuse the queen of any improper familiarity with him. They had been intimate from childhood; and this circumstance, joined with his personal beauty and his mental powers, will perhaps adequately account for her early and continued partiality †.

* He had no children, and the queen disliked his countess.

† In 1566 he said to La Forest, the French ambassador, " I really believe that the queen will never marry. *I have known her since she was eight years of aye better than any man in the world.* From that time she has always invariably declared that.she would remain unmarried. Should she, however, happen to resolve on marrying and to choose an Englishman, I am almost convinced that her choice would fall on no other than me : at least the queen has done me the honour several times to tell me so alone, and I am now as high in her favour as ever." Raumer, Elizabeth and Mary, p. 40. See above, p. 474, *note †*.

A strong desire of taking vengeance on Spain now animated the nation; and the following spring (1589), Drake and Norris, joined by a number of other gentlemen, obtained the queen's permission to fit out, at their own expense, an armament, of which the chief object was to attempt to place Don Antonio, prior of Crato, on the throne of Portugal. They took and plundered the suburbs of Corufia, and the shipping in the harbour. They thence proceeded to Lisbon; but as the people showed no inclination to rise in favour of Don Antonio, and disease and want of supplies were felt, they put to sea again. On their way home they took and burned the town of Vigo. Though the expedition had been little more than two months out of England, such had been the ravages of disease, that one half of the troops had perished; and out of eleven hundred gentlemen who had embarked, but three hundred and fifty returned.

Among those who took a part in this unlucky expedition was Robert Devereux earl of Essex, a young nobleman, with whom, in chivalrous daring, united with a manly, liberal, generous spirit, few in that age could compare. He had been recommended to the notice of his relative the queen by his stepfather Leicester; and his noble qualities caused him speedily to rise in her estimation, and to occupy after Leicester's death the place in her affections so long held by that favourite. Hopeless of obtaining the permission of the queen to his exposure of himself to the perils of the expedition, Essex had stolen away from court, embarked secretly, and joined the fleet off the coast of Portugal.

Confusion at this time prevailed more than ever in France. The cowardly treacherous Henry III. had caused the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal to be murdered; he himself perished soon after by the dagger of a fanatical monk, and the king of Navarre, being the next heir, assumed the title of Henry IV. But the bigoted catholic party, excited by Philip II., refused to acknowledge a heretical sovereign: they set up the cardinal of Bourbon against him, and the war continued to rage with its wonted animosity. Elizabeth aided Henry with both money and men; the English troops, led by sir John Norris, the gallant earl of Essex, and other brave officers, distinguished themselves on all occasions. Henry, however, after continuing the contest for nearly three years, found that unless he conformed to the religion of the great majority of his subjects he had little chance of ultimate success. He

therefore (1593) declared himself a catholic, and gradually the whole kingdom submitted to him. Elizabeth, though grieved at his change of faith, felt it her interest to maintain the alliance she had formed ; and her troops aided in the reduction of such places as still held out against him. Against Spain the naval warfare was still kept up, and the earl of Cumberland, sir Martin Frobisher, and Thomas White did much injury to the Spanish trade. The English at this time also first made their way to the East Indies. Two vessels, commanded by George Riman and James Lancaster, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, Rinnan perished off the east coast of Africa ; but Lancaster proceeded, and, after enduring many hardships and losing the greater part of his men, returned to England.

The year 1590 was distinguished by the deaths of the able and disinterested secretary Walsingham; of Thomas Randolph, who had been on thirteen embassies to Scotland, three to Russia, and two to France ; of sir James Crofts, and of the earl of Shrewsbury, carl-marshal of England. The following year the chancellor Ilatton died. The generous Essex endeavoured to procure Walsingham's office for the unfortunate Davison ; hut the queen's resentment against him was too strong, and Burleigh, as a means of bringing forward his son sir Robert Cecil, took the duties of the office on himself. The great seal was committed to serjeant Puckering, under the title of lord-keeper.

In 1594, Richard, son of sir John Hawkins, sailed to the South Sea; but he was made a prisoner on the coast of Chili and sent to Spain. The same year James Lancaster was furnished with three vessels by the merchants of London ; he captured thirty-nine ships of the enemy, and took and plundered the town of Pernambuco, on the coast of Brazil. The next year (1595) the able and enterprising sir Walter Raleigh set forth in search of fortune to America. He had seduced one of the maids of honour, (to whom, however, he made reparation by marriage,) for which offence the queen threw him into prison ; she restored him some time after to liberty, but not to favour ; and his enterprising spirit, unable to endure inactivity and thirsting for wealth, urged him to attempt the discovery of those stores of the precious metals, far exceeding all that Peru and Mexico had yielded, which fame said lay in the region of Guiana in South America. He sailed from Plymouth (Feb. 6), took a small town in the isle of Trinidad, and leaving his ship there went in his boats for four hundred miles up the river

Orinoco. But the city of El Dorado which he sought was not to be found, and the fall of the rains prevented his further progress. On his return to England he published a very interesting narrative of his voyage.

At this time also Drake, Hawkins, and sir Thomas Baskerville sailed with twenty-six ships and a body of troops to America. They failed in an attempt on Puerto Rico in Cuba. Hawkins died soon after, and Drake, having attempted in vain to cross the isthmus to Panama, put to sea ajrain. He died at sea of the dysentery; and Baskerville, after a smart action with a Spanish fleet off Cuba, returned to England.

Philip had by no means abandoned his designs upon England; he even listened seriously to the chimerical project of some English Jesuits and exiles, for placing his daughter, the Infanta of Spain, ON the throne of that country, as being the nearest catholic descendant of John of Gaunt, his own pretensions being resigned in her favour. His preparations being known, the queen gave her consent to the proposal of Essex to attack him in his own dominions. A fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels, of various sizes, English and Dutch, carrying fourteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred wore gentlemen volunteers, commanded by the lord admiral Howard, Essex, sir Thomas Howard, Raleigh, Vere, Carew, and Clifford, sailed from Plymouth (June 1, lo96), and proceeded to Cadiz. On reaching that port (20th) they saw in it fifteen men-of-war and forty merchantmen. It was proposed to attack the men-of-war; the cautious admiral hesitated; at length he gave way, at which Essex was so elated, that, regardless of decorum, he flung his hat up into the air. The action lasted for six hours; the enemy then attempted to run his ships ashore, but three of them were taken and about the same number burnt. Essex then landed with six hundred men, and advanced against the town; he drove off the troops that opposed him, and entered the town along with them; the admiral had by this time landed his men, and forced his way in. No further resistance was made; the inhabitants agreed to pay a ransom of 120,000 crowns for their lives: all the property in the town became the prize of the victors. It was a part of the instructions given by the queen, "that they should spare the women, and those the were very young or else decrepit, and put none to the sword but such as made opposition." These instructions were religiously obeyed: the nuns and other women, to the number of three thousand, were conveyed under au escort to the port of

St. Mary, being allowed to take with them their clothes and jewels. A ransom being refused for the merchantmen, the duke of Medina Sidonia ordered them to be burnt. The entire loss sustained by the king of Spain was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. The secret of his domestic weakness was revealed to the world, and the union of valour and humanity displayed by the English exalted them in all men's estimation.

The daring Essex wished to retain the town and endeavour to rouse the Moriscoes of Andalusia to insurrection; but his more cautious colleagues refused their consent; the men too were eager to get home with their plunder. The town therefore, with the exception of the churches, was burnt, and the fleet returned to England, having been but ten weeks absent.

Philip, undismayed by his reverses, began to assemble a new fleet for the invasion of Ireland. Elizabeth consented that another expedition against Spain should be fitted out, in which Essex should have the chief command, with Raleigh and sir Thomas Howard for his seconds. It consisted of one hundred and forty ships carrying eight thousand soldiers. It sailed from Plymouth (July 9, 1597), but a tempest shattered it, and before it could be refitted it was found that the provisions had nearly run out. The attack on Spain was therefore deferred for the present, and Essex proceeded to the Azores to intercept the Indian fleet. He had informed his officers that it was his intention to take the isle of Fay al; the fleet happened to separate, and Raleigh and his division arriving first at that isle he landed and took it. Essex was highly offended ; he put Sydney and some other officers under arrest; but when advised to bring Raleigh to a court martial, he nobly replied, "I would had he been one of my friends." He soon, however, laid aside his anger and restored them all to favour. The Spanish fleet, owing it is said to Essex's want of seamanship, escaped into port. Three vessels, however, were captured, which sufficed to pay the charges of the expedition. Essex was some time after his return raised to the dignity of earl-marshal, and sir Bobert Cecil and he became better friends than they had previously been.

An opportunity for peace with Spain now presented itself (1599). Henry of France, finding tranquillity absolutely requisite for his kingdom, entered into negotiations with Philip for that purpose. It was hoped that a general pacification might be-effected; but as Philip refused to treat with the Dutch

as a *free* state, and Elizabeth would not abandon them, Henry was obliged to conclude a separate peace.

In the English council the Cecils were for peace, Essex was vehement for continuing the war. It is said that in one of the debates the aged lord treasurer took a prayer-book and pointed out these words of the Psalmist to Essex: "Men of blood shall not live out half their days,"—words afterwards regarded as prophetic. Soon after the question of appointing a deputy for Ireland was discussed in presence of the queen. She herself wished to appoint Essex's uncle sir William Knolles, while Essex was strenuous in favour of sir George Carew. In the heat of the argument he so far forgot himself as to turn his back on the queen in a kind of contempt. She gave him a box on the ear and told him to go to the d—l; he clapt his hand on his sword, swore he would not put up with such an affront even from Henry VIII. himself, and left the court in a passion. The coolness between the queen and her capricious favourite lasted for about five months, at the end of which time he re-appeared at court. It was thought, however, that he never regained his former place in her heart.

During this temporary disgrace of Essex, the great lord Burleigh died, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years, leaving a character for prudence, integrity, loyalty and patriotism rarely attained by statesmen. The queen, attached to him from a deep sense of his virtues and merits, shed many tears at his death, and she never after could think of him or hear his name pronounced without being affected.

The condition of Ireland now claims our attention. This unhappy country still remained in its pristine barbarism; the descendants of the English conquerors had sunk nearly to a level with the original natives, while the distinction of race was maintained only as a source of evil. The Reformation proved, like everything else, a root of bitterness to Ireland. Compulsion not persuasion was employed to bring the people to a purer faith; the barbarous Irish and many of the degenerate English clung the closer for it to their old superstition; the courts of the Vatican and Madrid took advantage of this feeling. Sanders and other bigots were sent thither to stir up rebellion; and many of the native Irish by serving in the Spanish armies acquired the skill and discipline requisite for opposing the regular armies of England. Throughout the whole reign of Elizabeth warfare more or less active prevailed in Ireland. Fitzmaurice earl of Desmond, who ruled in bar-

baric state over a large portion of Munster, was by the arts of Sanders and others precipitated into a rebellion, which ended in the ruin of himself and his family and the confiscation of his immense estates (1583). Hugh O'Nial, whom the queen had raised to the dignity of earl of Tirone, was now the most formidable opponent of the English government. He had cast off his allegiance, united the northern Irish under himself, and was supplied with arms and ammunition from Spain. Intelligence now arrived of his having defeated and slain sir Henry Bagnal and fifteen hundred men. It was proposed in the council to send lord Mountjoy thither as chief governor; but Essex strenuously opposed this appointment, and in the description which he gave of the kind of person who should be sent he drew his own portrait so accurately that it was plain to all what was his object. Cecil, Raleigh and his other enemies gladly seized on the occasion of removing him from court. The new title of Lord Lieutenant was conferred on him, and he left London in March amid the acclamations of the people, and accompanied by a gallant train of nobles and gentlemen. The forces placed at his disposal amounted to eighteen thousand men.

Instead of marching against Tirone at once, Essex, at the persuasion of some of the Irish council, who wished to secure their estates in Minister, led his forces thither. Here he passed the better part of the summer, and though the natives made little resistance his army melted away by disease and desertion. On his return to Dublin he was obliged to write to the English council for two thousand additional troops; yet even when these arrived be found that from desertion and other causes he could lead but four thousand men against O'Nial. He therefore listened to a proposal of that chief for a conference. They met on the opposite banks of a stream; a truce till the following May was agreed on, and Essex engaged to transmit to England the demands of O'Nial, which were too high ever to be granted.

Though Essex had received orders not to leave Ireland, he resplved to anticipate his enemies, who he was conscious had now a fair opportunity of injuring him in the royal mind, and on the morning of Michaelmas eve the queen saw him enter her chamber before she had finished dressing and throw himself on his knees before her. Taken thus by surprise she gave him her hand to kiss. He retired in high spirits, and was heard to thank God that though he had met with many storms

abroad he had found a sweet calm at home. Before the day ended, however, the calm turned to a storm * ; the queen, who would not have her authority infringed, ordered him to confine himself to his room, and in a few days committed him to the custody of the lord keeper Egerton. Anxiety of mind brought on him an attack of illness : Elizabeth, who really loved him, sent him some broth from her own table, and with tears in her eyes desired the physician to tell him, that were it not for her honour she would visit him herself.

After his recovery he was allowed to retire to his own house, where in the society of his-countess, the accomplished daughter of Walsiugham and widow of sir Philip Sidney, he devoted himself to literature, the study of which he had never neglected. The accounts of the success of Mountjoy, who had succeeded him in Ireland, and the injudicious expressions of the popular feelings in his favour, gave strength to the arguments of his enemies, and the queen directed that he should be examined before the privy council. He made no defence, throwing himself in a strain of affecting eloquence on the queen's mercy. The sentence passed was that he should not exercise any of his offices, and should confine himself to his own house. He behaved with great humility and submission, and would probably have recovered his former state of favour had not a slight circumstance occurred which caused his ruin.

A monopoly of sweet wines had been given to Essex for a term which now expired. On his application for a renewal the queen refused it, saying she must first learn its value, and that an unruly beast must be stinted in its provender. Essex now fancied there was a settled design to ruin him ; he began to give ear to the evil suggestions of his secretary Cuffe and others who recommended violent courses; he increased the number of his dependents ; he took the opinions of some divines on the lawfulness of using force against a sovereign. Some of the more zealous puritan clergy (a party which, like Leicester, he always favoured) recommended his cause to the citizens in their lectures. He even opened a correspondence with the king of Scots, assuring him that Cecil and the other ministers were in favour of the Infanta, and advising him to

* " When I did come into her presence," says Harrington, " she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage, and I remember she catched my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore, * 13y God's Son I am no queenn; that *man* is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon ? I did send him on other business.' "

assert his right to the succession, in which he offered to support him with his life and fortune. In his imprudence he could not refrain from using disparaging language of the queen, such as saying "she was now grown an old woman and was as crooked within as without." All this was conveyed to the queen's ear by his enemies among the court ladies.

Drury-house, the residence of the earl of Southampton, was the place where the principal malcontents used to meet; but Essex himself never was present. Plans were formed for seizing the palace and obliging the queen to dismiss his enemies and alter her mode of governing. The suspicions of the ministers were awaked, and Essex was summoned before the council (Feb. 7, 1601). He feigned illness; in the night his friends resorted to him, and as next day was Sunday and the chief citizens would be assembled according to custom at Paul's Cross, it was resolved to try to induce them to follow him to the palace.

In the morning the lord-keeper and some others were sent to Essex-house. They were admitted through the wicket but their attendants were excluded, and after some altercation they were confined in one of the rooms. Essex then issued forth at the head of about eighty knights and gentlemen; on the way to the city he was joined by about two hundred others, but on reaching St. Paul's he found no one there. He advanced, shouting, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" but few noticed him. Soon after the lords Jiurleigh and Cumberland entered the city proclaiming him a traitor; he attempted to return home, but was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate; he then entered a boat at Queenhithe and returned by water. He found his prisoners gone; soldiers began to surround the house; cannon were brought from the Tower; lord Sands advised a sally sword in hand, but Essex did not yet despair, and he surrendered on the promise of a fair trial.

Essex and Southampton were brought to trial on the 19th, before a jury of twenty-five peers. As some of them were his personal enemies he claimed a right to challenge them, but this right was denied by the judges. The facts were easily proved, but Essex denied all intention of injuring the queen. They were found guilty. Essex said that for himself he should neither solicit nor refuse mercy, but he hoped the life of his friend would be spared, who had only acted from affection tG *him,* Southampton threw himself unconditionally on the mercy of the queen.

In prison Essex was attended by Ashton, his favourite divine, who awoke in his bosom such a degree of spiritual terror and remorse that he made a most ample confession, disclosing the secrets of his friends, and even aggravating the guilt into which their regard for him had led them. He requested, it is said, to be executed within the walls of the Tower. The conflict of passions usual to the queen's bosom on such occasions now took place. She signed the warrant; she countermanded it; she at length suffered the execution to take place.

On the 25th of February at eight in the morning Essex was led to the scaffold. He behaved with great piety and resignation, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and calling his* offence "a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin." The first blow of the axe deprived him of sense and motion; at the third the head was separated from his body, and thus in only his thirty-fourth year was terminated the mortal existence of the gallant, honourable, upright earl of Essex, a man too frank, open and candid to be able long to maintain himself against such wily and artful opponents as Raleigh and Cecil, and too headstrong, imprudent, petulant and arrogant to avoid offending his affectionate but haughty mistress*.

The life of Southampton was spared, but Essex's step-father sir Christopher Blount, his secretary Cuffe, and his steward Merrick were executed.

The only event of much importance in the remainder of the queen's reign was the reduction of Tirone and the other Irish chiefs by the deputy Mountjoy (1602). The king of Spain had sent a body of six thousand men to their aid under Juan d'Aguilar and Alfonso O'Campo, but these generals were obliged to capitulate to the lord deputy at Kinsale and Baltimore.

The brilliant career of Elizabeth was now drawing to its close. By her great temperance she had enjoyed good health and spirits through a long life. In the spring of 1602, when the duke of Nevers was entertained by her at Richmond, she opened the ball with him in a gaiilarde, which she danced with grace and spirit; and in the autumn she made her annual progress, riding out to view the sports of the field and having dancing in her privy chamber. But gradually her spirits sank, and she became silent and melancholy. The memory of Essex, the gallant and upright, whom she had been forced to sacrifice, augmented her dejection; and the visible decrease of her popularity in consequence of it added to her pain. But in fact nature was giving way, and life had ceased to yield enjoyment,

* Lady Essex afterwards married the Irish earl of Clanricarde.

Toward the end of January (1603), though she had a cold, she removed on a wet and stormy day to Richmond. She there grew worse, but she would not attend to the advice of her physicians. The death of her relative and friend the countess of Nottingham* soon after occurred, which afflicted her greatly. She drooped daily ; her sighs† and tears were frequent. On the 10th of March she fell into a stupor and lay some time for dead. When she recovered she had cushions brought for her to lie on ; for she would not go to bed, being persuaded that if she did she should never leave it. She thus continued for ten days refusing both food and medicine. The prelates who 'were about her urged her to provide for her spiritual safety and recommend her soul to God. She mildly replied, " That I have done long ago." The lord-admiral, who had most influence over her, at length got her to bed, partly by entreaty, partly by force. On the morning of the 23rd the lord-admiral, the lord-keeper and secretary Cecil, asked her whom she would wish to succeed; she replied, " My seat has been the seat of kings ; I will have no rascal's son, but a king." When asked to explain, she said, "Who should that be but our cousin of Scotland ‡?" During the day she became speechless, *in.* the afternoon when the primate and the other prelates had left her the councillors returned, and Cecil asked her if she still continued in her resolution, "whereat suddenly heaving herself upwards in her bed, and pulling her arms out of bed, she held her hands jointly over her head in form of a crown." At six in the evening she made signs for the archbishop and her chaplains. The primate examined ber of her faith ; she replied by signs ; he prayed at her desire till it was late in the night. He then retired, and at the hour of three in the morning the queen gently yielded up her spirit. At ten o'clock king James was proclaimed.

This great queen had nearly attained the age of seventy years, during forty-five of which she had occupied the throne.

* The well-known story of the ring—given by the queen to Essex, and which he sent to her by the countess of Nottingham, who by Cecil's advice did not deliver it—rests on the authority of Aubrey and Osborne, and is generally regarded as apocryphal.

† " In all my lifetime before," says lord Monmouth, " I never heard her fetch a sigh but when the queen of Scots was beheaded. *Then,* upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs."

‡ By the term 'rascal's son' she is supposed to have meant lord Beauchamp, son of Catherine Grey and representative of the house of Suffolk. In Aug. 1601 she had said to Sully that the king of Scotland would one day become king of Great Britain. See Strickland* vii. 271.

When we look back on the dangers she surmounted, on the power and influence to which she attained both at home and abroad, on the respect in which she was held by foreigners, and the admiration and affection of her own subjects, we must at once recognise the true greatness of her character. Elizabeth was endowed by nature with vigour of mind, prudence, sagacity, and penetration. She knew how to select those adapted for the public service, and she steadily supported them against the arts and intrigues of their enemies. In her deportment she was majestic, in her manners affable and courteous, but still the sovereign*, in her dress and style of living splendid and magnificent. She was fond of popularity, and omitted no honest art for gaining it.

The defects of this great princess were mostly those of the woman. She loved dress overmuch, she was a coquette by nature, and delighted in the language of courtly and amorous adulation ; she excessively admired beauty in the other sex, and indulged in familiarities of act and language toward her favourites highly indecorous when judged by the present standard. Hence her inveterate enemies, the papists, have taken occasion to represent her as a modern Messalina. Their calumnies, however, are incredible in themselves and utterly devoid of proof †. In her temper Elizabeth was highly despotic, she was

* " Her mind," says Harrington, " was oftime like the gentle air that cometh from the westerly point in a summer's morn ; 't was sweet and refreshing to nil around her. . . . Again, she could put forth such alterations, when obedience was lacking, as left no douhtiugs whose daughter she was." A little further on he says, " When she smiled it was a pure sunshine that every one did cliuse to bask in if they could ; hut anon came a storm from a sudden gathering of clouds, and the thunder fell in wondrous manner on all alike."

† See the vile malicious letter of Mary to her (Murdin, 558), which proves at least the grossness of Mary's mind, even supposing her only to repeat, as she says, the words of lady Shrewsbury; who, by the way, accused Mary herself of intriguing with the earl her husband. Lingard (whose history of this reign might perhaps he assigned to the region of historical romance) describes Elizabeth as " callous *to* every sense of shame," and misquotes Osborne to hint that " her licentious habits survived even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age." He enumerates as her gallants, Leicester, Hatton, Raleigh, Oxford, Blount, Simier, and Anjou ! Even protestants have lent their feeble aid toward maligning the virgin queen.

The following passage from Castelnau the French ambassador, who knew Elizabeth and her court intimately, we think suffices to refute these slanders : " Et si l'on a voulu taxer faussement d'avoir de l'amour je dirai avec verite que ce sont inventions forgoes de ses malveiilans et de cabinets des

prone to anger, she often struck those with whom she was offended, and oaths were familiar to her lips. She was frequently vacillating and uncertain in her resolutions, and she was capable of profound dissimulation. Toward the close of her reign her frugality approached the bounds of parsimony.

To the unprejudiced eye which contemplates the lustre of her regal virtues, these defects will, however, appear but as spots on the sun. Posterity confirms, and ever will confirm, the judgement of her contemporaries, which placed Elizabeth in the very first rank among sovereigns.

The court of Elizabeth was gay and splendid, and contrasted strongly with the gloom of that of the later years of her fanatical sister. Our popish historian artfully endeavours to make it out to have been little better than a Paphian temple, on the authority of one Faunt, a rigid querulous puritan ; as if there ever was a court which would not appear licentious and dissolute in the eyes of an austere religionist. The fact is that the Reformation had raised the tone of morals, and in protestant courts actions were severely censured which were regarded as merely venial offences at Rome, Paris, and Madrid. Still the court of Elizabeth partook of the character of the times, and it certainly would not vie in decorum and morality with the present court of England.

The heaviest charge brought against Elizabeth and her government is the persecution of the catholics. One is tempted to cry out with the indignant satirist, *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes ?* on hearing *them* complain*; but the faults and vices of one party do not justify those of the other. Let us then calmly consider the state of the case. During the greater part of Elizabeth's reign there was a pretender to the throne, whose title the catholics in general regarded as better

amhassadeurs pour degouter de son alliance ceux auxquels elle eut ete utile." Mem. i. 62. See also the despatches of La Mothe Fenelon *ap.* Strickland, vi. 343.

* The balance of blood between the two religions may be thus stated. During the 45 years of Elizabeth about 200 catholics were it is said executed as traitors, while in the six years of Mary nearly 300 protestants were burnt solely on account of their religion. To the account of Rome is also to be placed the 50,000 or 100,000 put to death in the Netherlands ; the St. Bartholomew massacre; the 100,000 persons burnt by the Inquisition, according to Llorente ; the massacre of the Vaudois ; the *dragonades*, &c. of Louis XIV. when he revoked the edict of Nantes ; the massacres in the Irish rebellion of 1641, &c. &c.

than hers: conspiracies were continually formed against her; she had been spiritually outlawed by the pope. To guard against the evils which menaced the queen and the protestant religion severe laws were passed by the legislature, and several of those who had violated them were executed, not on account of their religion, but, as was constantly asserted*, as traitors. The mode of execution was that which had been in use for centuries. It was barbarous and cruel no doubt; but the queen directed a mitigation of it, at least in London. As to those who suffered, many of them appear to have been upright and conscientious men; but they knew the law, they wilfully violated it, and they therefore had little right to complain when the penalty was inflicted f. We are far from justifying severe and cruel laws, and we are as sincere advocates for the rights of conscience as any ; but we would have Elizabeth and her ministers judged by the maxims of their age. Toleration was then a thing unknown: individuals might have been in favour of trying it, but it would have been quite an experiment; and we are perhaps not justified in asserting positively that it would haye been a successful one.

The fact certainly is that the course adopted *did* succeed, and that during the reign of Elizabeth popery completely lost its ground in England.

The cruel persecution of the puritans by the queen and archbishops Parker and Whitgift ‡ has not the same plea of self-defence in its favour ; it is only an instance of the spirit of the age. No party in fact were more intolerant than the puritans themselves; they were the most zealous promoters of the severe measures against the catholics.

This reign also was deformed by the horrid practice of burning as heretics those who went further than the party in power had chosen to go in their secession from Rome. Four persons suffered under the writ " De comburendo heeretico." A single voice, that of honest John Foxe, the martyrologist, was raised,

* " In all her late majesty's reign, by the space of forty-four years and upwards," says sir Edward Coke, " there were for treasonable practices executed in all not thirty priests, nor above five receivers and harhourcrs of them, *and for religion not any one"*—Jardine, Crim. Trials, ii. 133.

† " There seems to be good reason for doubting whether any one who **was** executed might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen."—Hallam, i. 222.

† The see of Canterbury was filled in this reign **by** archbishops **Parker 11560), Grindal (1575), and Whitgift** (1585).

but raised in vain, against depriving men of their lives for their religious opinions.

The queen favoured commerce and maritime enterprise, being well aware of the importance of naval power for the defence of the realm. The trade which had been opened with Russia in her sister's reign, when English vessels penetrated through the Icy Sea to Archangel, was continued, and daring traders conveyed their goods thence to the Caspian, and sold them in Persia. A trade was also opened with Turkey. But the efforts of the queen for the promotion of trade were frustrated in a great measure by the practice of granting patents of monopoly, which she carried to a greater extent than had been done by her predecessors. To her frugal temper this seemed a thrifty mode of gratifying her courtiers, and rewarding the meritorious. The grantees sold their patents to companies of traders, who set on the articles the highest prices that purchasers could pay ; salt, for example, being raised from 15d. to 15*s.* a bushel. Scarcely any article had escaped the rapacity of the courtiers*; but in 1601, when the matter had caused a great ferment in the commons, the prudent queen promised that she would revoke all such patents as should he proved injurious.

The reign of Elizabeth was also a period of literary glory. Hitherto the name of Chaucer almost alone could be placed on the rolls of genius ; but now a noble band of poets appeared, who were to set England on a line with Greece and Italy. To whom arc unknown the undying names of Shakespeare and Spenser, the chiefs of this poetic choir ?• In prose, Hooker first gave proofs of the depth and eloquence, the dignity and harmony, of which the English language is capable of being the vehicle.

Newspapers, now of such importance, first appeared in England during the reign of Elizabeth. During the period of danger from the Armada a kind of gazette, named the Mercury, was published.

The period during which the throne of England was occupied by the house of Tudor was one of transition in politics and religion. The crown at this time acquired a degree of strength

* When the list was read in the house in 1601, a member cried, "Is not bread in the number?" "Bread !" cried the rest in amaze. " Nay," said he, " if no remedy is found for this, bre;;d will be there before the next parliament."

and influence unknown to the Plantagenets, but the power which was to control it was secretly growing up. This new power was the commons; for those who in reality had withstood the prerogative of the Edwards and Henries were the ancient nobility, the feudal aristocracy, beneath whose protection the house of commons acted against the crown. But the war of the Roses, and various natural and political causes had thinned the ranks and broken the power of the feudal baronage, and the commons without leaders or support became timid and submissive. A new nobility, indebted to royal favour for its honours and to royal munificence or profusion for its wealth, sprang up*. It was naturally timid, subservient and self-seeking, and we have seen on numerous occasions how abjectly it obeyed the royal will. Were it not for the spirit breathed by the Reformation, which gradually infused vigour and courage into the breasts of the commons, the sacred flame of liberty might have become extinct. It is to the puritans we are mainly indebted for its conservation. The growing strength of the house of commons may be traced through the last three reigns ; it is proved by the anxiety of the crown to obtain influence in it by procuring seats for its minions ; to effect this numerous boroughs were created or restored to their right of sending members to parliament, and those of course were selected in which the crown or its supporters would have influence.

The power of the crown to the end of this period was however considerable. Its chief instrument in the state was the court of the Star Chamber, in the church that of the High Commission. The former, which we have seen employed by Henry VII. for preventing the hindrance of justice, gradually acquired new powers, and became co-extensive with the ancient royal council. Its proceedings were summary and arbitrary ; it took cognizance of a great variety of offences, such as the making of scandalous reports of persons in power, spreading seditious rumours, etc. If a jury ventured to find a verdict contrary to the wishes of the crown they were summoned before the court of Star Chamber, and often severely punished. It served to keep all ranks in their obedience to the crown and the law, and when we consider that the want of a standing army made prevention a necessary part of the duty of govern-

* Only a small portion of our nobility, as the Howards, the Stanleys, the Courtneys, and others, can trace its honours beyond the time of the Tudors.

ment, we shall perhaps find that this summary jurisdiction produced more good than evil.

The court of High Commission was the Inquisition in miniature ; it was instituted under Elizabeth, but it had its origin in a measure of her popish sister. It was empowered to inquire into and punish all breaches of the acts *of* supremacy, uniformity, etc. It was chiefly directed against the puritans, and in the hands of intolerant prelates it became an instrument of oppression, whose severity drove them to a separation from the church.

The feudal rights of the crown still continued, and were made, especially by Henry VII., the means of oppression. Those of wardship and marriage were peculiarly galling. Minors were actually sold like cattle to persons desirous of turning them and their estates to profit, and the injury thereby done to property and to morals was excessive*.

In conclusion, we must again repeat, that it is to the Reformation we are chiefly indebted for our deliverance from civil as well as ecclesiastical oppression. *It* infused the spirit of liberty into the heart of man, and gave the courage necessary to assert it. Had it not been for *it,* England might in her political capacity have resembled those countries in which it was repressed ; and in her religious capacity, she might, like them, exhibit the spectacle of the lower classes, and the female sex in general, immersed in the grossest idolatry and superstition; while men of sense and education, disgusted with the absurdity of the popular creed, had ilung away all belief and plunged into infidelity and atheism. We need not observe how different from this is the aspect presented by protestant England.

* See Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England, Book iii. chap, v.: also the old play, The Miseries of Enforced Marriage.

APPENDIX.

A, page 1.

THE history of Britain under the Romans will be found in Cæsar, Suetonius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, and the other historians of the first five centuries of the Christian æra.

For the subsequent history the following are the principal sources.

Gildas, a Briton, wrote in the sixth century. The brief notices of Nennius, a monk of Bangor, come down to the year 625.

The ecclesiastical history of Venerable Bede relates the most important events from the landing of the Saxons in 449 to 734.

The Saxon Chronicle of the Abbey of Peterborough extends from	449	1153
William of Malmsbury, from		1143
Henry of Huntingdon		1154
Wallingford, abbot of St. Albans		1016
Ranulf Higdon of Chester		1066
Matthew Paris and his continuator Rishanger		1273
Matthew of Westminster		1307
J. Bromton	588	1198
R. Hoveden	732	1202
Chronicle of Mailros	735	1272
Henry Knighton	956	1399
Annals of Burton Abbey	1004	1263
———Margan Abbey	1066	1232
———Waverley Abbey		1291
William of Newbury		1197
Walter Hemingford		1300
T. Wikes		1304
Gervasius	1122	1199
Radulf de Diceto	1148	1199
Trivet	1136	1307
Walsingham	1273	1422
Whethamstede	1441	1461

The histories of the abbeys of Croyland, Ely and Ramsey also furnish many circumstances. That of Croyland by Ingulf and his continuators extends from 626 to 1486 ; that of Ely from Edgar to the Conquest; and that of Ramsey from Athelstan to the Conquest.

The rime-chronicle of Robert of Gloucester extends from the earliest times to the end of Henry III. ; that of Peter Langtoft to the end of Edward I. ; and that of Harding to the accession of Edward IV.

The prose chronicle of Fabyan ends with Henry VIII.; Halle's extends from the accession of Henry IV. to the end of Henry VIII.; Grafton's from the accession of Richard I. to that of Elizabeth; Holingshed, Speed and Stow narrate the events from the earliest times to 1586, 1605 and 1631.

To these are to be added More's and Buck's histories of Edward V. **and**

Richard III.; Bacon's of Henry VII.; Herbert's of Henry VIII.; **Hayward's** of Edward VI.; Godwin's of Mary; and Camden's of Elizabeth (all in Kennet's History of England), and the original papers in **Burnet,** Haynes, Murdin, and other collections.

B, page 3.

The following wore the principal British tribes or nations:—1. Damnonii (Cornwall and Devon). 2. Durotriges (Dorset). 3. Belgas (Somerset, "Wilts, Hants, Wight). 4. Atrebatii (Berks). 5. Regni (Surrey, Sussex). 6. Cantii (Kent). 7. Dobuni (Oxford, Gloucester). 8. Cattieuchlani (Beds, Bucks, Herts). 9. Trinobantes (Essex, Middlesex). 10. Iceni (Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon). 11. Coritani (Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby). 12. Cornavii (Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, Salop, Cheshire). 13. Silures (South Wales). 14. Dimitse (Caermarthen, Cardigan, Pembroke). 15. Ordovices (North Wales). 16. Brigantcs (from the Humber to the Tees). 17. Ottaduni (thence to the Tyne).

C, page 11.

The names of most places show their Saxon origin. Thus the Saxon byrig, burh (*town*), exhibits itself in bur, bury, borough, brough, as Burton, Sunbury, Broughan; rtED (*place*) in stead, sted, as Hampstead; hyrst (*forest*) in hurst, as Penshurst; leag (*lea, plain*) in lay, ley, lea, leigh, as Layton, Bexley, and a number of proper names, as Stanley, Ashley, Townley, &c.; rtop (*abode*), stow, sto, as Godstow; horp (*village*) in thorp, throp, as Althorp; reorD (*street, village, farm*) in worth, as Tamworth, Isleworth; ham (*home, dwelling*) in ham, as Witham, Petersham, Grantham; ig, ege (*island*) in ea, ey, as Eaton, Thorney; tun (*town*) in ton, as Whitton, Kingston; rtre (*tree, wood*) in stock, stoke, as Woodstock, Basingstoke; ceap (*traffic*) in chepe, chip, chipping, as Chipstead, Chipping Ongar, East Cheap. The Danish byE (*town*) may be found in Derby, Whitby, and many villages on the eastern coast; the Roman *castrum* in cester, Chester, Winchester; *vicus* in wick, Norwich; and *stratum* in street, Stratford, &c.

D, page 53.

The number of William's ships was 3000 according to Gemmcticensis. Wace, in his "Roman de Rou, says he had heard of that number, but that his father had told him there were only 696. The Chronique de Normandie says that some said there were 907 ships besides the small craft.

G. Pictavensis, William's chaplafn, estimates the army at sixty thousand men, of which fifty thousand were *milites,* that is men-at-arms or knights and squires. The number of knights in the roll of Battle Abbey, however, is but four hundred, and Sismondi (Hist, des Francois, iv. 352) says that if we calculate according to the military usages of the age, and compare William's armament with that of the fourth .Crusade, of which alone we have an exact enumeration of the component parts, the result will be as follows:—Each of the four hundred knights had ten *suivanfs d'armes,* which gives four thousand four hundred horsemen; each *suwant* had three archers or crossbow-men, making twelve thousand, and adding the crews the **whole might** amount to twenty or twenty-five thousand men.

It may further elucidate this to observe, that when Robert of Gloucester was coining to the aid of the empress Matilda, he embarked, according to Malmsbury, about three hundred *milites* in 52 ships. See also above, p. 251, for the proportion between the ships and troops of Henry V.

E, page 123.

Bromton, who loved a romantic tale, is the earliest author who.notices the story of Fair Rosamond. His words are these :

" Regina sua Elianora jamdudum incarcerata, factus est adulter manifestus palam et impudice, puellam retinens Rosamundam. Iluic nempe paellas spectatissima; fecerat rex apud Wodestoke mirabilis architecturae cameram operi Dedalino similem, ne forsan a regina facile deprchenderetur. Sed ilia cito obiit, et apud Godestovvc juxta Oxoniam ia capitulo inonialium. in tumba decenti est sepuita, ubi talis supraseriptio invenitur :

Hie jacct in tumba Rosa mundi non Rosa munda;
Non redolet sed olet qua? redolere solet."

The story, like most of the kind, gained in time : for Fabyan, the next who notices it, says the king " had made her a house of a wonder-working, so that no creature, man nor woman, might win [get] to her, but if he were instruct by the king or such as were right secret with him, touching the matter. Hut the common fame telleth that lastly the queen came to her by a clew of thread or silk, and dealt with her in such manner that she lived not long after." Hollingshed adds that the king happened to draw the clew of silk with his foot from her chamber to the entrance. Speed says that as Rosamond was sitting out in the air, she was startled at the sight of those who were in quest of her; she ran in but dropped her clew, and the end caught in her foot and thus unwound. In the ballad the knight who had charge of her is called out; he is then slain, and his clew seized; the queen goes in and forces Rosamond to drain a bowl of poison.

The progress of the tale is this. Henry kept Rosamond privately, hence the notion of a labyrinth; this suggested the clew of Ariadne; then some mode was to be devised by which the queen obtained it. On Rosamond's tomb among other ornaments was the figure of a *cup,* and hence the poisoning was added.

There is no doubt of Longsword's being the son of Henry and Rosamond. The earl of Salisbury died in 1190, and after his death king Richard gave the heiress Ela to his natural brother William, who was then probably about five arid-twenty. Longsword died in 1226 after his return from Guienne, whither he had accompanied the king's (Henry III.) younger brother Richard. As from the narrative in Paris he appears to have been in full vigour at that time, and his death was ascribed to poison, he was probably not more than fifty-five.

We have gone into these details, because it is said that Geoffrey archbishop of York, who was born in 1159, was Henry's *youngest* child by Rosamond. This throws back the amour with Rosamond to the beginning of his reign, and makes Longsword nearly seventy when he died. We may further observe, that according to Dugdale, Rosamond's eldest brother Walter died in 7 Henry III. (1222), that is when Geoffrey was sixty-three. It is therefore probable that Geoffrey was not his nephew.

The common derivation of Rosamond, *quasi* Rosa Mundi, is wrong. It

is an ancient Teutonic name Rosmund, i. e. *Rote-mouthed*, like Wahrmwid (Pharamond), *True-mouthed.*

F, page 129.

It is quite plain that the English were never ignorant of the place of their king's captivity. Yet in the following century a pleasing legend wa* devised, how the faithful minstrel Blondel went for years from castle to castle in Germany to try to discover in which his royal patron lay. By playing a ballad, the joint composition of himself and the king, he at length found him ; for at one fortress, when Blondel had sung the first part, the king, who was there a captive, took it up and concluded it. Blondel then hastened to England, and gave the first certain news of the abode of Richard. See the Crusaders, vol. ii. 357.

G, page 182.

We must confess that we have doubts whether Wallace was the hero his partial countrymen make him.

The only contemporary writer is the riming chronicler Langtoft. He thus introduces Wallace:

> " Nowe Eduard is oute the barons be not trewe,
> The suffred, as it sais, the Scottis oft to rise
> With William the Walais, ther hede and ther justise;
> Thrugh fals concelcment William did his wille,
> Our castels has he brent, our men slayn fulle ille."

Langtoft further says, that in 1304 Wallace offered to make peace with the king provided he was secured in a good estate. Edward in a rage devoted to the Fiend him and all who should sustain him, and set a reward of three hundred marks on his head. Wallace was betrayed some time after by his man Jack Schort (whose brother he had slain) to sir John Monteith, who took him one night, "his leman hi." At London he was drawn, hanged, embowelled while still alive, and quartered; just, we may add, as David prince of Wales had been, and as was the barbarous usage of the age toward all who were executed as traitors.

Langtoft being his authority, one is surprised to read in Tytler(Hist. of Scot, i.) that "Wallace was *betrayed* and taken by sir John Monteith." To whom did he *betray* him ? Again, he says, " the circumstances of refined cruelty and torment which attended his execution reflect an indelible stain on the character of Edward, and, were they not stated by the English historians themselves, could scarcely be credited." Why not credited ? Edward looked on Wallace as a rebel and murderer, and punished him in the usual manner.

Hemingford commences his account of Wallace thus: "Erat quidam *latro publicus* Willelmus Walays nomine." Trivet's account of him is to the same effect. Walsingham says, " Hie, ex infima gente procreatus, processu temporis factus est vir Sagittarius, illius artis peritia quaeritans victum suum."

The riming chronicler Hardyng gives a peculiar account of the capture of Wallace. He says that Robert Umfreville earl of Angus defeated in a battle in Argyle Wallace and his brother John, and brought them prisoners to London, where they were hanged as traitors.

Such are the English accounts of Wallace. The Scottish historian Fordun, whose chronicle ends in 1385 (eighty years after Wallace), introduces

him thus : " Eodem **anno (1296)** Willelmus Walace quasi de latibulo **caput** levavit, et vicecomitera de Lanark, Anglicum virum strenuum et potentem, in viila de Lanark, interfecit." He says that Wallace was of a good family. Wintoun, a later writer than Fordun (his chronicle ends in 1408), gives a curious dialogue *on* this occasion between Wallace and the viscount.

In the later narratives of Blind Harry, Hector Bocce and Buchanan, the deeds of Wallace are expanded and embellished in the usual manner.

On the whole we shall perhaps have the most exact idea of Wallace if we compare him with the partisans or guerillas of Spain. The following passage of Mackintosh (i. 262) exalts him, we think, far too much:—" His name stands brightly forward among the foremost of men, with Vasa, with the two Williams of Orange, with Washington, with Kosciusko, with his own more fortunate but less pure successor Robert Bruce. His spirit survived him in Scotland. The nation, shaken to its deepest foundations by a hero who came into contact with them, and who conquered by them alone retained the impulse which his mighty arm had communicated."

II, page 183.

According to Fordun and Wintoun, Bruce and Comyn had previously agreed on insurrection. Bruce, being summoned to the court of England, was in London when Comyn wrote secretly to Edward giving him information of the plot. Edward charged Bruce with it; he denied it; the king appeared satisfied, but he formed a secret determination to put him to death. That very night, when Bruce was at supper, his friend the carl of Gloucester (Glovernire) sent his chamberlain to him with twelve pennies and a pair of spurs; the money, he was told, was in payment of what he had lent the earl the day before. Bruce understood the enigmatic warning; he lost no time in making his escape to Scotland. On the borders he met a man whose appearance was suspicious; he slew him, and found on him letters from Comyn to Edward, and he now fully resolved to punish him for his treachery.

Of this journey to Scotland, we may observe, Langtoft and Hemingford say not a word. The tale gradually received additions; the pennies become crowns of gold; Bruce has a groom; there is a fall of snow; the horses arc shod with the shoes reversed. Thus was formed the narrative we may read in Buchanan, and from him in Hume.

I, page 197.

" According to the judgement of the house of peers in 1330 Mortimer commanded (be confessed it before his death, Rot. Par. ii. 62), Gournay and Ogle perpetrated the murder. Mortimer suffered death ; the other two had fled out of the kingdom; but a reward of J 00/. was offered for the apprehension, or 100 marks for the head, of Gournay; and another reward of 100 marks for the apprehension, and of 40/. for the head, of Ogle (Rot. Par. ii. 54). What became of Ogle I know not; Gournay fled into Spain, and was apprehended by the magistrates of Burgos. At the request of the king of England he was examined by them in the presence of an English envoy. What disclosures he made were kept secret, but we may suppose that they implicated persons of high rank, as the messengers who had him in charge received orders to behead him at sea on his way to England (Rymer, iv. 488-491)."—Lingard.

In a paper read to the Society of Antiquarians in 1838, Mr. Hunter has shown from original documents, that Gournay escaped from those who took him at Burgos; but that some time after he was discovered and arrested at Naples, and he died at Bayonne on his way to England, whither it appears every care was taken that he should be brought alive.

K, page 218.

Occasional barbarity was not incompatible with the virtues of chivalry, as the following incident will show. When the Black Prince heard of the revolt of the city of Limoges, " then," says Froissart, " he sware by his father's soule, whereby he was never forswome, that he wolde gette it agayne, and that he wolde make the traytours derely abye their falsnesse." The city was taken by mine, and the prince issued orders to give no quarter. " It was great pytie," says the Chronicler, " to se the men, women and chyldren that kneeled downe on their knees before the prince for mercy: but he was so inflamed with yre that he toke no hede to theym, so that none was herde, but all putte to dethe as they were mette withal, and suche as were nothing culpable. There was no pytie taken of the poore people who wrought never no maner of treason, yet they bought it dearerr than the great personages suche as had done the y veil and trespace. There was not so harde a hert within the cytie of Lymoges and yf he had any remembrance of God but that wepte pyteously for the great mischiefe that they sawe before their eyen: for mo than three thousand men, women and chyldren were slayne and beheeded that day: God have mercy on their soules 1 for I trowe they were martyrs."

L, page 224.

The leaders of the insurgents adopted the practice usual in such cases of (riving themselves fictitious names. Such were Jack Straw, Jack Mylner (Miller), Jack Carter, Jack Trueman, &c, under which names they put forth addresses such as the following:

" Jakke Mylner asket help to turn his mylne aright. He hath grounden smal smal; the king's sone of heven he seal pay for alle. Loke thy mylne go aryght with the four sayles and the post stand in steadfastnesse. With ryght and with myght, with skyll and with wylle, let myght help ryght, and skyl go before wylle and ryght before myght, then goth our mylne aryght. And if myght go before ryght, and wylle before skylle, then is our mylne mys a dyght."

The following is one of Ball's addresses :

" John Balle Seynte Marye prist greteth wele alle maner men, and byddes hem in the name of the Trinite, Fadur and Sone and Holy Gost, stond manlycke togedyr in trewthe,and helpeth trewthe and trewthe schal helpe yowe. Now regneth pride in pris, and covctise is holde wys; and lecherye with outen shame, and glotonye with outen blame; Envye regneth with tresone, and slouthe is take in grete sesone. God do bote, for now is tyme. Amen."

M, page 301.

It is well known that the truth of this account of the murder of the princes has been questioned by Buck, Carte, Walpole, and Laing. Their arguments have, we think, been amply confuted by Hume and Lingard.

We will here notice the principal ones, and the replies to them; first stating the evidence for the murder.

The historian of .Croyland, who wrote in 1486, the year after Richard's death, says that when Buckingham and the others had entered into a confederacy to release the princes, " vulgatum est dictos Edwardi filios, quo genere *violenti* interitus ignoratur, decessisse in fata." He also says that their cause had been avenged in the battle of Bosworth, and that Richard, not content with obtaining his brother's treasures, destroyed his offspring *(oppressit proles)*. This writer could not then .Jiave doubted of the murder. Rouse, who died in 1491, says that Richard imprisoned Edward and his brother closely, and within little more than two months killed them, but so secretly that " post paucissimis notum fuit qua morte maftyrizati sunt." Andre, the historiographer of Henry VII., says, " ferro feriri jussit." More, in 1513, gave the narrative in the text from the confession of the assassins.

Buckingham and Ids friends must have been certain of the death of the princes, or they would never have offered the crown to Henry on condition of his marrying Elizabeth; and what reason could Richard himself have for wishing to marry her if she were not now the representative of her father?

In the year 1674 a chest containing bones answering in size to those of the two princes was found by the workmen who were taking away the staircase leading from the king's lodging to the Tower chapel. It was ten feet under ground.

Against all this it is alleged that for many years after it vfas doubted if they were dead. " Some remain yet in doubt," says More, " whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or not." " In vulgus fama valeret," says Polydore Virgil, "filios Edwardi regis aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse atque ibi superstites esse." Bacon also mentions the " rumours and whisperings" of one of them at least being alive. The wonder, however, to any one versed in history, and who recollects the stories of Richard IL, of Don Sebastian, and others, would be if such reports did *not* prevail.

Walpole endeavours to show from the rolls of parliament that Edward V. was living in 1484, and that therefore the tale of his being put to death during Richard's progress in 1483 cannot be true; but Lingard observes, that what he quotes is from the petition presented at Baynard's castle, and only proves, what was never doubted, that Edward was then alive.

But the grand argument is this. There are in Rymer two instruments dated August 31, " teste rcge apud "Westmonasterium." Richard therefore was in London on that day, and we know that he was crowned at York on September 8th; there was no time then for the passage of all the messengers to and from London, and the whole story in the text is a fiction. Lingard, however, shows that this only proves that the chancellor was at Westminster. He gives, as an instance, that there are thirty-three writs of Edward V. *teste rege* at Westminster, April 23rd, yet we know that he did not reach London till May 4th, and did not go to Westminster at all.

N, page 324.

The advocates of Perkin Warbeck say that—1. He was acknowledged by the kings of France and Scotland, and the duchess of Burgundy; 2. Henry never confronted him with the queen, her mother and sisters; 3. His accent wa^ perfectly English; 4. He was like the duke of York; 5. Henry never inquired into the circumstances of the murder of the princes.

To all this it is replied that,—1. The king of France acted from political

motives, so most probably did the king of Scotland; the object of **the** duchess of Burgundy, who had already favoured Simnell, probably was to overthrow Henry and establish the claims of her nephew Warwick. 2. See above, p. 324. The royal ladies had abundant opportunities of seeing him. 3 and 4 are mere assertions, without arty proofs being offered. 5. It is probable that Henry considered the fact of the death of the princes too well established to require any proof; or himself, as a Lancastrian, not called on to punish the domestic crimes of the house of York.

Finally, few but those who were outlaws adhered to Warbeck, and no gentleman ever joined him in his various invasions of England. That Henry would never have left him at liberty if he thought him in the slightest degree dangerous, is proved by his very different treatment of the earl of Warwick.

* O, page 349.

Sanders' account of Anne Boleyn is an admirable specimen of popish mendacity. He says she was the daughter of lady Boleyn by Henry VHI. during her husband's absence on an embassy in France, whither Henry had sent him with this design*. While Henry was carrying on his adulterous intercourse with lady Boleyn he cast an eye of lust on her elder daughter Mary, whom on the return of sir Thomas Boleyn he took to court and made his mistress. Sir Francis Brian, a relation of the Boleyns, on being asked b£ Henry his opinion of such a connexion, said it was only like eating the hen first and then the chicken. The king laughed and said to him he was truly his Vicar of Hell, a title Brian had long had for his impiety. As for Anne, she was, he says, no great beauty, as she had a projecting tooth, a sallow complexion, as'if she had the jaundice, a kind of wen under her chin, and a sixth finger on her right hand. At fifteen years of age she intrigued with the butler and chaplain. She was then sent to France to be educated, at the king's expense, and soon after she went to the French court, where she led so profligate a life that she was called the English Hackney and the Royal Mule. On her return to England, when she became the object of the king's affection, she took example by the fate of her mother and sister, and affected the most rigid chastity. In vain did sir Thomas Boleyn remind Henry that she was his own daughter, in vain did sir Thomas Wyat declare before the parliament that he himself was a favoured lover, and offered to give the most convincing proofs of her infamy: the king was not to be diverted from his intention of marrying her. She afterwards attempted to poison bishop Fisher. Finally, when she despaired of having a son by the king, and at the same time was resolved to be the mother of a lung, she committed incest with her own brother, and then adultery with Norris and the others!!!

Turn we now to cardinal Pole: he says Anne herself first suggested the idea of a divorce. " Ilia ipsa," writes he to Henry, "sacerdotes suos, graves theologos, quasi pignora promptae voluntatis misit, qui non modo tibi hcere affirmarent uxorem dimittere, sed graviter etiain peccare dicerent quod

* Sanders relates this on the authority of Mr. Justice Rasfall, the nephew of sir Thomas More. It suffices for its confutation to observe that the very latest date assigned for the birth of Anne was 1507, before Henry had completed his sixteenth year, and two years before he came to the throne • **but** that she was in reality born in 1501 or 1502.

punctum ullum temporis eam retineres, ac nisi continuo repudiares gravissimam Dei offensionem denuntiarent. Hie primus totius fabuise exorsus fuit." This account is quite irreconcilable with all the others, and it only proves (what every one who reads his writings impartially will perceive) that Pole was a weak, credulous, passionate man. Unlike Sanders and others, he was honest, and when he says he saw or heard a thing we may believe that he did; but his mere opinion or assertion is no proof of its truth. What Lingard says on this occasion, that he " would hardly venture to assert what, if it were not true, Henry must have known to be false," only proves that Pole believed the story himself.

With respect to the age of Anne Boleyn, Herbert says that she was about twenty when she returned to England in 1522, while Camden says she was at that time two-and-twenty; but as he asserts that she was born in 1507, this places her return in 1529 contrary to all probability. We therefore regard Herbert's as the more correct account, and assume 1501 or 1502 as the real year of her birth. The reason of her recall seems to have been a projected match between her and young Butler, to end a dispute respecting the Ormond property in Ireland (State Papers, i. 91; ii. 50, 57). Lingard has clearly shown that Percy was married in 1523 or 1524, and it seems highly probable that Henry did not fix his affections on Anne till 1526 or 1527, when she was four or five-and-twenty. In the 8vo edit, of this work (see vol. ii. Append. E.) we inadvertently follow^ Camden and placed her birth in 1507.

P, page 368.

Of More's superstition the following are proofs:

Erasmus notices his tendency that way. He always wore a hair shirt next his skin, and " he used sometimes," says Roper, " to punish his body with whips, the cords knotted." When he was chancellor, the duke of Norfolk coming one day to dine with him at Chelsea found him at church with a surplice on him, singing in the quire. " God's body! God's body ' my lord chancellor," cried the duke, " a parish clerk, a parish clerk—you dishonour the king and his office." " Nay," replied he, " your grace may not think that the king your master and mine will with me, for serving of God his master, be offended, or thereby count his office dishonoured." . It was a matter of the greatest comfort that he was to die on the eve of St. Thomas a. Becket, his patron saint. " I comber you good Margaret much," writes he to his daughter, " but I would be sorry if it should be any longer than tomorrow. For it is St. Thomas even' and the Utas (Octave) of St. Peter; and therefore tomorrow long I go to God. It were a day very meet and convenient for me."

Q, page 394.

In this case, as in that of Anne Boleyn, innocent persons were judicially murdered to gratify the will of the royal savage. Catherine Howard had been most shamefully neglected by her grandmother, who gave her so little education that it is doubtful if she ever was taught to write, and let her associate with none but servants, and there is no doubt whatever but that when little more than a child she cohabited with Derham, who was her relation. As to Mannock, who was a musician and may have been her instructor on the instrument named the virginals, there is no proof of her having allowed him any familiarities. It is certain that as she grew up she broke off her connection totally with Derham, who went to If eland, and that

she thenceforth ed a modest virtuous life. When she became queen Derham and one of the women who had been conscious of her early frailty, took advantage of their knowledge for their own selfish ends, and she dared not refuse to admit them into her service. In the case of Derham it is said that she did so at the desire of her grandmother, and there is not the sliade of a proof of any intention on her part of renewing her intimacy with him, and probably a salutary fear for his own life would have kept him from urging her to it. In the case of Culpepper, it is remarkable that his secret interview with the queen took place immediately after her taking Derham into her service, and it is but charity to suppose that his motive may have been to remonstrate with her *on* the imprudence of that act; for her former frailty was probably well known to all the members of her family, If thi3 be so lady Rochfort also was perfectly innocent and both were murdered, as also was Derham; for his offence was not capital in any sense. It is remarkable that Catherine, though urged to it in the strongest terms by Cranmer, as a means to save her life, would not acknowledge a precontract with Derham, which would have rendered her marriage with the king null and void. She preferred it would seem to die a queen. On the whole we think that she has a legitimate claim on our pity.

For this vindication of her fame the memory of Catherine Howard is indebted to the zeal and labours of Miss Strickland.

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END OF VOLUME I.

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